GUIDE TO THE MS14 KANURI FILE

[The MS14 Kanuri (Kanoury, Beriberi) file contains information on the dominant ethnic group of the Bornu Province in northeastern Nigeria. Their homeland is the Bornu Emirate, the major division of the province. It has a history as a political entity stretching back at least 1100 years and has been a Muslim emirate since the eleventh century. It is located from 11-13 degrees North latitude and 11-13 1/2 degrees East longitude. It is bordered on the north by the Republic of Niger, on the northeast by Chad, and on the east by Cameroon. The Kanuri language has the largest number of speakers of the Central Saharan language family. Most Kanuri school children also speak some Hausa. The approximately 2.2 million Kanuri (1967 census) may be found in all the major cities in northeastern Nigeria and the neighboring sections of Chad and Niger, although Bornu contains the vast majority of Kanuri. They are sedentary hoe agriculturalists. The main crops are millet, guinea corn (sorghum), and ground nuts (peanuts). Most keep a few goats and sheep and trade with the pastoral Fulani and Shuwa for beef. The virilocal extended family is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is more than just a kin group, containing clients or retainers and concubines as well. But relations here and in the society at large are patterned on idealized kin relations, especially that of the father-son, superior-subordinate relationship. Preferred marriage for a man is to a young girl, 10-14, who is a virgin. But this is not as common for first marriages as one to an older, divorced woman, who will require less bridewealth. Marriage between cousins is common. In divorce, children stay with the father. Kin relations are recognized through both lines, although agnatic ties take precedence for legal matters and inheritance. Kanuri do not live in isolated units. Instead they may be found in settlements ranging from hamlets of three to four households, scattered every one to two

miles over the countryside, to cities of over 10,000 people, which contain one quarter of the population. The capital (Maiduguri) is a city of 80,000. Before European contact, Bornu was a feudal society with royal lineages, a land-holding aristocracy, peasants, and slaves. There are no longer any slaves and due to political and economic changes, many commoners are wealthier than some aristocrats. In urban areas, social stratification is pronounced. The emirate is ruled by the Shehu, who is both the political and religious leader. Under him, political authority runs through a series of territorial leaders from district to village to ward down to household head. The Kanuri are Muslims. They strictly observe Muslim law, education, social precepts and food taboos. The Bornu Emirate was under English colonial administration from 1902 to 1960, when it became part of a province in newly independent Nigeria.

There are four sources in the Kanuri file, all in English. 1: Cohen is a general monograph covering history (in detail), social relations, economics and politics. Special emphasis is given to the effect of family relations on other social relations. 2: Rosman is a discussion of how acculturation differently affects different social classes and how the social structure itself affects the acculturation process. It also covers economics, political and social organization and religion. 3: Cohen focuses on interpersonal relations, the family and political behavior. The interrelations of class and status with the feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations of loyalty are described as the source of strength in Kanuri social organization. 4: Cohen is a brief article on an agricultural experiment, which also illustrates attitudes toward innovation and political authority. Cohen's sources are based on 26 months of fieldwork (1956-1957, and summers 1964 and 1965) in a village of 2000 near the center of the province. Rosman's is based

on 12 months (1956-1957) in a city of 12,000 in the north. Both spoke Kanuri and conducted interviews in it for at least part of their fieldwork. Religion, language and physical anthropology are some of the outstanding omissions from the file. However, the data that are present, especially that on how the family affects the rest of society, is of high quality. The file was processed between 1969 and 1972.]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Acknowledgments

The fieldwork on which this book is based has been carried out in two periods: one in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Area Fellowship Program, and again in the summers of 1964 and 1965 with financial help from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Science Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is because of the generosity of these agencies that I have been able to develop and continue my understanding of the Kanuri people and their complex culture. Altogether I have spent over twenty-six months among the Kanuri and a number of years reading historical documents dealing with their pre-colonial kingdom in the Chad basin.

Over the years I have become indebted to a host of people who have contributed to my expanding knowledge of Bornu so that it would be impossible to give a complete list of those whose share in this book is a significant one. Professor C. W. M. Hart first encouraged and guided my work, and his approach to anthropology has colored and given direction to my own. In Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, G.C.O.N., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.B., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has through the years helped to make my visits to Bornu fruitful and intellectually exciting. The Bornu Native Authority and the Bornu Provincial Government have extended the warmest hospitality and courtesy to myself and my wife and encouraged us in our work. Their forbearance with my research and their constant willingness to cooperate has helped to make Bornu into what some of them have called "my second home." I cannot claim to know everything about Kanuri society and culture; what I have learned is due not only to the kindness of Bornu officials but to the friendship of hundreds of Kanuri who have never failed to answer my unending questions and sometimes naïve curiosity with patient explanation. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Rosman who were also out in Bornu in 1957 carrying out field research gave invaluable aid as colleagues interested in many of the same problems. At closer range, both in Bornu during my first field trip, and later after we returned to North America in 1957, my wife has served as a constant critic and discussant of almost every fact and interpretation put forward in this book and in my other publications on Bornu. In a very real way I owe her a debt as my collaborator and fellow researcher. Finally I am indebted to Professor John Middleton and David Spain who have read and made many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this book.

R. C.

Evanston, Illinois
November 1966

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Setting

The Land and the People

FOR AT LEAST a thousand years the drama of empires rising, falling, expanding, and shrinking has been played out in an immense area of Africa at the southern edge of the Sahara known as the Sudan. These states, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Hausa kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, and others like them, from the upper Senegal River basin to the upper Nile, form a band from east to west across Africa. Their histories provide some of the most resplendent grandeur of Africa's past. Many of these states have now been consigned to the history books; Ghana and Mali have disappeared although modern countries have resuscitated their names; Songhai was destroyed by the Moroccans at the end of the sixteenth century; the Hausa states were altered as they came under the hegemony of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and little is known as yet about the early states to the east of Lake Chad. On the other hand, Bornu in the northeastern corner of Nigeria has continued its sovereignty in the Chad Basin throughout a millennium of tribulations and triumphs and it goes on today organized as a separate emirate within Bornu Province.

Like most of the Sudan, Bornu is open savannah country, generally quite flat except for a few stable dunes covered with scrub in the north and several long low ridges running northwest to southeast in the southern part of the country. The ridges are probably ancient lake-shores of a great inland sea whose contemporary remnant is Lake Chad—a large shallow fresh water lake into which flow a number of rivers from the south and west. The soil is sandy and covered with scrub bush, grass, and scattered trees, mostly thorny ones, except for the large spreading baobab, which dots the horizon here and there. In the 1930s the Nim, a hardy shade tree from India that thrives on the semi-desert conditions of northern Nigeria, was introduced to provide some forest preserves and year round shade in the villages. Here and there, especially at the bottom of the ridges, are large flat surfaces of hard clay that turn into gray-black mud during the rainy season. These provide clay for building materials and pottery, as well as water holes for the cattle of local villages and wandering nomads.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

101 This study was carried out among the Kanuri people of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The writer and his wife were in Nigeria from August, 1956 until October, 1957. Almost all of that time was spent in the town of Geidam, in the northern part of the province.

A. Geography

131 1. Major geographic features.

Bornu Province is in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. It is bounded to the north by what was then Niger Territory, French West Africa (now the independent Republic of the Niger). [133] To the east lie the marshy shores of Lake Chad and, south of the lake, Cameroons, trusteeship territory administered as part of Bornu Province. The Yobe River, largest of the rivers flowing through Bornu into Chad, forms the northern border of the [161] province for much of its length. Maiduguri, the provincial capital, population 56,740, lies roughly in the geographic cen- [491] ter of the province. The main road through the province runs from Jos through Maiduguri and then on to Fort Lamy in Chad. [496] The railroad barely penetrates into Bornu, running from Kano and ending in the northwest tip of Bornu at Nguru, the second largest town in the province.

133 Bornu is a huge sandy plain, contrasting sharply with the rugged country of the Bauchi Plateau, which rises steeply to the southwest. South of the plain is the hilly area of Biu which is in Bornu Province. The flat plain extends eastward,

[text continues on p. 3]

132 nightly, often approaching freezing. This is also the time of the harmattan, a strong wind bearing down from the desert, carrying with it silt and fine white sand. The sand stings the face and chaps the lips. It penetrates all cracks and openings, covering everything with fine powder. The mornings are cold but the noon sun is always strong and brilliant.

This period is followed by the long hot season. For months the temperature ranges between ninety and one hundred degrees F., often soaring to one hundred and ten degrees. Clouds never appear and the glaring sun is reflected and intensified by the shimmering sand. Beneath the unrelenting sun the countryside withers and turns brown.

B. History

175 [101] The name 'Bornu' refers to the ancient empire of Bornu which existed here for more than a thousand years. The Kanuri people, builders of the empire of Bornu, moved into the plain of Bornu from the still more arid reaches north and east of Lake Chad. According to the historical sources, the Sefawa, a part of the Zaghawa tribe, allied themselves with the Teda in the neighborhood of Kawar at about 850 A.D. and proceeded to the southwest, organizing the early kingdom of Kanem, with its capital, Birni Njimi, near the northeastern edge of Lake Chad. Bornu was then the most southerly province. In 1389 the Sef dynasty, as it had then become, was expelled from Kanem and moved to Bornu. From that time onward Bornu became the center

648 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[931] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and
563 are numerous in the western sections of the province. In sim-
177 ilar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[463] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

177 of Moslems and Europeans.

4. Peoples acculturated to the Kanuri

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A circle of peoples surrounding the Kanuri have become, in varying degrees, acculturated to the Kanuri. These are relatively small groups who today are part pagan, part Moslem, and who speak Kanuri as well as their own individual languages. They lie in a sweeping circle along the borders of the area occupied by the Kanuri.

Directly east of the Kanuri, along the borders of Lake Chad and on the innumerable islands in the lake itself, live the Buduma. They probably represent part of the indigenous population of the plains of Bornu, forced into the inhospitable environment of the lake by the incoming Kanuri. Buduma living on the shores of the lake and in constant contact with Kanuri are Moslem and very Kanurified (acculturated to the Kanuri). Those in the interior are neither.

South of the lake and southeast of the Kanuri towns of Dikwa and Bama are two large tribes, the Mandara and the Kotoko (or Mogori). Kotoko towns like Segel, on the border of Chad, whose inhabitants are in immediate contact with the Kanuri from nearby towns, are very Kanurified. The people of Segel all speak Kanuri in addition to Kotoko, but the Kotoko are a distinct group. The Mandara, Moslem like the Kotoko, are more strongly identified with the Kanuri. Many individuals of Mandara origin live among the Kanuri and have adopted Kanuri cul-

177 563 101 [567] ture. Many slave families among the Kanuri today were originally Mandara. The Mandara live to the immediate east of the mountainous area inhabited by the Gwoza pagans, and Mandara is the lingua franca for the Gwoza hills.

The Marghi of Damboa District, just west of the Gwoza hills, are perhaps the clearest case of a group which, though still identifiable as a distinct people culturally, is fast [567] losing that identity and adopting Kanuri culture. The Marghi, up to recent times, served as a source of slaves for the Kanuri. Famous Kanuri title holders were Marghi slaves, called by the surname 'Marghi'. In Bornu Province they have become entirely integrated within the larger Kanuri society, within the present Kanuri-dominated political system, and within the urban-oriented economy of the area which looks towards the Kanuri capital, Maiduguri. Although older people among the Marghi still speak their own language, it is very common to find younger generation Marghi who have never learned Marghi and speak only Kanuri.

The Babur people live in the hilly upland area directly south of the Kanuri, centering around the town of Biu. They remain a part-Moslem, part-pagan people. The Bura and the Tera are sub-groups of the Babur. The upper classes of the Babur are entirely Moslem, and speak Kanuri. Many Babur have moved to Kanuri towns, particularly to Maiduguri. Often, after being accepted by the Kanuri community, they seek to deny affiliation with the Babur and call themselves Kanuri.

The Bolewa, southwest of the heart of Kanuri territory,

177 563 101 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 563 [175] [636] The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist

177 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are
563 many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 The culture of a people never remains static; it is con-
105 stantly changing in response to forces, both external and in-
177 ternal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957)
• [01] Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[143] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town
134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

602 younger brother (karami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The karami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
a [101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
174 [197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Preface

101 Field work for this study was carried out in Bornu Province,
122 Nigeria, from January 1956 to August 1957. The author is grateful to the Ford Foundation Area Training Program under whose financial support the field work was carried out. Through a grant from the Knapp Fellowship Fund of the University of Wisconsin, the writer was allowed an unencumbered year following the field work in which to analyse and write up the material.

114 Although the author takes full responsibility for the following pages, they could not have reached their present form without the generous help of a number of people. Prof. C. W. M. Hart helped plan and guide the field work as well as reading and advising on earlier drafts of the present study. His intellectual stimulus has served as a major impetus in the development of the writer's approach to the study of society. Professors D. A. Baerreis and M. L. Barnett have given encouragement and advice throughout the course of the project and helped the writer in innumerable ways both administratively and in matters of scholarship.

114 Periodic conversations in the field with Mr. and Mrs. A.
122 Bosman, graduate students at Yale University, helped clarify many points about the Kanuri as well as indicating areas of uncertainty and ignorance which required further work. To Mallam Abdullah Yajuwa of the Bornu Department of Agriculture I owe a sincere debt of gratitude for his interest in the project and his well run surveys. His patience and forbearance with the insatiable curiosity of an anthropologist deserve special mention. The Wazirí, the Yerima and the Digma of Bornu also deserve special acknowledgement as men of affairs who spared us their

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 197 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

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Kanuri society is a social system whose boundaries are herein defined by the extent of the political boundaries of the Kanuri state known as Bornu Emirate. As a language and a culture, Kanuri transcends these borders but for present purposes the social system is defined by its political limits. Social relations within this system are hierarchically arranged for many of the most important functions of social life and it can be seen in the pages to follow that within the framework of the superior/subordinate relationship there is a high degree of opportunism which characterizes these social relations. Superior/subordinate relations are governed strongly by factors of power and authority. These variables make up a type of human action called governmental and Smith's view is adopted here that such behaviour is possible at all levels of human social organization.(1) Since it is relationships which are being described a two-sided definition is useful for analytical purposes. Looking at the relationship from the superior's point of view, power is the ability to order action and make decisions about the kind of action to be taken, and authority in the same direction is the ability of the superior to secure performance of the action ordered. On the other side of the relationship, power and authority refer to the subordinate's sensitivity and response to the power and authority of superior(s).

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Whether or not a particular theory of society is espoused by a writer, his work very often tends to support some contemporary conceptions while contradicting others. It should be emphasized that the writer had no pre-conceived notions about Kanuri social relations, nor was he attempting to support, refine, or negate one social system theory

(1) Smith, M. G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, JRAI, 86, 1957, p. 50.

Chapter I

The Setting

[1]

101 For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. [178] Bornu is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an [681] ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Bornu 162 Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has [131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of [161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are Fulani and Shuwa nomads.(1) The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

132 The Emirate lies within latitudes 11 to 13 N. and longitudes [131] 11 to 13½ S. and has a typical sub-Saharan savannah climate. There is a mean daily maximum temperature of 94° F. from March to June and a mean daily minimum of 66° F. from July to February. The rainfall varies from north to south, being somewhat heavier in the south. Mean rainfall figures in inches per month at Maiduguri for the last thirty-six years are as follows:

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.01	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

13 Vegetation is open orchard bush with fine-leaved thorny trees predominating over an occasional broad-leaved variety. The terrain although very gently undulating here and there is for the most part flat and low lying (elevation 1,000 feet) with a more or less continuous short feathery grass cover. The loose, deep, easily worked sandy soil is excellent for cultivation while the lack of a thick vegetation cover makes the clearing of new farmland a relatively easy task.

241 The main cereal crop is millet and a considerable amount of guinea corn (sorghum) is grown, especially in the southern portions of the Emirate. In addition to the grain staples, beans, maize, cassava, cucumber, tomatoes, and squashes are also cultivated, while groundnuts
242 are used as the cash crop. In recent years, the agricultural department has been introducing fruit trees into the southern portions of the Emirate and scattering small orchards here and there through the northern bush with the idea of developing a local fruit industry.

101 [197] The people we are concerned with refer to themselves as Kanuri and speak a language of the same name. They call their territory Bornu and sometimes refer to themselves as kam Bornube (the people of Bornu). Among Hausa speakers in Nigeria the Kanuri and their language are known as Beri-Beri, but the Kanuri rarely use this term unless they are away from Bornu.

144 [142] Racially the Kanuri are difficult to place. Like other people at the southern rim of the Sahara they vary from negroid to caucasoid in appearance and in skin colour from coppery brown to very
143 dark. Studies by Chalmers on blood group characteristics have shown
144 that when lumped with other northern Muslim peoples the Kanuri indicate considerable similarity in ABO, MNS, and Rhesus blood groups, to

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103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road, Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

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621 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
000 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

634
651 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts, the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

634
631 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their
648 enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

643 In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the
[368] palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization.
[101] As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 21]

The Success that Failed: An Experiment in Culture Change in Africa

By RONALD COHEN*

The economic and political development going on at this moment in the non-European areas of the globe is one of the truly monumental social revolutions in man's history, ranking in importance with both the neolithic and the urban 'revolutions' of the past. By the end of the present century, the standards of living of about two-thirds of the world's population will very likely have risen between five and ten times present level. The educational, political, religious, and social changes which will in all probability accompany this revolution are almost staggering to the imagination. However, that it is taking place is a simple fact. 121

At the core of this development are the changes and innovations in basic economic activities in the every day lives of people the world over, for these hum-drum practices are the foundation stones upon which higher living standards are built. Central planning, financial and technical assistance, and political policies, all make crucial contributions to economic development. However the full measure of cultural changes, and in this case technological innovation, requires the painstaking description and analysis which is the hallmark of anthropological research techniques. Like other social sciences, anthropology uses the data of man's social life for its empirical basis. But unlike other social scientists, the anthropologist observes the data of the human experience through his intimate face-to-face contact with the people from day to day throughout his field

* The field work for this paper was carried out between January, 1956, and August, 1957, with the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation Area Training Fellowship Programme. The writer expresses his appreciation to Professor J.W. VanStone for helpful comments and suggestions, and to Professor C.W.M. Hart under whose guidance field research among the Kanuri was planned and carried out. 101* 122 128

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

•101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[131] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in
the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual
[177] trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long
history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and
there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply
by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented
by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming
activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 During 1956-7 the Agricultural Officer of Bornu Province was a Kanuri who had studied tropical agriculture in Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and India. He was very enthusiastic about the introduction of citrus crops into the area, and spent a large part of his time helping to get this programme under way in the southern part of the province. He was also interested in introducing super-phosphate fertilizer into the agricultural practices of Kanuri cultivators to increase the yield of millet and groundnuts.

241 The average yields for the province using traditional techniques are approximately 600 lbs. of groundnuts (decorticated) and 400 lbs. of millet (threshed) per acre. The yields diminish as one travels north towards the desert, and farm sizes increase in proportion, although farm size is also dependent upon family size, marriage stability, and the socio-economic relations of the cultivator within the community (Cohen, 1959). Research has [242] proven that the use of super-phosphate fertilizer can raise agricultural productivity in Bornu from 25% to 40% above that normally obtained with traditional growing techniques.

Two methods of planting crops are known. The bulk of the farm plots for most cultivators are the *kulo karabe* or far farms.[1] These are located beyond a two hundred yard perimeter (approximately) around the village. Here crops are planted [221] a week or two after the first rains, hoed twice during the wet season, and harvested in the period from November to the end of December. In the *kulo fatobe* or near farms, within a two hundred yard perimeter around the village, and within the household itself, maize and vegetables are planted with compost, mostly from sheep, goats, horses, and burnt ashes. This is placed on the soil during planting, and may be applied again during the growing season. Sometimes the compost is put into the ground along with the seeds.

101 The following course of events was observed in Magumeri, [162] a comparatively small district capital (population 2000), forty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri, the provincial capital.

[1] Literally this expression means "bush farm," and *kulo fatobe* translated literally would be "house farm." For purposes of descriptive convenience and accuracy, the writer has coined the phrases "near" and "far" farms.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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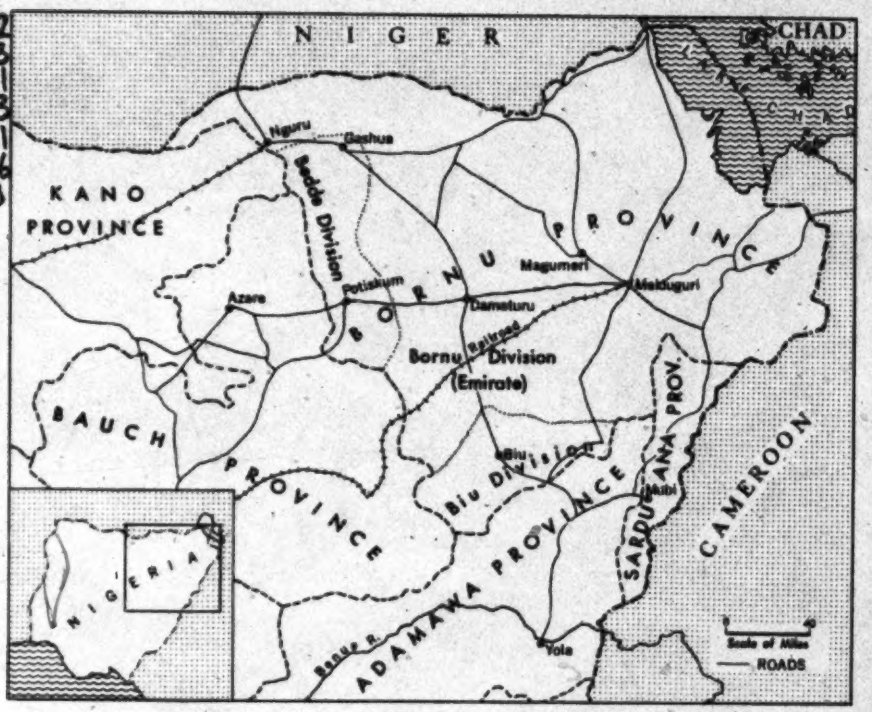

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2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

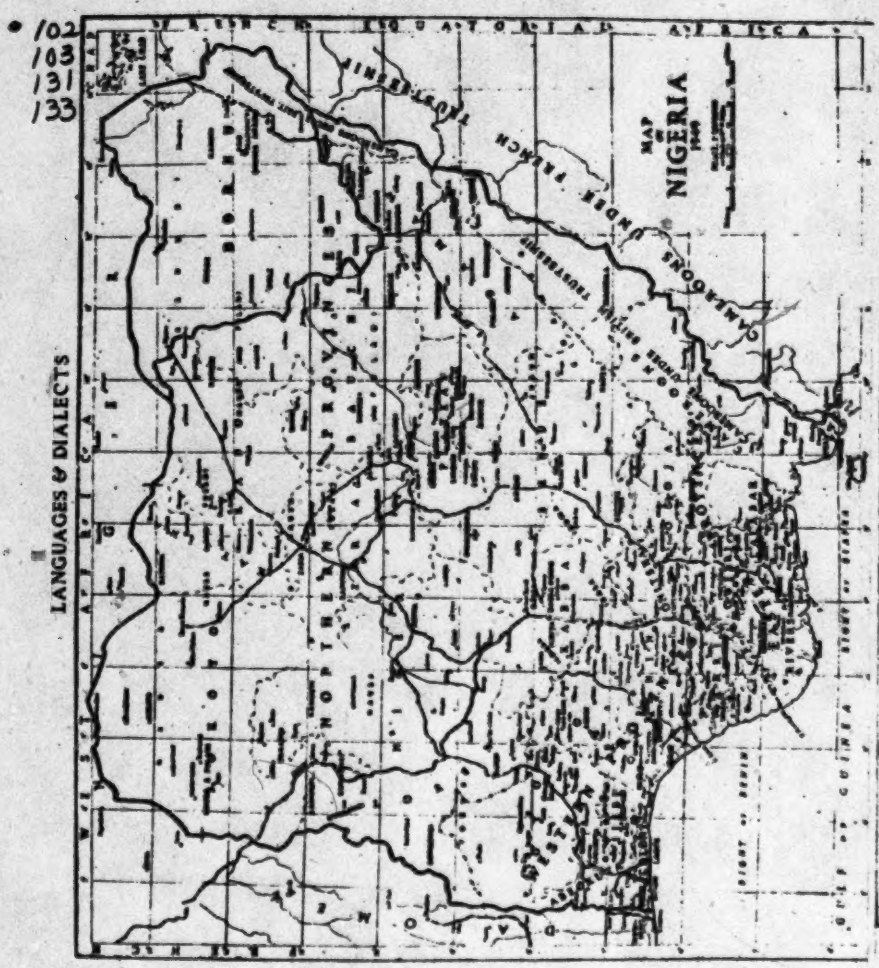

Figure 1 - Map of Nigeria

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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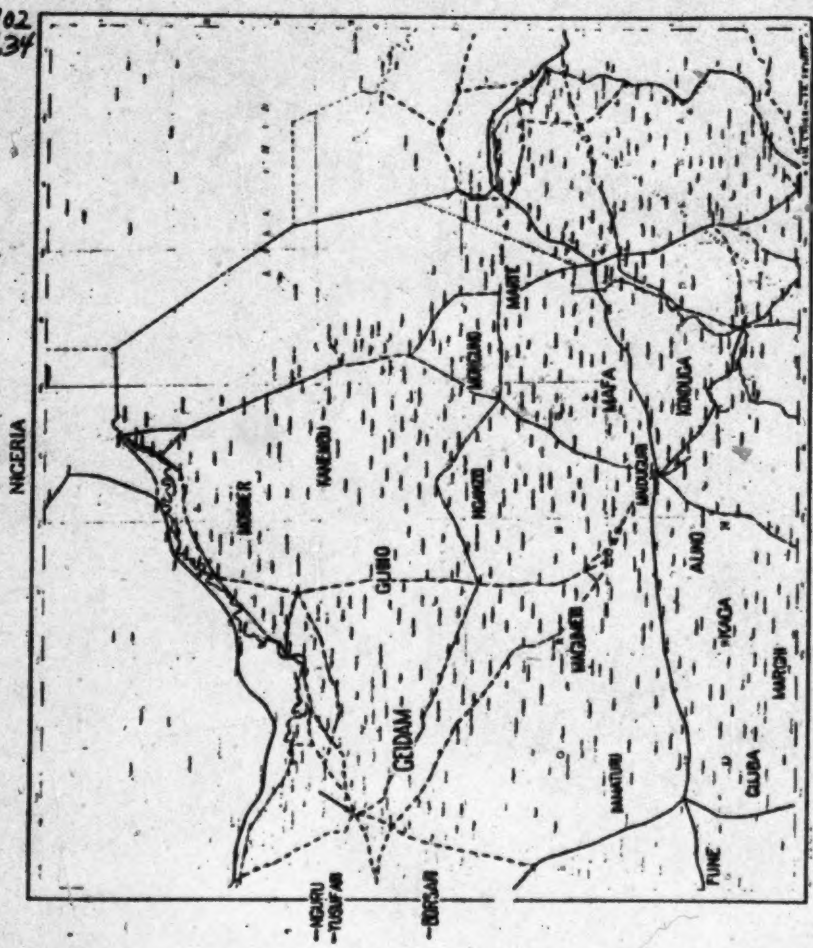

Figure 2 - Map of Bornu Province, showing the districts.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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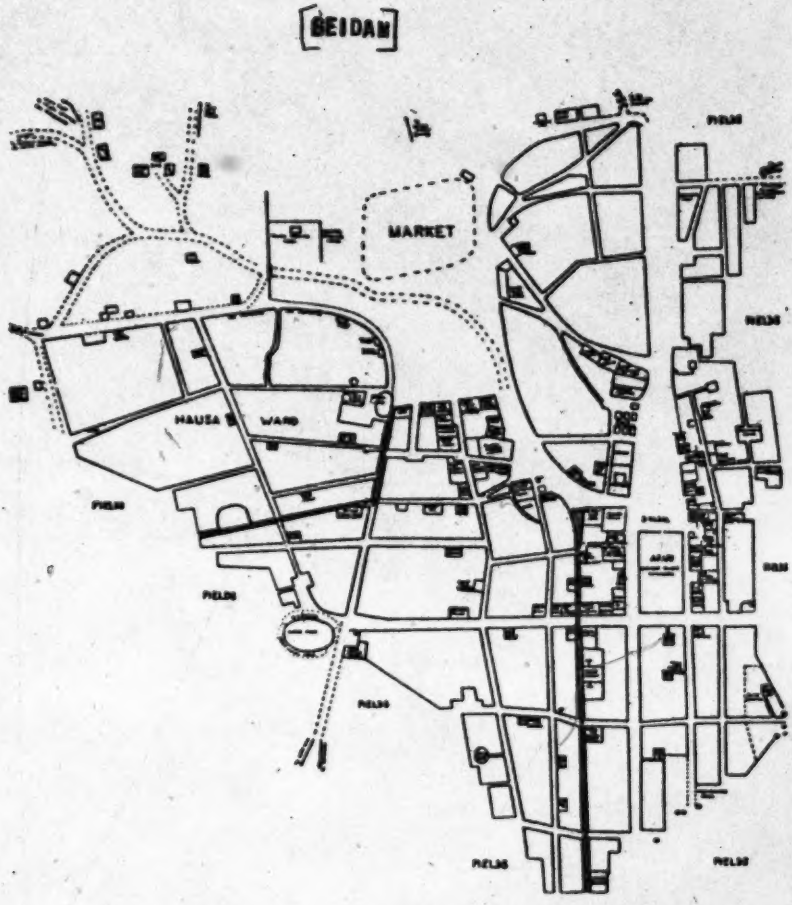

Figure 3 - Map of the town of Geidam.

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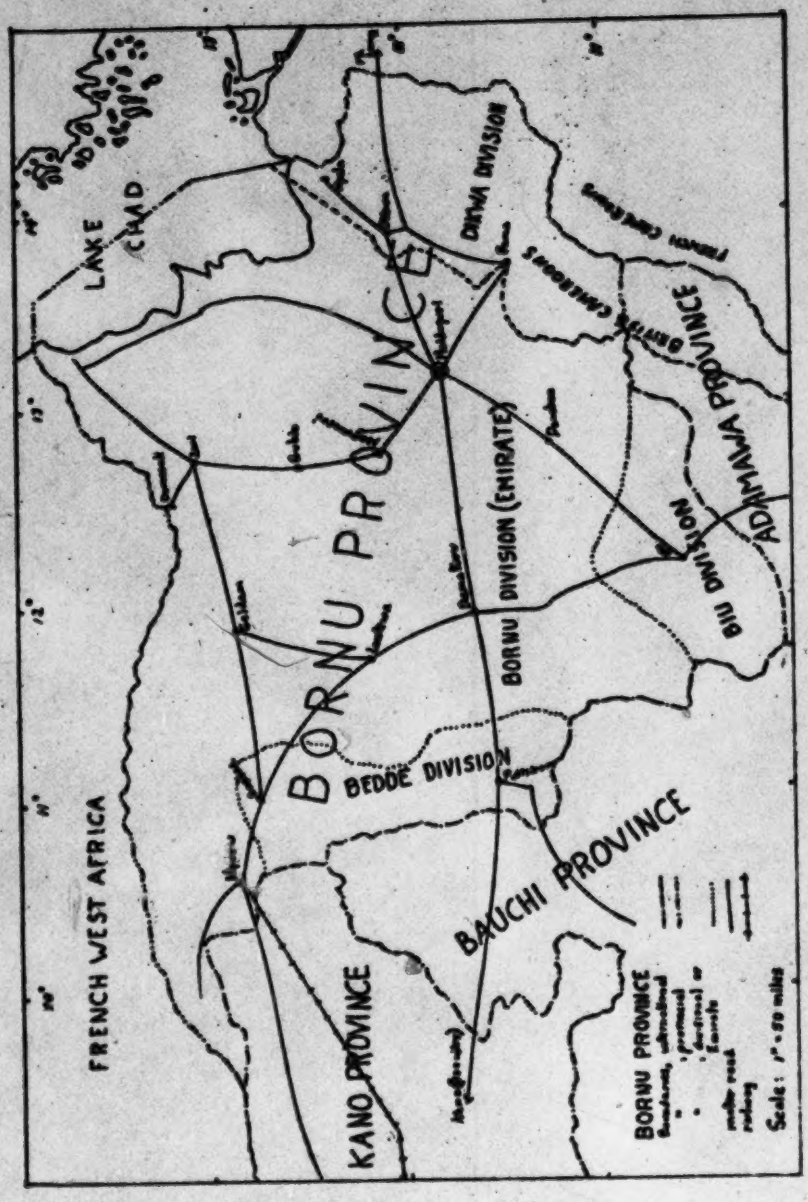

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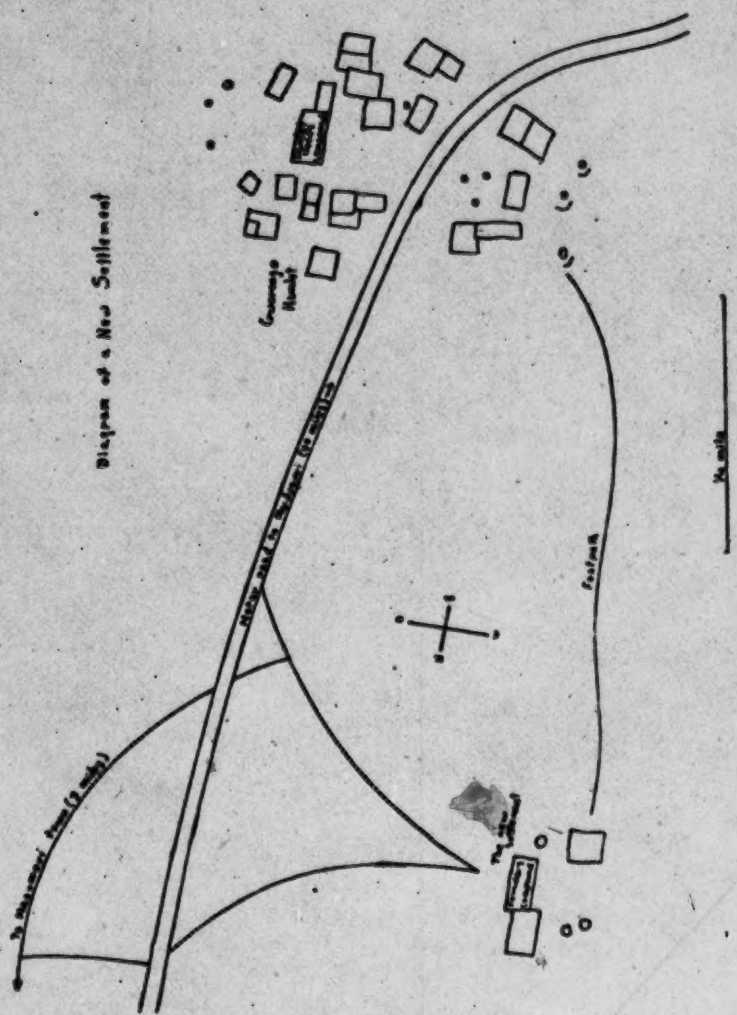
Diagram of a New Settlement



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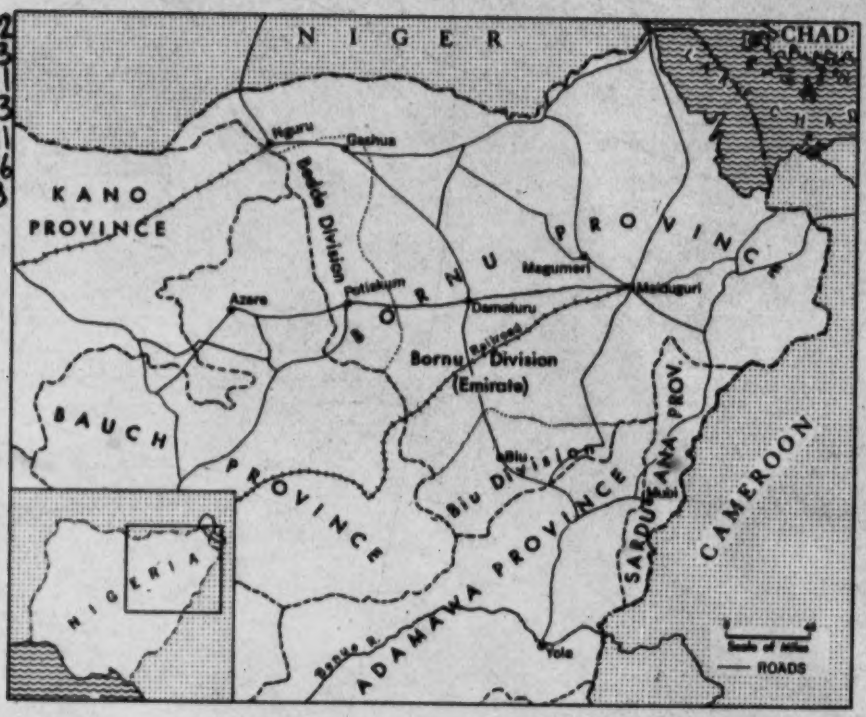

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He
443 often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other
43 farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better
price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a
[455] "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering
443 are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a cal-
445 abash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are
[192] held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as an-
[103] other name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What mar-
kets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week
[196] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium
443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you
484 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one
438 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
[578] are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
[627] outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
[692] in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
[103] either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
[651] present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
622 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
159 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
62 that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
[627] tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not ac-
[692] cepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
[592] named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
[571] brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these com-
[651] pounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always
[692] consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
[592] sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

632
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622 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such
[633] as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] • [368]

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

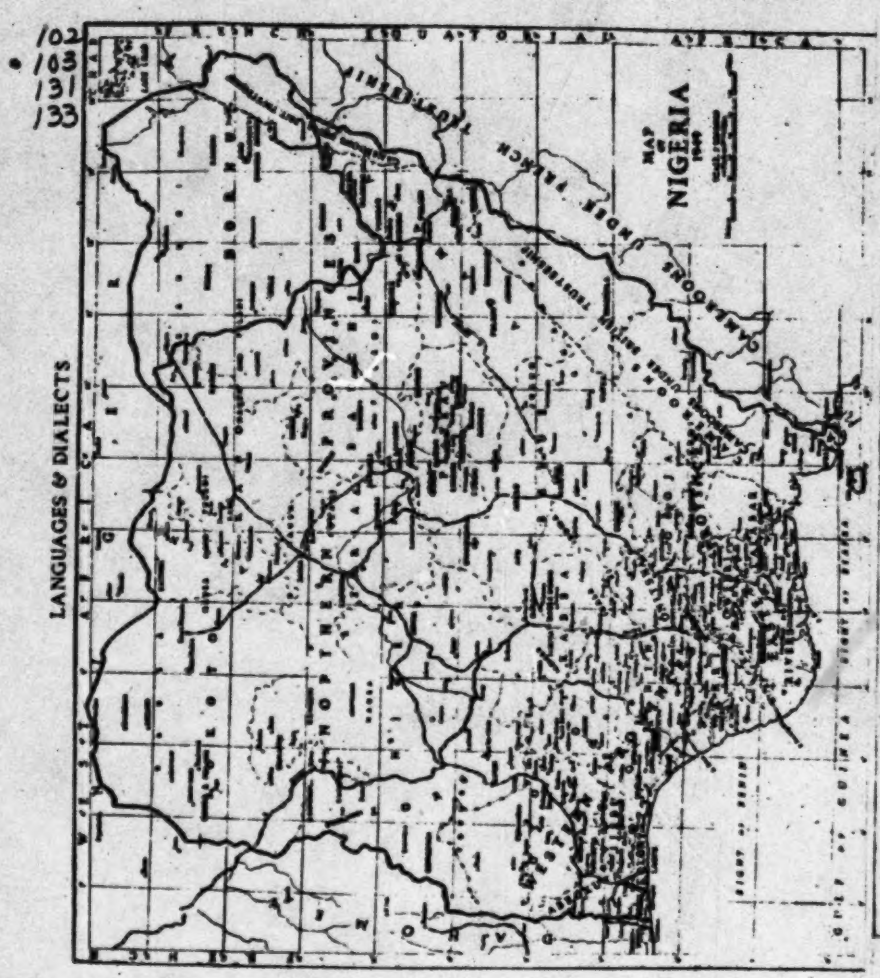

Figure 1 - Map of Nigeria

his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to replace him with one of his own men.

The kabuna represent a special category in the administration of the district. The colonial administration makes no provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town called Damjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

[GEIDAM]

175 was an old town called Geidam Balara, from which the town today
• [103] takes its name. In the eighteenth century, when the capital
of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo not far off, Geidam was part
of the Mai's lands. Later, when Kukawa became the capital,
and the Mais were replaced by the Shehus, Geidam became part
175 of the fief granted to the Imam. Since Geidam District is
634 very large, it was divided among a number of chimas. The town
[632] of Geidam (Dəmjeri and Geidam Balara, at that time) was controlled by Kazella Ibrahim Geidama, a slave of the Imam who served as chima gana (literally little chima--serving the real chima who lived in the capital). Geidam was a kaiyari, an area under the authority of a slave.

The first Ajia of Geidam, in the early years of the twentieth century was Kazella Sulama, a slave of the Shehu's. He was followed by Aba Rafəgə, a son of Shehu Ibrahim, who served
[645] as Ajia of Geidam until his death in 1915. Maiduguri had not yet been built and the Mounted Infantry, along with many Europeans, were stationed in Geidam. Aba Rafəgə was the most important of the Ajias at that time. Kazella Kakami (Kaigama) then became the Ajia of Geidam, where he served for almost thirty years until his death in January, 1944. Kaigama Kakami was the son of Kaigama Bilel, the commander of the army during the days of Shehu Laminu. His son, Kaigama Zubairu, succeeded to the title of Kaigama and to the office of Ajia of Geidam. Kaigama Zubairu remained Ajia of Geidam for ten years, until he was demoted to a smaller district, Dəmboa, in 1954. In 1954 Yerima

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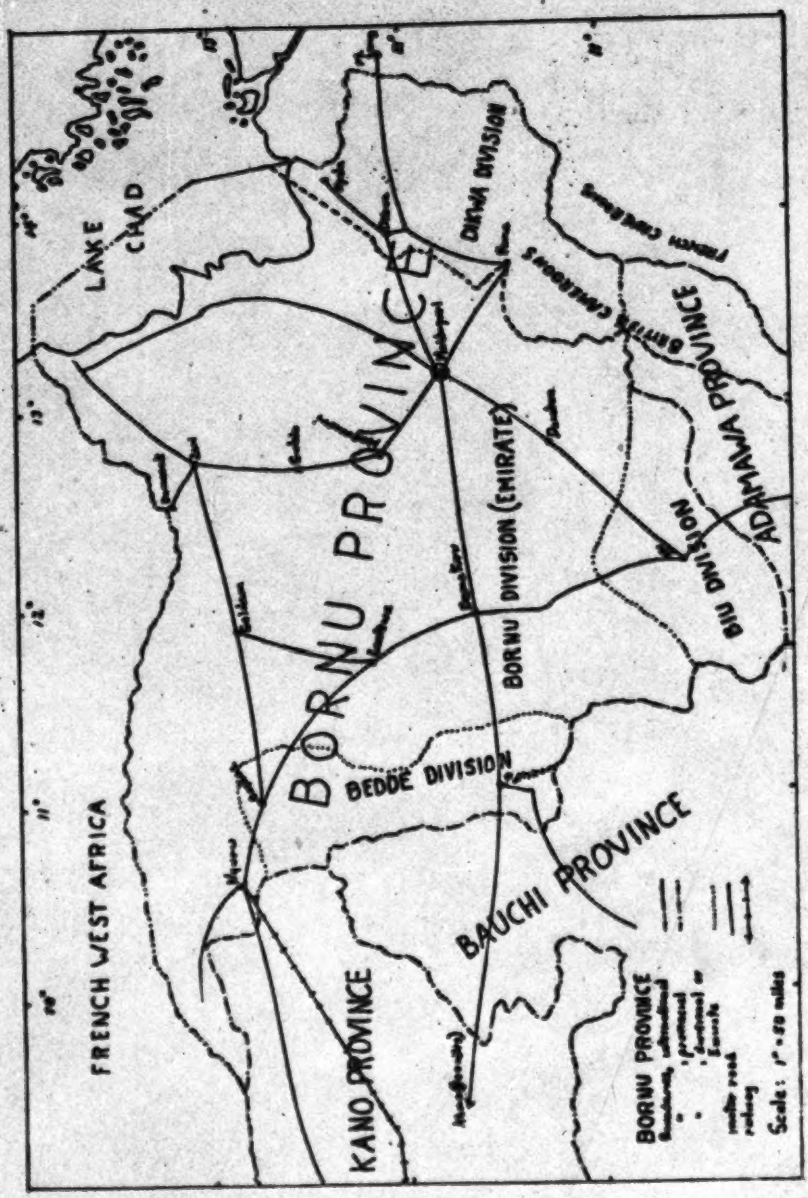

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• 103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road, Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

361 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a
621 U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
000 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

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However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajidami (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly [103] in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Ye [361] (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damasak and Geidam, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province. [648] His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north- [721] east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire 175 of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portugese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe sometime around the beginning of the 17th century.(1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of Timbuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.(2)

[721] When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have 174 fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.
(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara, London, 1933, p. 73

175 721 to Bello and complained that violence was being used for political aggrandizement, not religious conversion. Bello replied that the attacks were justified because of the oppression of the Fulani in Bornu, and the heathen practices of the Kanuri people, and because of aid given by Bornu to Kano and Katsina to resist the holy war.

Between 1809 and 1811 the capital fell again to the Fulani and was retaken a second time by Laminu for the Kanuri, but it was abandoned from this time forward as the center of the Bornu state. The results 175 178 of these few years were cataclysmic for the history of Bornu. The Fulani 727 -643 invasion was halted, although the western vassals were now under the sovereignty of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto. Bornu had survived the Jihad (holy war), but at the cost of her famous capital of Birni Gazargamo, and the loss of a dynasty of rulers, the Magumi Sefuwa, who had retained the monarchy for 1000 years. For in appealing to Laminu for help, the Kanuri Mai triggered off the beginning of his and his family's end as the effective monarchs of Bornu, meanwhile initiating the beginning of the Kanembu dynasty which sits on the Bornu throne today.

175 643 The traditional Mai set up a new capital, called Kafela (open place) near the present town of Monguno, and Laminu resided for a while at • [103] [361] nearby Ngomo on the shores of Chad. However the constant threat of inundation from the Lake forced him to move his headquarters further inland to [721] Kuka which became the 19th century center of the Bornu state. Ruling from behind the scenes, with the Mai still on the throne as a puppet, Laminu tried to re-consolidate the kingdom from 1820-35, by recapturing the western vassals, and even at one point (1826) by menacing Kano. It was during this period that Denham and Clapperton visited Bornu and in their publications we have a good record of the contemporary court life and politics of the kingdom, as well as some glimpses into the nature of everyday life in

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
[792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[105] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

556 565 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1)
829 The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be
369 a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic
[166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban
[103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var-
[241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

abba -- nickname meaning father, indicating child has been named after a grandparent.

abba gana -- small father; the nickname of many Kanuri boys named after their grandfather.

abba njima -- designation used by unmarried adult males for the head of the household, (a non-kin), in which they reside; it indicates the status of patron in their client-patron relationship.

ajia -- title of district head; appointed by the shehu, he is the senior among the chima gana (junior lords).

alkali -- a district judge.

aman -- the trust that exists between persons who stand in a client-patron relationship.

ashirmanza -- "secrets man", the person in whom one confides and is intimate; often a sibling or cousin of the same sex.

banji -- the belief that a woman can be pregnant for months or even years beyond the nine month gestation period, but that the fetus will just not emerge.

barzum -- an interpersonal relationship established between a senior and junior male, modelled after the father-son relationship, and in which discipline, respect, and reciprocal support are involved.

bullama -- the village head; appointed by the junior lord, he is frequently a patrilineal descendant of the village founder.

chima gana -- junior lord; in nineteenth century Bornu he administered a fief for the big lord, the fief holder, who resided in the capital; was the highest authority residing in the fief.

chima kura -- "the big lord"; holder of a fief in nineteenth century Bornu, he was appointed directly by the monarch, the shehu, and resided in the capital.

chiroma -- the prince who was heir-apparent to the throne in pre-nineteenth century Bornu.

drupa -- imported herb believed to induce fertility in women.

dur -- kinship term meaning family; applicable to either father's or mother's side.

galidima -- title of a high ranking nobleman who controlled a set of villages on the western boundary of pre-nineteenth century Bornu; he protected east-west trade and the western approach to the capital city of Galidima.

gworongo -- a plant grown as a special crop and used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic; is also the name of a small hamlet.

jihad -- a holy war.

jili -- "variety" or "kind"; defines one's ethnic background or lineage; a separate fief division encompassing nomadic groups not strictly within a territorial jurisdiction.

kachella -- military rank; powerful leaders of armed regiments with their own followers, in nineteenth century Bornu.

koguna -- the nobility in pre-nineteenth century Bornu.

kwando -- a large rope-wrapped package of nuts.

kwororam -- part of bride price; small gifts to prospective bride or her relatives.

lawan -- the head of a village area or a city ward.
luwali -- the male who retains control over the selection of a girl's spouse.
luwaliram -- a bridewealth payment made to the luwali.
magumi sefuwa -- the highest status clan in the Bornu kingdom around 1500 A.D. when the new state of Kanem was established; the highest lineage in the clan held royal power.
mai -- king; the head of the early Bornu state (1500 A.D.)
mai-mai -- complex form of play (no longer prevalent) in which children put on a pageant.
mbarma -- the head of a new hamlet or village sub-section which emerged as a satellite community.
mallams -- a male who is a koranic teacher-priest.
nungu -- "shame-avoidance" relationship; a relationship in which the junior (e.g. a son) behaves in a manner that is formal, reserved, subservient to the senior (e.g. the father)
purdah -- the confinement of wives to within the household.
rashidi -- the ideal traits of a mature adult male.
sada'u -- small fee given to girl's family on morning of wedding day.
shehu -- head of state; the monarch of Bornu.
So -- designation for the pagan group within the state of Kanem around 1450-1550 who were conquered and absorbed by the Magumi, making up part of the ancestry of the present day Kanuri.

suli -- the pattern of joking approved in certain culturally defined relationships, such as between a grandchild and grandparent.
tada njima -- (son of the house); the client in the client-patron relationship between a single adult male and the head of the household in which he resides.
talba -- title of the chief judge and religious leader who is knowledgeable in the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence.
tiful -- the designation for an infant from birth until eighteen months of age.
ujim suri -- the designation for a young female who has been divorced during the first years of her marriage and is beginning to become a woman but is not yet considered to have attained full adulthood.
wakil -- among the followers of the lawan the one who has the highest status.
waladi -- the followers of a lawan; they reside in or near his compound.
waziri -- chief minister; chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council.
zairo -- a young bachelor.
zower -- a divorced woman.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bar-zum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

104

Glossary of Kanuri words cited in the text

aba - father

abagana - father's younger brother

abakura - father's older brother

adim (Ar.) - eunuch

ajari - dwelling place of the District Head (Ajia).

Ajia - District Head; Appointed Kanuri official governing a district of Bornu Province.

alewa - candy

algator - traditional Kanuri reed instrument

Alhaji (Ar.) - one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca

Alkali (Ar.) - judge

"Allah Ngubero" (in full: Allah nyiro ngubero gonanza - "May Allah keep you for a long time!") - traditional deferential phrase said to someone of higher status

alo (Ar.) - wooden writing board on which Koranic verses are written. The term is also used for medicine made of the ink in which Koranic verses were written.

Ardo - Fulani lineage head

ashem (Ar.) - fast

bakama - retail seller of kola nuts

balosma - tradesman who buys goods on credit in one place, sells his goods elsewhere, and then pays back his debt

baru - smallpox

bati - spoiled; deflowered; no longer a virgin

bawa - farher's sister

104 bəji - finely woven reed mat for sitting and sleeping purposes

bəlam - porridge made of millet and soured milk

bəri - porridge, usually made of millet flour; the standard Kanuri food

bərzəm - respect

"Bismillahi" (Ar.) - "In the name of Allah"; uttered before any undertaking

boye - jealousy towards a former spouse

Bulama - hamlet head

bur - black wooden bowl from which one eats; made by Shuwa Arabs

chibuna - namesake; the individual for whom a child is named is his chibuna, a reciprocal term

Chima - the feudal fief-holder in pre-British times. The chima lived in the capital.

Chima Gana - representative of the Chima who actually lives on the land and sees to its affairs

chinna - door or gateway to a compound

chir - concubine; female slave taken into the household of her master

dandal - central plaza in a Kanuri town on which the compound of the village or district head faces

dareja (Ar.) - respect (also - bərzəm)

dəla - a final state of divorce where reconciliation is no longer possible

dilel - commission

dilelma - one who arranges a sale and takes a share of the sale price

• 104 Duar (Ar.) - the second prayer time; about 2 PM

dur - family; relatives

dur bube - family through blood; kin related through one's father

dur chambe - family through milk; kin related through one's mother

fatorongabe - levirate

fato - house

fatoma - a tradesman who arranges sales while the prospective seller remains lodged at the house of the fatoma

fale - blossom of the tobacco plant, used by women for staining teeth

farak - open communal area of the compound

fatkema - seller of traditional sundries in the market-place

fugu - hymen

fugurum - payment at marriage for loss of virginity

gawi - slave without a master

Gonyi - a Malam who has learned the Koran by heart

goro - kola nut

goroma - wholesaler of kola nuts

gursu (Ar.) - Maria Theresa Thaler

haj (Ar.) - pilgrimage to Mecca

haraji - property tax

haram (Ar.) - forbidden by Islamic law

jangali - tax on cattle

jili - kind, sort; nation, people, or kin group

jinn (Ar.) - spirit

joku - stingy, miserly

104 kabuna - mounted retainer of the Shehu or of an Ajia; "knights"

kafelo - present to a person of higher rank

kagala - title conferred by the Shehu

kalə yaskə - young girl who wears her hair as an adolexcent; a virgin

kalya - a slave

kalyari - a fief which is administered by the slave of a chima

kambe - free-born

kasugu (Ar.) - market

kəji - pleasant, agreeable, sweet

kəmanzə fatobe - owner of the house; master of the household

"kəmanyi" - "My lord", phrase said by a slave to his master

kəntuo - power, influence

kəntuoma - one having power- member of the nobility

kərami - younger brother; younger sister

kərdi - pagan; neither Moslem nor Christian

komadugu - river

kugui - chicken

kulle - keeping wives secluded

kulugu - man's long outer gown

kunjo - gift

kususu - a woman's closest friend

Ladan (Ar.) - muezzin, calls Moslems to prayer

laya (Ar.) - charm or amulet inscribed with verses from the Koran

Liman (Ar.) - Imam, one who leads prayers in the mosque

Liman Nguməribe - prayer leader on religious holidays

Liman Zəmabe - prayer leader at the Friday afternoon communal prayer

• 104 Lowan (Ar.) - village head

luwali (Ar.) - protector; the bride or bridegroom's representative

luwaliram - initial marriage payment

Mai - king in the days when the capital of the empire of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo

Malam (Ar.) - scholar of the Koran

məri - third payment in the bride-price

modulas - Shehu's council

murshe - a chir (concubine) who has been given her own house

nasara - European; white man

nasha - gift

nəmgəmtəm - one's lover, paramour

nəngima - one with whom one has a joking relationship

ngalwo - royalty

nguməri - religious festival

nguro - ward; quarter of a town

nogena - formal respect paid to a superior in status

nungu - shame

nungu ba - shameless, provocative, rude

rawa - mother's brother

riba - profit

ribama - tradesman who buys goods on credit, sells, and then pays his debt (same as baləsma)

risa (Ar.) - bribe

ro (Ar.) - soul

ro kura - false pride, arrogance

sabər - trade

104 sabərma - tradesman who buys in one place and sells elsewhere at a profit

sadaka (Ar.) - voluntary alms

sadak (Ar.) - The Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife

sallah (Ar.) - ritual prayer

səbdə - Saturday

sədagu - the Kanuri bride-price (see Sadak above), paid in addition to luwaliram

səgdi - coarse grass mat used for fencing a compound

sənasən - pancakes

Shahada (Ar.) - the confession of faith for all Moslems

Shehu (Ar.) - title for the ruler of the empire of Bornu, after the Sef dynasty of Mais was deposed; derived from "Sheikh"

Shehuri - palace of the Shehu

Shetima Kanuribe - title granted to the head of all Kanuri within the empire after the ascent of the Shehus.

sholo (Ar.) - arbitration of disputes

sugurumma - house slave in a position of trust; "keeper of the keys"

susana - a house slave

taborma - seller of imported sundry goods in the market-place

talaka - commoner; poor man

tajimi - prayer beads (Ar. - madua)

tata - son; boy

• 104 tata njima - "son of a household"; fictive kin term used for young men who are part of a large household

tuno - internal pain

Wakil (Ar.) - literally: representative; assistant to the Ajia and head of all his Kabuna

walidi (Ar.) - servant

wujira - commission

wushira (Ar.) - fee paid to the court by the winner of a case

ya chinta - father's wife (in the case of plural wives)

ya kura - mother's elder sister

yaga (or yagana) - elder brother; elder sister

yal - members of a household who are not part of the nuclear family of the household head

yangai - Kanuri trousers

yigana - mother's younger sister

zakat (Ar.) - tithe to support the church

zagasa - literally: narrow; the house area of each wife within the larger compound

Zama - Friday, the Moslem Sabbath

zogor - divorced woman, eligible for remarriage

128 is shown how these link together to form the segmentation of society into a two class system. Along with this description, changes and potential changes in the status system are pointed out. Political organization is then discussed from the point of view of the distribution of power and authority throughout the society as a whole. Changes produced by colonialism and Western contact in general are described and the adjustments to these are analyzed.

Finally, the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services in a changing culture are discussed and analyzed in order to show how the standard of living is related to the operation of Kanuri social structure. In addition, the distributive system is shown to be intimately related to other forms of social organization in the society as a whole.

The last chapter summarizes the findings and gives an analysis of the changes occurring in the Bornu today. This allows for a tentative statement concerning the future of the present social structure.

104 In the typed text, the letter ȣ is the phonetic ʊ and is pronounced as the oo in look or cook.

113 References to anthropological journals are as follows:

AA - American Anthropologist

SWJ - Southwest Journal of Anthropology

JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885
192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they become full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families, and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role produce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and finally ownership of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a

[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

in Magumeri died in the morning and was buried in the afternoon. The people explained this by saying that it was the hot season and he had died early in the morning. To wait until the next morning, they said, was too long and not good for the community. This was an oblique way of referring to the belief that the ghost of a dead man is dangerous especially to children until he is buried. 764 [775]

The ceremony itself is quite simple. The body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth and placed on a bier, and then taken out to the burial grounds by the men. Prayers are said continually and the family mourns officially for forty days by saying special prayers and remaining close to home. During the ceremony men remain impassive, quietly telling their beads and praying softly to themselves. Women, on the other hand, come in groups walking slowly in single file wailing and crying, especially if the deceased is a close neighbor, friend, or relative. If a man is needed for a short communication, a woman might stop wailing suddenly, talk in an ordinary voice, then just as quickly resume her keening. A few women at every funeral were observed who were much more totally involved and did not break up their wailing when asked to do something else. Sometimes these wails of the women become songs with words. This is less true at funerals of men where if it happens the song or chant says over and over again, "He was a good man." For a dead woman the words are also, "She was a good woman," but an added verse, especially if the dead woman was not very old, refers to the hard life of a woman and how long and unending are her chores. There is a definite implication here that the heavy burdens of womanhood can bring an early death. [782] [765] [761]

This, then is the Kanuri life cycle; it is adapted to Bornu society and the historical development of that society. The fact that the household is the major unit of social organization means that people of different ages are constantly in touch with one another. Even though those in all age groups have many friends of their own age, they associate freely and easily with people of all age groups within their household where membership crosses generation lines. This means that younger age groupings are constantly learning the ways of behaving and thinking of those older than themselves and almost automatically know how to act as they grow up. By contrast in many western societies interaction between generations is extremely difficult, and each generation seems to be developing an almost semi-separate culture whose intricacies must be learned after one has joined that particular age group. Because western schooling has not yet separated an entire generation from their parents, there is little room among the Kanuri for many discontinuities in learning, and therefore in hopes, fears, and aspirations on the part of each successive generation. Obviously this has produced and helps to maintain much of the stability in Kanuri society, and as such it is a key factor when we wish to ask questions about conditions of change in the entire society of Bornu. 105 182

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially 463
when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true reli-
gion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
[323] Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them cor-
[579] rect, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C.
and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us
here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and
eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian par-
ties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-
Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a
one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emi-
rate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There
are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until
January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern re-
gion was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the
former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this re-
gion between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be
represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these
have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more
modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within
this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and
political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals.
Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tra-
dition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it
has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

7

Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 121 182 592 829 44 571 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *bərzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 121 178 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[Introductory, p.iv]

ABSTRACT

Social Structure and Acculturation among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria

by Abraham Rosman

• 105 The Kanuri people are the dominant element of the population of Bornu Province, in northeastern Nigeria, bordering on Lake Chad. At one time the Kanuri had a powerful state, known as the Empire of Bornu. At the time that the field research for the present study was carried out (1956-1957), they were under British colonial rule. Since the beginning of this century Kanuri culture has been changing as a result of contact with the industrial West. The present study focuses on these changes, as they have been channeled through Kanuri social structure.

128 Chapter I provides the ethnographic and historical background for the material which follows. Chapter II describes the general features of Kanuri culture. Chapter III describes the community of Geidam in which the study was carried out. These chapters present the bread outlines of Kanuri culture and the social structure of an urban community, in order to provide a framework for the data on acculturation.

Chapter IV presents the theoretical orientation of the acculturation study, describes the sample of informants, and presents the measures of acculturation which were used. Three hypotheses concerning the relationship between social structure and acculturation are proposed.

The data on acculturation are derived from a questionnaire-interview which was given to forty-four informants, who are representative of eight distinct social categories in the Geidam community. Chapter V presents the analysis of these data. The final chapter, Chapter VI, discusses the data in the light of the hypotheses advanced earlier, and examines some of the theoretical implications of the findings.

Forty-seven tables and four figures are presented in the text, and a glossary of Kanuri words is provided.

177 563 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 105 177 The culture of a people never remains static; it is constantly changing in response to forces, both external and internal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 [01] At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957) Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

[BEIDAN]

121 tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The
184 Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy,
• [109] and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal
[364] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizantal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

Identification

The Kanuri (Beriberi, Kanoury), the dominant tribe of Bornu, belong to the Central Saharan linguistic stock. Schultze gives the principal Kanuric tribes as the Kanembu, Kanuri, Kagama, Koyam, Magumi (included among the Kanuri as the original Kanuri tribe), Manga, and Ngussan. Lavergne de Tressan gives them (with 1950 populations) as the Dogara (20, 000 in cercle of Goure, region of Koutoús), Beriberi (60, 000 in cercle of Zinder, many no longer speaking Kanuri but Hausa), Kanembu (including Kubiri and Tsugurti, with 5, 700 in A. O. F., many more in A. E. F.), Kanuri, Manga (40, 000), and Mober (17, 000). He gives the total population in French Niger in 1950 as 142, 000, plus 931, 000 in Nigeria in 1931. The total population of Bornu in 1911 was about 760, 000 on 150, 000 square miles. Urvoy (1942) reports 650, 000 Kanuri in Nigeria, of whom 350, 000 were in Bornu. Westermann (1952) gives the population of Kanem as 70, 000. A 1955 press dispatch gives the population of the Kanuri in Bornu as 1, 250, 000. The Kanuri are almost exclusively Moslems. The Sef dynasty, which lasted over a thousand years until 1846, was founded in the 8th century with its center in Kanem. Islam was introduced in the latter part of the 11th century. Kanem reached its apogee under Dunama Dibalami (1221-59), when his empire extended N to Fezzan, E to Wadai, and W to embrace some of the Hausa states. In the 14th century the Bulala occupied Kanem, and the king fled in 1380 to Kagha W of Lake Chad, transferring the center of the kingdom to Bornu, where it stayed thereafter. King Idris Alowa (1571-1603) obtained firearms from the Turks of Tunisia. With them he conquered the Asben Tuareg of Air, the Hausa state of Kano, and in the S the Musgu, Kotoko, Margi, Mandara, and Ngizim. In the 17th century Bagirmi also became tributary to Bornu. The Fulani began to infiltrate Bornu in the latter part of the 18th century, and Bagirmi conquered part of Kanem. In 1809 the Fulani from Nigeria attempted to conquer Bornu, but were defeated. In 1814 the capital was transferred to Kuka. Bornu was defeated by Wadai in 1846, bringing the Sef dynasty to a close. After a disturbed period the country was conquered by Rabeh, a Negro adventurer from Sennar in the Fung country, who had been lieutenant to a famous Arab slave raider, Zubeir. Rather than submit to the British leader, Gordon, he took a few followers and marched west. He subjugated Dar Banda, then Dar Runga, then Dar Kuti, and then Bagirmi. He defeated Wadai in battle but was unable to hold this country. In

1894 he captured Kuka, the capital of Bornu, and destroyed it. He established his capital at Diboa, from which he ruled an empire extended from Darfur to W of Lake Chad. His policy was one of complete depredation. He was finally defeated and killed by the French in 1898. The British arrived in 1902, and divided Bornu with the Germans, the latter taking the Chad section.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with hoe (not plow) cultivation, some irrigation (especially of gardens and wheat), and a very little use of animal manure. The staple crops are millet (Pennisetum typhoideum) and sorghum (Sorghum vulgare), but maize (Zea mays), peanuts (Arachis hypogaea), earth peas (Voandzeia subterranea), cow peas (Vigna sinensis), sesame, hyacinth beans (Dolichos lubia and D. lablab), cotton, and tobacco. Of lesser importance are mungo beans (Phaseolus mungo), pumpkins, cucumbers, gourds, melons, manioc, wheat (introduced in 18th century), barley (recent), peppers, okra, onions, tomatoes, cress (Lepidium sativum), papayas, indigo, and henna. Very small amounts of rice, date palms (do not bear), limes (introduced by the Arabs), taro, yams, and sweet potatoes (the last three fairly recent importations from the south) are also grown. The most important domestic animals are cattle of a humped breed (said to be of Egyptian rather than Indian origin); they are used for meat, milk and butter, riding and burden. Also kept are a fair number of sheep and goats, horses (said to have been introduced 800 years ago), donkeys (but no mules), camels (owned by chiefs and caravan merchants only), chickens, dogs, and some pigeons and Muscovy ducks. Bees are not kept. There is little hunting, but fishing is important on the rivers, and there is much gathering of wild rice (Oryza punctata), honey, grasshoppers (relished as food), and (especially in famine times) the seeds of various wild grasses. There are numerous markets--small daily ones and large weekly ones. Caravans ply to and from Lake Chad and the Niger country, carrying natron from the NE; cotton fabrics, leather goods, and kola nuts from the Niger country, and also salt, tobacco, European articles, dried fish, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves.

Sex Division of Labor

Both sexes engage in agricultural work. Women milk cows, make butter, and trade in the markets. Domestic animals are tended mainly by male slaves.

Property

Cowrie shells, Maria Theresa dollars, and strips of cotton cloth (c. 3 inches wide and a yard or more in length) formerly served as currency. Individuals hold heritable usufruct rights in land.

Land rights are patrilineally inherited--by sons.

Social Stratification

There is marked social differentiation into royalty, nobility, wealthy people, ordinary freemen, and slaves (including "halbfreie"). There are varied craftsmen.

Marriage

Virginity is demanded and tested. Marriage entails a bride-price in money, made in three payments: (1) on asking for a girl's hand, (2) an intermediate one of twice as much, and (3) a final payment on the wedding day, amounting to the price of a slave. The amount is substantially reduced for a marriage with a first cousin. Occasionally a man gives a daughter, without a bride-price, to a pious man, paying all the wedding costs himself. Marriage customs identical with Kanembu.

Polygyny is permitted and common. On taking a second wife, the husband gives his first wife a payment equal to that of the initial installment of the bride-price.

Family

The residential group is inferentially a polygynous family.

Residence

The patrilocal rule prevails.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriages with a first cousin are common, since the bride-price is reduced.

The old "clan system" (presumably patrilineal) disintegrated in the late 19th century under the disturbed conditions of Rabeh's reign.

Kinship Terminology (from Barth; B from Burckhardt; L from Lukas)

Fa--aba, avá (L), abak (B). Mo--ya, yâ (L), yany (B). So, SpSo--tata, tátà (L), tata (B). Da--fero, férò (L), pyro (B). ElBr, ElSi--yaya, yǎa (L). YoBr, YoSi-- kerami, kerāmy (B), kərámi (L). Br, Si--yâgàna

(L). Hu--koawa, kwâ (L). Wi--kamo. Co-wife--cémi (L). Stepmother--andi (L), yâ cintà (L). Stepfather-- avá cintà.

FaElBr--aba kura, avákura (L), babany (B). FaYoBr--aba gana, avaganá (L), babany (B). MoBr--raba, rávà (L), rabbany (B). FaSi--baba, bávà (L). MoElSi--yakùra (L). MoYoSi--yena (aunt), yigɔna (L). GrFa, GrMo--kaga, kagá (L). GrMo--mako. GrFa--kagany (B). GrCh--digo. Niece--fero aba gana. Father-in-law, son-in-law--kisai koa, kɔsainyi kwayga (L). Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law--kisai kamo, kɔsainyi kámin. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law--tigù (L).

Cousin--tata aba gana, gagansytilo (B).

Settlement Pattern

There are walled towns, of which the largest, Kuka the capital had an estimated 50, 000 to 60, 000 inhabitants in 1879. Urban dwellings are commonly rectangular with thick walls of sun-dried brick or mud (sometimes surmounted by turrets) and flat roofs of earth mixed with dung; they are sometimes two stories in height. The prevailing house type, however, is a round hut with walls of mud or of wooden posts covered with matting and with conical roofs thatched with straw; they are usually grouped in compounds surrounded by mud walls.

Local Government

There are local headmen.

State

Bornu was formerly a feudal state with an absolute monarch ruling through hereditary provincial governors. The king maintained an elaborate court at the capital town of Kuka. Nachtigal denies the institutions of queen-mother and queen-sister, but Westermann specifies a Magira or Queen-Mother (not necessarily the actual mother of the king), the Magaram or Queen-Sister (the eldest sister of the ruler and the second ranking woman of the land), and the Gumsa or ranking Queen. Eunuchs, in charge of the king's wives and of royal princes and princesses, exerted great influence. The king was assisted by an advisory council which met daily. It consisted of titled officials, often slaves, of whom the great council consisted of the first eight of the 22 listed below:

1. The Kaigama or military commander-in-chief, of slave origin;
2. The Yerima or heir-apparent, a son or brother of the ruler;

3. The Chiroma, freeborn representative of the Kanuri tribe and a provincial governor;
4. The Jerma, the ruler's personal bodyguard, a slave;
5. The Galadima, the prime minister and a provincial governor;
6. The Chitima Beluma, the collector of taxes, a freeman;
7. The Hirima, governor of the Magumi;
8. The Yuruma, governor of the Koyam;
9. The Digma, the royal scribe, a slave;
10. The Zigibada, the king's messenger, a slave;
11. The Ardshinoma, the assistant commander-in-chief, a slave;
12. The Fugoma, the governor of the capital city, a slave;
13. The Zentaina, the third-ranking war leader, the ElSo of king's ElSi;
14. The Kazelma, the commander of the Tuareg outposts;
15. The Kagustema, a district chief;
16. The Bagarima, a district chief;
17. The Medela, the royal inspector-general, a freeman who traveled through the country reporting annually to the ruler on the state of agriculture, industry, and government;
18. The Mainta, the commissary in charge of the royal grain, a slave;
19. The Makinta, the commissary in charge of the king's fuel, fish, and vegetables;
20. The Sintelma, the commissary in charge of the king's butter, honey, and meat; the last three were slaves;
21. The Fergima, a district chief;
22. The Mulima, the groom in charge of the ruler's horses, a slave.

Warfare

The state of Bornu was constantly involved in foreign wars. In Nachtigal's time it maintained a standing army of about 7,000.

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1: Cohen, Ronald. The Kanuri of Bornu. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967.

Pp. x, 115; 2 plates (4 photographs); 1 map.

Yale: Nkd81 K139 967C. DLC: DT515.42.C6. DLC card no.: 67-11751.

/In this monograph the author focuses upon several selected aspects of Kanuri society which reveal a distinctive and patterned set of social relationships underlying and integrating the prime institutional areas of Kanuri life. The Kanuri household is shown as the basic social structure in which the pattern of superior/subordinate social relationships are established. Cohen's analysis of the economic life, as well as the Kanuri political structure, emphasizes the interrelation of these areas with the basic household unit. The interpersonal relationships characterizing family life and the household also permeate these other areas. The study is enhanced by the frequent description of individual cases. Separate chapters are devoted to the family and the household, the life cycle, economic life, and the political organization. His limitation of the study to these few areas is discussed in the concluding section. Important areas which are omitted, or merely mentioned in passing, include: religion and Islamic ceremonial life, the belief system of the Kanuri and modal personality traits. The author, an American anthropolgist, conducted field work in Bornu for twenty-six months. He made use of participant observation, interviewing, questionnaires, and historical archives. Cohen spoke the Kanuri language and was aided in the field work by his wife and by trained Kanuri assistants. The first

1: Cohen

chapter contains a brief but useful description of his field experience and his own orientation in ethnographic theory. One chapter is devoted to the many centuries of Bornu history and provides the background for cultural traits which persist to the present day. The persistence of some traditional social modes despite modern trends and political change is discussed. /

Field date: 1956-1965
Analyst: Irving Rosenthal

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1970

2: Rosman, Abraham. Social structure and acculturation among the Kanuri of northern Nigeria. Doctoral dissertation in anthropology submitted to Yale University in 1962. University Microfilms Publications, no. 66-2677. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1966.

5, 379 l.: 47 text figures; 4 tables.

HRAF copy.

[This doctoral dissertation examines the issue of acculturation. In it the author explores the question: How does acculturation differ among differing groups in an urban community? He describes Kanuri social structure and focuses on how it guides and directs acculturation. His independent variable, the social structure, is however itself undergoing change concurrently, and this is the author's second theme. Thirdly, he examines the mechanism whereby the existing Kanuri social structure retains its essential integration, during the ongoing process of change. To provide a background for exploring the above issues in acculturation, the author first describes the general features of Kanuri culture. Thus, the first half of this work includes discussion of the Kanuri economy, the political organization, religion, and Kanuri social organization, beginning with the family, the distinctive Kanuri household, and the kinship system. Special attention is paid to the system of social stratification. This study of the Kanuri of Bornu, a province in northeastern Nigeria, has two primary aspects: 1) A community study of a large town in Bornu; and, 2), presentation and analysis of data concerning the extent of acculturation in a sample of 44 Kanuri. There is a lengthy and sound presentation of

2: Rosman

the theoretical issues underlying the author's approach to the process of acculturation. A preponderance of the material is based on Rosman's one year of field research. The author and his wife, a trained psychologist, employed participant observation, questionnaires, and intensive interview of 44 Kanuri adults, on whom he offers extensive data based upon an instrument he devised to measure acculturation. Material on the history of the Kanuri is very meager. (A very adequate coverage of Kanuri history can be found in source 1: Cohen, Ronald, MS14 Kanuri.) A weakness in his methodology (the procedure in selecting the sample) is discussed and held by the author to be minimal. This aspect of the study, along with the size of some of the groups in his sample, warrants further scrutiny.]

Field date: 1956-1957
Analysts: Irving Rosenthal, marker
Helen Gunsher Bornstein, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1970-1972

M514 Kanuri--1-2

St Cohen, Ronald. The structure of Kanuri society. Dissertation (Anthropology) -- University of Wisconsin, 1960. University Microfilms Microfilm 60-986. Ann Arbor, University microfilms, 1960.

16, 361 l.; 8 charts and diagrams; 19 tables; 1 map; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[This is the author's Ph. D. dissertation in anthropology submitted to the University of Wisconsin. It contains a good, detailed analysis of Kanuri social organization focusing on the sociopolitical system. Cohen shows how the patterning of interpersonal relations at the kinship-marriage-family-household level carries over into the wider-scaled structures of economic and political organization, and social stratification. The basic objective of this study is to provide a description and explanation of trends of social change, conceptualized in terms of stability and instability in the social system. The major hypothesis generated through this analysis is that the stability of the Kanuri social system is based on the processes whereby "the society is cross linked by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors" (p. 353). Thus any weakening or disruption of these cross linkages would result in instability and further social change. This interpretation is said to be in line with Gluckman's theoretical position as set forth in his Custom and Conflict in Africa (1955).

3: Cohen, Ronald.

Certain categories of data are explicitly omitted by the author as irrelevant to his analysis. Among these is religion; yet it does seem strange that in a Muslim society various ritual roles, groups, and categories would not be integrally involved in the system of sociopolitical relations.

Cohen, accompanied by his wife, did most of his field work in the village of Magumeri (population ca. 2,000), and in the surrounding hamlets of the Magumeri village area. He also made a number of trips to the larger village of Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Finally, Cohen and his wife lived for the last three months of their research in Maiduguri, the capital of Bornu Emirate. After the first four months, according to Cohen, most of his research was conducted in the Kanuri language.

Cohen's concept of the "extended household organization" has been marked for category 621 since it denotes a unit composed of more than one household (in OCM terms), and thus may be viewed as a local subdivision of a community.]

Field date: 1956-1957
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé, marker
Sigrid Khera, checker

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-4, 5
Processed in 1969-1970

4: Cohen, Ronald. The success that failed: an experiment in culture change in Africa. Anthropologica, n.s., 3 (1961): 21-36. Ottawa, University of Ottawa, Canadian Research Center for Anthropology, 1961.

HRAF copy.

[In this brief article, the author analyzes the failure of an agricultural experiment which was designed to introduce a new type of fertilizer to Kanuri peasants. He points to the importance of studying the cultural and psychological context of innovation before attempting to introduce Western technology to underdeveloped areas of the world. The information is based on fieldwork carried out by the author between January, 1956 and August, 1957.]

Field date: 1956-1957
Analysts: Helen Gunsher Bornstein, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist - 5
Processen in 1972

Cohen, Ronald. Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria. American Anthropologist, 63 (1961): 1231-1249. Menasha, American Anthropological Association, 1961.

2 tables; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[The ethnographic data presented in this article are mostly derived from the author's doctoral dissertation which has been processed for this file; cf. 3: Cohen, category 116, especially pp. 99-147 concerning "Marriage Relations." The article is worthwhile reading, however, for the theoretical problem at which Cohen directs his analysis.]

Surveyed in 1969.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are available, then try for the best explanation knowing that new facts will very probably force a change in the historical picture you have created to best explain the facts. The greater the number of facts, the fewer the possible number of different historical interpretations that can be applied to any particular case. With these rules in mind let us examine briefly what facts are at hand to help us with Kanuri origins.

First of all we have the Kanuri legends themselves which state that they came originally from Yemen—a legend they share with most of the Muslim people of the western Sudan. Let us call this the local theory and come back to it after considering other available facts. Subsistence farming and cattle keeping came into the area of the central and western Sahara about 5000 years ago, as evidenced by a number of archaeological sites in the area. At that time the Tibesti region north of Lake Chad was much wetter and the lake itself was enormous. It stretched well into the Sahara desert, especially into a region just south of the Tibesti known as the Bodele depression, which even today is well below the present level of Lake Chad itself. People settled in this region and utilized both domesticated plants and animals for their basic means of subsistence. Since that time, however, there has been a steady desiccation of the central Sahara which has dried up the Tibesti and the Bodele depression while the water has retreated in a southwesterly direction towards the present site of Lake Chad. As late as 500 B.C. merchants from Carthage were voyaging to the Tibesti to trade with people who lived in a wet climate among crocodiles, hippopotami, and giraffes.[1] Certainly what evidence we have suggests a very ancient trade between the people of the entire Sahara and those of North Africa. This was much expanded by the introduction of the camel sometime in the first or second century A.D. which facilitated trade across much drier portions of desert and over much longer distances. If we add to this evidence the fact that the Kanuri language is related to the central Saharan group of languages—and these are as a group only very distantly related to all other African language families—then a picture or at least a theory begins to emerge.

The Neolithic agriculturalists in the southern Sahara were drawn further south between 1000 B.C. and 1000 A.D. as the waters of the desert began to recede southward.[2] As they moved southward they pulled the Saharan trade with them, and competition among groups in the Chad basin produced some differences in power and recognized status among clans who lived in the area. Leading lineages within these clans began to unite to govern the activities of clan members until finally the various clans formed loose federations with a leading clan and its leading lineage as the royal or kingly one.[3]

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[1] See Rhys Carpenter, "A Trans-Saharan Caravan Route in Herodotus," *Journal of American Archaeology*, Vol. 60, 1956, pp. 231–42.

[2] This process was also occurring in another area of "desert capture," the upper Niger bend where desert wet regions north of the river receded towards the south. The Niger itself bends into the Sahara, because like the Chad basin there are lowlands to the north of the great bend. Thus it is no accident that the Chad basin and the upper Niger bend have witnessed some of the earliest developments of centralized states in the western Sudan—they were the two areas into which the people of the desert could most naturally and easily move as desiccation proceeded.

[3] In his book on Bunyoro, John Beattie very concisely defines a lineage as "all the descendants in one line (that is, either through males only or through females only) of a particular person through a specified number of generations. It differs from a *clan* in that while usually all the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

173 Given the fact that very many of the Muslim peoples of West Africa have legends concerning their origins in the Near East and often more specifically in Yemen, we can, I believe, think of the local origin theory as a mythical genesis story that is part of a widespread cultural heritage of the Muslim people of West
174 Africa, likening it in this way to western stories about the Garden of Eden. On the other hand we do have "hard" linguistic evidence that the Kanuri people are related to peoples of the central Sahara northeast of Bornu. We also have very suggestive evidence from the geographic history that relates the people speaking these languages to one another and gives us grounds for positing immigration into the Chad basin and an increasing population density in the area. The exact details of this theory are matters for future research, but the major conclusion which places the origin of the Kanuri in the central Sahara seems to be a valid one.

At any rate, by the end of the first millennium A.D. the Muslim world outside the Sudan knew of the existence of Kanem, a sovereign state due south of Tripoli on the southern rim of the Sahara. Local traditions associated with the king lists (these have been collected periodically since 1850) assert that Islam came at least to the rulers of Kanem in the eleventh century. According to the traditions an eleventh-century Mai or king is supposed to have died in Egypt on his
175 way to Mecca. Certainly by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Kanem became a well-known state in the Islamic world. Trans-Saharan commerce was completely controlled, garrisons were built to protect the trade routes, and treaty relations were established with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis. In the mid-thirteenth century a travelers' house for Kanem pilgrims was constructed in Cairo so that they might have proper accommodation while on the long journey to Mecca via Egypt. At the other extreme of the Islamic world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was renowned in the court of El Mansur (1190–1214 A.D.) in Seville for his praise songs of the Sultan. This was a great period of Islamic civilization and Kanem played its part in that florescence.

175 From the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century a period of
648 dark ages befell the kingdom. This is sometimes referred to as "the time of troubles." The dynastic chronicles indicate this period by including a great many rulers all holding sway for very short periods. The kingdom seems to have become a tempestuous stage for civil wars within and continuous attack from without. A letter to Cairo from this period has turned up, sent by a Kanem ruler, asking that the Caliph of Egypt send word to Sudanese Arabs who were helping Wadai to the east of Kanem raid amongst the people of Kanem for slaves even though such actions are considered to be against the precepts of Islam, since one must not raid for slaves amongst other Muslim peoples.[4] The main source of trouble is supposed to have come from one particular group—the Bulala. These people were either an allied subordinate tribe or a clan whose leading lineage had split off from the Kanem royal line and had then grown in its independence and power until its leaders challenged the Kanem control of the kingdom.

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members of a lineage know exactly how they are related to all the other members of it, and together, they often form a corporate group, clan members may not be able to trace genealogical links with other clan members, and often clansfolk are widely dispersed." See John Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 3.

[113]

[4] See R. H. Palmer, *Bornu, Sahara, and Sudan*, (London: John Murray, 1936), p. 195.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ble, and these men maintained Bornu at an apogee of greatness until well into the
643 seventeenth century. One of these rulers, Idris Alooma, had a court scribe at the
[644] beginning of the seventeenth century, who wrote a number of accounts of his royal
[212] master's military expeditions. Luckily these have survived to give us a picture of Bornu warfare and government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, too, that Bornu was first mentioned on European maps, and from this time forward its fame became part of the legends of unknown kingdoms that lay inside the unexplored interior of Africa.

Bornu traditions claim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a decline in the power of the state. This is explained by the claim that the monarchy was becoming weak and overburdened with pomp, rituals, and religious study by the monarch. The ruling Mai appeared in public in a *fanadir*, or cage, which only his most trusted servants could approach and rarely led military expeditions himself. Much of this may be a reinterpretation of Bornu history by the second dynasty and their followers, who would naturally have played up the failures of the previous regime, when they took over in the nineteenth century. Contrarily
175 there are traditions of many successful military campaigns during this period and
648 Bornu's reputation as a great kingdom was still very widespread. Thus a wandering Englishman, Richard Tulley, who visited Tripoli at the end of the eighteenth century, spoke glowingly of what he had heard of Bornu's power. Parenthetically, he claimed that one of the Kanuri noblewomen living in Tripoli could speak the Italian language fluently.[6] On the other side of the case, Tuareg and Tubu raiders attacked the northern boundaries of Bornu and harassed the caravans with greater intensity than before.

The activities of these raiders are said to have increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is important to realize that the entire southern Sahara was a hotbed of unrest during this two hundred year period. In the 1590s the armies of El Mansur of Morocco finally managed to cross the Sahara and destroy the great empire of Songhai. Its cities of Timbuctu and Gau never again became the great emporia of trade, politics, and learning they had once been. The Moroccans could not establish, so far from home, any stable administrative organization capable of replacing the one they had destroyed. This suddenly released vassal groups in the Sahara, many of whom bordered on Bornu, and these were now free to raid, stimulate revolts, and pillage caravans, while their cousins to the west fought over the remains of the Songhai empire and the control of western trade
175 routes across the Sahara. It was during this same period of unrest that, all across
648 the Sudan, wandering holy men, especially nomadic Fulani of Futa Djallon in
668 Guinea, in Masina in the Upper Niger, and even in present day Nigeria, were expressing this disorder in religious terms. They preached through their leaders for a return to a truer and purer form of Islam. Often they claimed that those round them were pagans and had to be subdued in a holy war to reestablish Muslim order and law. It is in the light of all this turbulence that the so-called decline of Bornu
175 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should be seen. Elsewhere empires were
648 tottered or being formed, as in Futa Djallon; but Bornu remained, shaken perhaps by the general unrest of the period but still it survived, controlled its trade routes,

[6] R. Tulley, *Letters Written During a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli*, Vol. II, [113] (London: 1819), p. 51.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Recommended Reading

General Reading on the Culture Area

113 •

HODGKIN, T. L., 1960, *Nigerian Perspectives; An Historical Anthology*. London: Oxford University Press.

A useful introduction to many of the historical writings on Nigerian societies, especially the northern emirates. The author also synthesizes the material into a general historical summary of the western Sudan.

HOGBEN, S. J., 1930, *The Muhammadan Emirates of Northern Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press.

Brief summaries of the emirates of northern Nigeria and their place in the history of the western Sudan.

HOPEN, C. E., 1958, *The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu*. London: Oxford University Press.

A general account of Fulani family life in a semi-sedentary population to the west of Bornu.

MEEK, C. K., 1925, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press.

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128 is shown how these link together to form the segmentation of society into a two class system. Along with this description, changes and potential changes in the status system are pointed out. Political organization is then discussed from the point of view of the distribution of power and authority throughout the society as a whole. Changes produced by colonialism and Western contact in general are described and the adjustments to these are analyzed.

Finally, the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services in a changing culture are discussed and analyzed in order to show how the standard of living is related to the operation of Kanuri social structure. In addition, the distributive system is shown to be intimately related to other forms of social organization in the society as a whole.

The last chapter summarizes the findings and gives an analysis of the changes occurring in the Bornu today. This allows for a tentative statement concerning the future of the present social structure.

104 In the typed text, the letter ɔ is the phonetic ɔ and is pronounced as the oo in look or cook.

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own farm plot. This added to the general impression of the fertilizer as an intrusive item, and one which had no practical value under local conditions.

Conclusion

The human side of innovation has often been emphasized as being just as important as the technological. The Magumeri experience reiterates the fact that the social and psychological context of innovation requires careful analysis so that variables affecting innovation may be isolated and prepared for before any development programmes are put into action. If the place of social relations, as compared to technology, in farm production had been taken into account, the results of this experiment might well have been less disappointing. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that all technology is imbedded in a welter of cultural accretions. It is the responsibility of the innovator to isolate cultural characteristics of technology which are necessary to its successfull operation, from those which are simply there because of the cultural origins of the item. This is what lies at the root of flexibility as opposed to rigidity in the introduction of western technology to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

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Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Ronald Cohen received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Wisconsin in 1960. He has taught anthropology at the University of Toronto from 1958 to 1961, at McGill University from 1961 to 1963, and from 1963 to the present at Northwestern University where he is a member of the Program of African Studies and Associate Professor of Anthropology and Political Science. He has carried out fieldwork in Nigeria and in the Mackenzie Valley, Northwest Territories, Canada. He is interested in social and political change as well as problems of theory and method in the social sciences. Professor Cohen has published papers on aspects of Kanuri society and history, Athabascan culture change, and a number of theoretical and methodological problems in anthropology.

About the Book

This case study has a clear central focus. The author shows us how the various sectors of Kanuri social life build upon and interrelate to the basic unit of Kanuri society, the household organization. He claims the basic theory of their society is not his own but that of the Kanuri themselves as they have tried to explain their society to him. In doing so they continually refer back to the household. The household, or compound, is the basic political unit; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. The economic system is dependent upon the household, since the business of getting a living is organized within it, and households link together through their head men to form larger organizations for the produc-

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The fieldwork on which this book is based has been carried out in two periods: one in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Area Fellowship Program, and again in the summers of 1964 and 1965 with financial help from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Science Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is because of the generosity of these agencies that I have been able to develop and continue my understanding of the Kanuri people and their complex culture. Altogether I have spent over twenty-six months among the Kanuri and a number of years reading historical documents dealing with their pre-colonial kingdom in the Chad basin.

Over the years I have become indebted to a host of people who have contributed to my expanding knowledge of Bornu so that it would be impossible to give a complete list of those whose share in this book is a significant one. Professor C. W. M. Hart first encouraged and guided my work, and his approach to anthropology has colored and given direction to my own. In Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, G.C.O.N., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.B., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has through the years helped to make my visits to Bornu fruitful and intellectually exciting. The Bornu Native Authority and the Bornu Provincial Government have extended the warmest hospitality and courtesy to myself and my wife and encouraged us in our work. Their forbearance with my research and their constant willingness to cooperate has helped to make Bornu into what some of them have called "my second home." I cannot claim to know everything about Kanuri society and culture; what I have learned is due not only to the kindness of Bornu officials but to the friendship of hundreds of Kanuri who have never failed to answer my unending questions and sometimes naïve curiosity with patient explanation. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Rosman who were also out in Bornu in 1957 carrying out field research gave invaluable aid as colleagues interested in many of the same problems. At closer range, both in Bornu during my first field trip, and later after we returned to North America in 1957, my wife has served as a constant critic and discussant of almost every fact and interpretation put forward in this book and in my other publications on Bornu. In a very real way I owe her a debt as my collaborator and fellow researcher. Finally I am indebted to Professor John Middleton and David Spain who have read and made many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this book.

R. C.

Evanston, Illinois
November 1966

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There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, 195
so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected supe- 576
rior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other 197
areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most [178]
Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading through- [191]
out all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri ori- 178
gin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic 177
features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related 302
ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash 412
carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are 531
tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life 171
are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one 304
ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not 171
significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August [114]
1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and [101]
hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my un- [121]
derstanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit. 632 184

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source. 115 114 123 [634]

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless. 114 122 [115]

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming. 114 123

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 "the Europeans of Magumeri." This pattern involved interviewing and visiting
123 households in Magumeri and its surrounding hamlets during the morning, asking
124 questions about household life, farming, and the social relations within the household and between its members and the wider community. Along with attendance at ceremonies, these morning activities came to be defined locally as my "work." My wife, not a trained anthropologist, visited a number of her women friends in the mornings, and looked after household matters. However, she was a part of Magumeri women's society, and we gained insights from her friendships that would have been difficult for a man to achieve by himself. In the afternoon we very often visited with a group of the young men who were associates of the school teacher. They became our intimate friends, and were defined locally as such. During these sessions, we participated in the conversation, or listened, often breaking in to ask questions about the meaning of some event being discussed. Sometimes data collected elsewhere in the mornings, would be discussed with our friends—hiding the identity of the informant when possible—in order to more fully understand what it was that had been collected.

114 This rather regular schedule was punctuated with visits to see the district head, visits to other villages, and a trip into Maiduguri, the capital, every month for a day or two to obtain supplies for the household. Special events such as the visit of another chief, or a touring British official, also broke the regularity of our days. But in general time stopped. We were without newspapers, radio, television, and even our mail was collected only when we went in once a month to the city. In this way, news from the world outside Bornu reached us first through Kanuri perspectives. Thus when the Suez crisis began in 1957 we heard of it from a young cattle inoculator who was living in Magumeri and had brought a battery radio with him. He told us and a large crowd that the British had attacked and "were killing the Muslims," but that the Russians and the Chinese were supporting the Muslims and were going to kill all the British. For days we were asked the relative population figures of Great Britain, Russia, and China, and really did not get the story straight ourselves for a day or so.

114 Later, after more than ten months of fieldwork, I began thinking of gather-
125 ing some questionnaire data on farming, marketing, status rating of occupations,
124 and family budgets. The latter was attached to morning visits and became a part of the work in each household. A field assistant already trained in gathering statistical data on crops asked a set of questions of seventy-five farmers in three villages, including Magumeri, where he was carrying on a fertilizer demonstration. Later this same young man did some work collecting information on kinship behavior among a number of people throughout Bornu. Much later still, after we moved to the capital, we asked school officials there to allow us to question the Maiduguri school children which we did *en masse* using the help of school teachers and Dr. and Mrs. Rosman. All the pupils were asked questions about the status rating of occupations, and about their marriage preferences with particular ethnic groups. These questionnaire data were extremely useful since they could be utilized to check some major conclusions concerning a whole series of attitudes, as well as economic and kinship behavior which involved a great deal of variation across the population. However it is important to note that such highly selective data collection had to be done at the end of the field trip when we knew what questions to ask and could interpret answers in light of our broader understanding of the cultural context.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

rare circumstances women themselves initiate the proceedings by announcing the divorce, although this is usually done with a circumlocution such as when she says, as one woman did, "There is nothing holding us together but these gifts that you have given me. Take them. I wish to go." 593 586

About eighty to ninety percent of all marriages end in divorce, probably because it is such a simple affair. The husband in most cases simply tells the wife to go, saying "I divorce you." He does not say it three times, as is usual in Islamic countries, because the wife may return, for the Kanuri practice of Muslim marriage is such that, after saying "I divorce you," three times there should be no reconciliation or remarriage. Once a pronouncement of divorce has been made the woman leaves her husband's household and the marriage enters a special hundred-day period in which the woman cannot remarry although the man may do so. This is defined as a waiting period to see whether or not the woman is pregnant so that the man can claim the child. The woman generally returns to her *luwali* at this time and there is always some negotiation between the man and the *luwali* to see whether or not the marriage can be patched up. About one-third of all divorce pronouncements do end in reconciliation even though the husband most often divorces her again later on. It is interesting to note that unlike western society, practically no Kanuri divorce cases (perhaps one percent) go to the courts; thus it is impossible to get the records of divorce except through field study of actual cases. [779] [114]

When a divorce occurs children remain with their father unless they are still nursing. After nursing they are generally sent back to the father's household, although the period is sometimes stretched out for young girls who are trained by their mothers. Children of broken unions are cared for by a father's co-wife or by some other close relative of the father. Contacts with a divorced parent are always maintained and the child visits his or her mother regularly. This is especially true for boys who expect to take care of their mother when she is an elderly unmarried woman. Conflicts sometimes arise because a man's daughter does not return and the mother's relatives or one of her subsequent husbands might try to arrange a marriage without consulting her own father. If such consultations take place, however, no one feels put out and the man who arranged the marriage takes a portion of the bridewealth in payment.

Each spouse in a marriage maintains very close contacts with his or her own relatives. Presents are exchanged and visits back and forth between members of kin groups are very common. Children are named after relatives, especially grandparents, and in many cases go to live with them after weaning, or before the birth of a new baby in the family. Only in cases of long term marriage does a wife finally come to feel a part of and fully accepted by her husband's family. However when this does happen the wife can become a very powerful voice in the family, and her long and intimate association with her husband often means that she has become a permanent authority in the household. In one such case a senior wife had never been married to anyone else and had been married to her husband, a powerful man in the village, for thirty years. The man remarked that he made very few decisions without consulting this woman, and people recognized that she had a powerful position in village affairs. Such cases, however, are not common. Kanuri marriage involves a separation of the sexes not only by custom and tradition but as a result of the conflicts in marriage relations which produce tensions between husbands and 593 602 [553] 593

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Acknowledgments

122 The field research on which the present study is based was financed by a Foreign Area Training Fellowship granted by the Ford Foundation. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Ford Foundation for enabling him to carry out the research, though he alone bears responsibility for the conclusions reached in this study.

000 A number of people at Yale University assisted the author at various stages of the research. Professor Edward M. Bruner helped in formulating the problem which served to orient the study. Professor George Peter Murdock initially acted as adviser for the dissertation. This role was later assumed by Professor Sidney W. Mintz, under whom the dissertation was completed. Professor John V. Murra read the completed manuscript. To all of these people the author expresses his thanks.

114 To the Kanuri people of Bornu Province the author owes a special debt of gratitude. Yerima Mustapha, the District Head of Geidam District, showed remarkable understanding of the author's purposes and assisted him in innumerable ways. To his many informants, and to the people of Geidam, the author expresses his thanks.

Dr. Bernice Rosman, the author's wife, shared in every step of the research, from the rigors of the field to the rigors of the dissertation. The author's debt is beyond expression.

128 Mrs. Evelyn Middleton, who typed the manuscript, has aided greatly in bringing it to its final form.

[GEIDAM]

361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 177 [439] There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

114 361 177 in the town proper, in a Kanuri house, since it was obviously impossible to live as all other Europeans did, more than a mile from the Kanuri people, surrounded by fellow White men.

1. Foci of Communal activity.

36 If an archeologist living centuries in the future were to excavate the ruins of Geidam, he would be able to establish from the physical characteristics of the community that this was undoubtedly an urban community, provided that he excavated with great care. He would find a large area, the market-place, devoted to trade; specialized structures devoted to religious activity, in particular the large central mosque; and others devoted to the government bureaucracy, the largest of these being the Ajari, the 'palace' of the District Head. In addition, he would note great differences in the size of dwelling places or compounds, and would infer that households varied widely in size; [463] this would imply social stratification. Lastly, there would be revealed economic specialization in different sections of the town, indicating the presence of specialized craftsmen. On the basis of solely physical evidence, Geidam would be considered an urban community.

This view is strengthened considerably if one looks at the activities of the people of Geidam. However, as we are still concerned with the physical nature of the community, let us first examine the activities of the townspeople in relation to the various sections of the town, which serve as foci of communal activity.

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam
114 was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based
[122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 Data on acculturation were acquired through a question-
124 naire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant.
125 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with meas-
177 ures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

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Preface

Field work for this study was carried out in Bornu Province,
122 Nigeria, from January 1956 to August 1957. The author is grateful to the Ford Foundation Area Training Program under whose financial support the field work was carried out. Through a grant from the Knapp Fellowship Fund of the University of Wisconsin, the writer was allowed an unencumbered year following the field work in which to analyse and write up the material.

114 Although the author takes full responsibility for the following pages, they could not have reached their present form without the generous help of a number of people. Prof. C. W. M. Hart helped plan and guide the field work as well as reading and advising on earlier drafts of the present study. His intellectual stimulus has served as a major impetus in the development of the writer's approach to the study of society. Professors D. A. Baerreis and M. L. Barnett have given encouragement and advice throughout the course of the project and helped the writer in innumerable ways both administratively and in matters of scholarship.

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122 Periodic conversations in the field with Mr. and Mrs. A. Roman, graduate students at Yale University, helped clarify many points about the Kanuri as well as indicating areas of uncertainty and ignorance which required further work. To Mallam Abdullah Yajuwa of the Bornu Department of Agriculture I owe a sincere debt of gratitude for his interest in the project and his well run surveys. His patience and forbearance with the insatiable curiosity of an anthropologist deserve special mention. The Wazirí, the Yerima and the Digma of Bornu also deserve special acknowledgement as men of affairs who spared us their

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

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/22 valuable time and used their influence on our behalf. Many others deserve some mention for the generous contributions they made not only to our work but to our well being. Amont these were the Provincial Education Officer, Mr. H. O. H. Vernon-Jackson, Mr. Tony May, of the United Africa Company, Mallam Alhaji Damboa, headmaster of the Nagumeri Junior Primary School and his colleagues, Lawan Mina, the Village Head of Nagumeri, the Bornu Provincial Government for their cooperation in putting the public records of the Emirate at our disposal, and many others whose friendships and cooperation made our stay in Bornu not just the operationalizing of a research project, but a rich personal experience.

114 My wife has contributed so much in the form of criticism, encouragement, editing, and information, both in the field and during the write-up, that there is no specific help for which she can be acknowledged, for she shared it all.

121 as against another. The data have been described as they were observed rather than as test data for any theory of society. Nevertheless the material to follow suggests that there may be more to the so-called "market model view"[1] of the social system than its recent discreditors have led us to believe. This view emphasizes social relationships and roles as objects of choice in terms of the net satisfactions expected. The market model has been criticized because it tends to portray social interaction as overly contractual and overly rational. Furthermore it is claimed that social relations must be analysed in relation to the values defining current role obligations or those internalized in personality, while economic relations are independent of such references.[2] However the data to follow indicate that in Kanuri society many non-economic as well as economic relations are governed by what is most aptly described as "investment" and "return". Individuals perform certain roles for socially defined returns. When the performance of obligations is judged as insufficient then dissatisfaction arises which may result in a shift in social relations or a change in the performance within the relationship. The reader must judge for himself whether or not this is merely a "metaphorical construction",[3] or an adequate description of Kanuri social life.

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The methods used in gathering data in the field fall into three categories: qualitative, quantitative and documentary. Qualitative methods of participant observation were used exclusively during the first eight months of field work. The writer and his wife lived in

(1) Hopkins, Terence K. Sociology and the Substantive View of the Economy in Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Polanyi, K., Arensburg, C.M. and Pearson, H. W. (eds.) p. 283.
(2) Ibid: p. 284
(3) Ibid: p. 284

114 (1)
123 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language and making contacts among the local residents.

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantita-
114 tive techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires
125 were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Geidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Dematuru districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small
[184] hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

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124 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then depart-
191 ed leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

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184 of another anthropologist, Mr. A. Rosman, who spent a large part of his field work time in the town of Geidam. Periodic conversations with Mr. Rosman, plus the exchange of visists and information contributed enormously to our understanding of the generality of some Kanuri traits as against the local peculiarities of others.

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[127] During the final three months of field work, the writer and his wife moved into the capital and devoted part of the time to an analysis of all available government records covering the colonial period in the area. Ethnographic work at the court of the Shehu and in Maiduguri as a whole was carried on at the same time. However, it is painfully evident that much more work in the capital, using the methods of urban sociology as well as anthropology, is needed to complete a study which the present work has only begun.

128 The work is in three parts. The first part introduces the people and the locality giving pertinent information of population, geography and ecology. Also included in this section is an historical sketch of the pre-British period as well as an account of the significant changes introduced by the colonial era.

The second part deals with interpersonal relations. Here kinship behaviour norms are related to social interaction in the community at large, and these are described as they operate in the local residence groups. Marriage relations illustrate how the norms of behaviour operate between groups and individuals in the husband-wife relationship. The life cycle material then documents the manner in which individuals are recruited into and live within the small and large scale social structures of the society.

The third part deals with the wider scaled forms of social life. Stratification by various status dimensions is discussed and it

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Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Nagumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Nagumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

621 [273] In Nagumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

184 This than is Nagumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu. [114] After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

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651 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.(1)

175
651 From the earliest records extant of the Kanuri empire in Kanem right up until the arrival of the British, a system of tax exemption obtained called the Mahram. Although it most often applied to religious mallams, who were recognized in this way for their esoteric knowledge in matters of law and religion, special services to the king were sometimes
[212] rewarded in the same way. These exemptions were always recorded in writ-
[451] ing, so that when the British arrived and began instituting their own form of universal taxation many of these documents, some claiming 990 years of
[114] exemption, turned up. They were collected, translated and subsequently published by Palmer.(2)

175
692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Mainin Kanendi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanendi were twelve
[693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm,
853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

Childhood

862 With the onset of childhood, which is formalized at eight-
[858] een months by weaning, the overt pressures of socialization begin for
[114] the young child. No systematic data were gathered on the effects of this formal change-over from breast-feeding. Everyone knew of a wide range of variation in reaction on the part of the infants; some babies wean easily, others require much more training. In the latter case, the more stringent techniques are utilized, but still with a matter of fact, unperturbed attitude towards the inevitability of the weaning procedure.

In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

597 It is just after weaning that most Kanuri adoptions take place. A very rough estimate of adoptions, taken from genealogical data, would put the figure at somewhere between 35-45% for the present

is not perceived by them as being in conflict with their lack of direct power and authority in the state.

The result of this coordination of lower statuses into a peasant-commoner class and high statuses into a ruling upper class is the differentiation of Kanuri society into two broad sub-division, that of the upper and the lower classes. Language, wealth, power and authority, occupations, manners and etiquette all differ within these two large divisions. The differences are not, however, either/or distinctions. They can be seen as a large number of recognizable signs which tend to place the person higher or lower on a scale of class attributes. It is at this point that class, or rather its cultural characteristics, become not just a segmentation of society into large units, but a dimension of status. This process occurs through the simulation of class attributes, generally in an upward direction. For in Bornu, the appearance of upper class membership enhances an individual in his own eyes and those of his fellows.(1) Thus the acquisition of items of upper class culture, such as large flowing light-coloured robes, or a fine horse, or many supporters and subordinates, or more elegant manners and speech, give a man higher status. But it is the dimensions of social stratification discussed above, rather than these cultural expressions, which are the underlying conditions for status. Thus if a person does not have a high status occupation, or is not of a sedentary Muslim tribe, or possess real wealth that he uses properly, or behave in all the other ways necessary for him to obtain high status, then the acquisition of some items of upper class culture merely constitute some blurring and

[114] [171] (1) Nadel, S.F. A Black Byzantium (1947) and The Concept of Social Elites, UNESCO Bull. of Social Science, Number 8 (1956) has made this same point for Nupe, and on a theoretical level as a characteristic of elites in general, i.e. that they are copied by the rest of the population.

565
[171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

114
562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

554
562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

173
554
562 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a
571 total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

634 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A. He (1)
647
662 had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

631
634 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are (2)
642 extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form.

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Wazirl (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

643 648 That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocentricism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy [114] to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Waziri and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in [829] reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state.(1)

645 647 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Waziri, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

[Footnote continues on p. 258]

12 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant observation, two other methods were used in obtaining information on economic life in Bornu. Firstly, a sample of seventy-five cultivators, chosen partly by their local political leaders and partly by personal consent,(1) was observed and questioned by a field assistant on agricultural production, food consumption, livestock and land tenure. The sample was drawn from three towns: Hagumeri, Ngubura and Chingowa: each roughly six miles from the other points of a triangle. Farm plots were measured off, dates of planting, weeding and harvesting were recorded, and the produce from one acre of millet and one of groundnuts weighed for each cultivator. As reported by the farmers themselves, and checked by the interviewer, the sample consisted of the following occupational groupings:

[115]

TABLE X

Occupation	Number	Percentage of Sample
Farmers	25	33.3
Craftsmen #	16	21.3
Traders	17	22.7
Political and Religious Specialists	17	22.7
	75	100.0

Includes 4 "herders" - persons who tend other peoples livestock, mostly sheep and goats, for a fee, as their non-farming specialty.

Secondly, using intensive interviews and observation, the annual budgets of twenty-two household heads were constructed by extrapolating from daily and weekly figures on income and expenditure in cash and kind, as well as reported crop production.(2) No sampling procedures were used in gathering this material, since the traditional method of gaining rapport with informants was a major criterion in

(1) They were primarily involved in a demonstration of the potential improvement of farm yields with the use of superphosphate fertilizer.

[114] (2) A similar but more extensive (numerically) method has been used by Smith, M.G., The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, 1955.

(2)

12 in choosing households. An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of 592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Its economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

462 592 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking [434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

[114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilize the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groundnuts have been as follows:(1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ø
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

ø Maiduguri market (average)
ø General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 TITLE OF THESIS The Structure of Kanuri Society

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Professor in charge of thesis

[p.361]

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri are Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life,
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The fieldwork on which this book is based has been carried out in two periods: one in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Area Fellowship Program, and again in the summers of 1964 and 1965 with financial help from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Science Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is because of the generosity of these agencies that I have been able to develop and continue my understanding of the Kanuri people and their complex culture. Altogether I have spent over twenty-six months among the Kanuri and a number of years reading historical documents dealing with their pre-colonial kingdom in the Chad basin.

Over the years I have become indebted to a host of people who have contributed to my expanding knowledge of Bornu so that it would be impossible to give a complete list of those whose share in this book is a significant one. Professor C. W. M. Hart first encouraged and guided my work, and his approach to anthropology has colored and given direction to my own. In Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, G.C.O.N., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.B., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has through the years helped to make my visits to Bornu fruitful and intellectually exciting. The Bornu Native Authority and the Bornu Provincial Government have extended the warmest hospitality and courtesy to myself and my wife and encouraged us in our work. Their forbearance with my research and their constant willingness to cooperate has helped to make Bornu into what some of them have called "my second home." I cannot claim to know everything about Kanuri society and culture; what I have learned is due not only to the kindness of Bornu officials but to the friendship of hundreds of Kanuri who have never failed to answer my unending questions and sometimes naïve curiosity with patient explanation. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Rosman who were also out in Bornu in 1957 carrying out field research gave invaluable aid as colleagues interested in many of the same problems. At closer range, both in Bornu during my first field trip, and later after we returned to North America in 1957, my wife has served as a constant critic and discussant of almost every fact and interpretation put forward in this book and in my other publications on Bornu. In a very real way I owe her a debt as my collaborator and fellow researcher. Finally I am indebted to Professor John Middleton and David Spain who have read and made many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this book.

R. C.

Evanston, Illinois
November 1966

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit. 632 184

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source. 115 114 123 [634]

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless. 114 122 [115]

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming. 114 123

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own [595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this [115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law 836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nəmgəmtəm, and is quite distinct from 587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse. 581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no 887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115	1. Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]	2. Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]	3. Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]	4. NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasom-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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565
463
551
124
[634]

5.	Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
		Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
		Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
		Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
		Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
		Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
6.	Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
		Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
		Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
		Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
		Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
		Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7.	Talaka: (8)	Adamu-	a taberma who sells in the market-place.
		Momadu Fərashəma-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
		Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
		Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
		Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
		Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
		Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
		Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

8. Low-status Individuals:

113	(4)	Bukar Mandalma-	a tanner.
551		Yahuda Gundama-	a praise-singer and drummer.
554		Mastapha Mandalma-	a tanner.
124		Abdu Gurzam-	a butcher.
463			

Total: 44 individuals.

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilized rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tile (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bàrzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and numkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarizes the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin.(1)

[115] 602 124 128

(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

12 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant observation, two other methods were used in obtaining information on economic life in Bornu. Firstly, a sample of seventy-five cultivators, chosen partly by their local political leaders and partly by personal consent,(1) was observed and questioned by a field assistant on agricultural production, food consumption, livestock and land tenure. The sample was drawn from three towns: Magumeri, Ngubura and Chingowa: each roughly six miles from the other points of a triangle. Farm plots were measured off, dates of planting, weeding and harvesting were recorded, and the produce from one acre of millet and one of groundnuts weighed for each cultivator. As reported by the farmers themselves, and checked by the interviewer, the sample consisted of the following occupational groupings:

[115]

TABLE X

Occupation	Number	Percentage of Sample
Farmers	25	33.3
Craftsmen #	16	21.3
Traders	17	22.7
Political and Religious Specialists	17	22.7
	75	100.0

Includes 4 "herders" - persons who tend other peoples livestock, mostly sheep and goats, for a fee, as their non-farming specialty.

Secondly, using intensive interviews and observation, the annual budgets of twenty-two household heads were constructed by extrapolating from daily and weekly figures on income and expenditure in cash and kind, as well as reported crop production.(2) No sampling procedures were used in gathering this material, since the traditional method of gaining rapport with informants was a major criterion in

(1) They were primarily involved in a demonstration of the potential improvement of farm yields with the use of superphosphate fertilizer.

[114] (2) A similar but more extensive (numerically) method has been used by Smith, M.G., The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, 1955.

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CASE STUDIES IN
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

GENERAL EDITORS

George and Louise Spindler

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

THE KANURI OF BORNU

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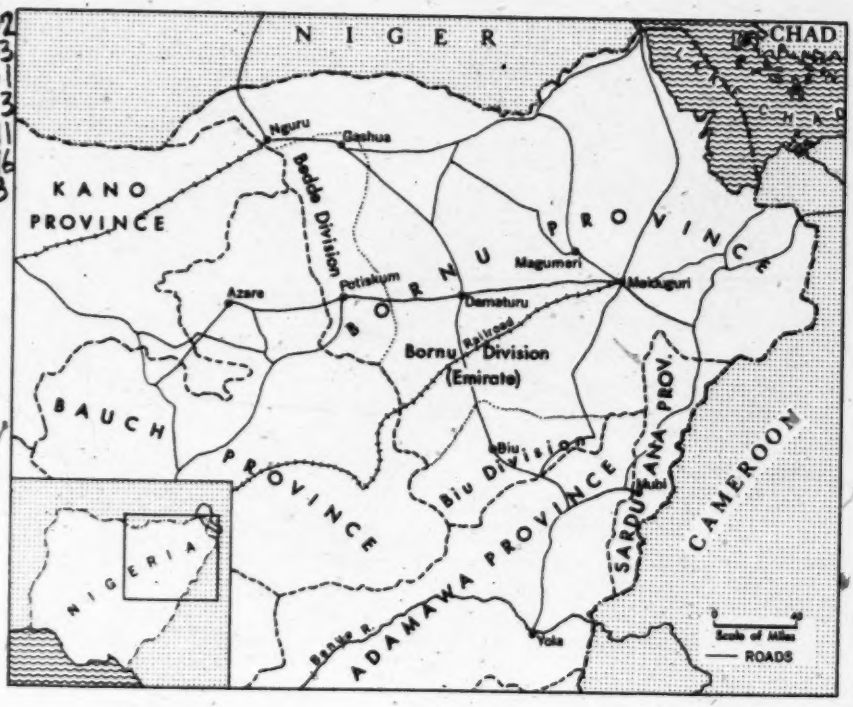

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THE KANURI OF BORNU

By

RONALD COHEN
Northwestern University

[Title Page]

[P.iii]

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Illustration on cover is of a knight on horseback saluting a district head.

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Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Ronald Cohen received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Wisconsin in 1960. He has taught anthropology at the University of Toronto from 1958 to 1961, at McGill University from 1961 to 1963, and from 1963 to the present at Northwestern University where he is a member of the Program of African Studies and Associate Professor of Anthropology and Political Science. He has carried out fieldwork in Nigeria and in the Mackenzie Valley, Northwest Territories, Canada. He is interested in social and political change as well as problems of theory and method in the social sciences. Professor Cohen has published papers on aspects of Kanuri society and history, Athabascan culture change, and a number of theoretical and methodological problems in anthropology.

About the Book

This case study has a clear central focus. The author shows us how the various sectors of Kanuri social life build upon and interrelate to the basic unit of Kanuri society, the household organization. He claims the basic theory of their society is not his own but that of the Kanuri themselves as they have tried to explain their society to him. In doing so they continually refer back to the household. The household, or compound, is the basic political unit; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. The economic system is dependent upon the household, since the business of getting a living is organized within it, and households link together through their head men to form larger organizations for the produc-

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tion of goods or for trade. Family life is carried on in the household, and ways of behaving that are acceptable and necessary in Kanuri life are learned there.

The descriptive analysis of these interdependent relationships centering upon the household is far from mechanistic. Though the structural features of groupings and the modal patterns of activities are made very clear, there is a sense of immediacy in their description. Actual behavior is described and vignettes of individuals and their behaviors, relevant to various sectors of life, are included.

This case study is notable in a number of other ways, but particularly in the sense of history conveyed. In a necessarily brief but informative historical sketch the author shows us how the emirate of Bornu, established in the late fifteenth century, survived insurrection, warfare, colonialism, and even today survives within the framework of national independence as a viable social and political entity. The author ends his historical overview with these questions: "Why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times?" The case study is, in one of its dimensions, an answer to these questions.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Stanford, California
November 1966

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Acknowledgments

The fieldwork on which this book is based has been carried out in two periods: one in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Area Fellowship Program, and again in the summers of 1964 and 1965 with financial help from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Science Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is because of the generosity of these agencies that I have been able to develop and continue my understanding of the Kanuri people and their complex culture. Altogether I have spent over twenty-six months among the Kanuri and a number of years reading historical documents dealing with their pre-colonial kingdom in the Chad basin.

Over the years I have become indebted to a host of people who have contributed to my expanding knowledge of Bornu so that it would be impossible to give a complete list of those whose share in this book is a significant one. Professor C. W. M. Hart first encouraged and guided my work, and his approach to anthropology has colored and given direction to my own. In Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, G.C.O.N., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.B., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has through the years helped to make my visits to Bornu fruitful and intellectually exciting. The Bornu Native Authority and the Bornu Provincial Government have extended the warmest hospitality and courtesy to myself and my wife and encouraged us in our work. Their forbearance with my research and their constant willingness to cooperate has helped to make Bornu into what some of them have called "my second home." I cannot claim to know everything about Kanuri society and culture; what I have learned is due not only to the kindness of Bornu officials but to the friendship of hundreds of Kanuri who have never failed to answer my unending questions and sometimes naïve curiosity with patient explanation. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Rosman who were also out in Bornu in 1957 carrying out field research gave invaluable aid as colleagues interested in many of the same problems. At closer range, both in Bornu during my first field trip, and later after we returned to North America in 1957, my wife has served as a constant critic and discussant of almost every fact and interpretation put forward in this book and in my other publications on Bornu. In a very real way I owe her a debt as my collaborator and fellow researcher. Finally I am indebted to Professor John Middleton and David Spain who have read and made many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this book.

R. C.

Evanston, Illinois
November 1966

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1

The Setting

The Land and the People

FOR AT LEAST a thousand years the drama of empires rising, falling, expanding, and shrinking has been played out in an immense area of Africa at the southern edge of the Sahara known as the Sudan. These states, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Hausa kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, and others like them, from the upper Senegal River basin to the upper Nile, form a band from east to west across Africa. Their histories provide some of the most resplendent grandeur of Africa's past. Many of these states have now been consigned to the history books; Ghana and Mali have disappeared although modern countries have resuscitated their names; Songhai was destroyed by the Moroccans at the end of the sixteenth century; the Hausa states were altered as they came under the hegemony of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and little is known as yet about the early states to the east of Lake Chad. On the other hand, Bornu in the northeastern corner of Nigeria has continued its sovereignty in the Chad Basin throughout a millennium of tribulations and triumphs and it goes on today organized as a separate emirate within Bornu Province.

Like most of the Sudan, Bornu is open savannah country, generally quite flat except for a few stable dunes covered with scrub in the north and several long low ridges running northwest to southeast in the southern part of the country. The ridges are probably ancient lake-shores of a great inland sea whose contemporary remnant is Lake Chad—a large shallow fresh water lake into which flow a number of rivers from the south and west. The soil is sandy and covered with scrub bush grass, and scattered trees, mostly thorny ones, except for the large spreading boabab, which dots the horizon here and there. In the 1930s the Nim, a hardy shade tree from India that thrives on the semi-desert conditions of northern Nigeria, was introduced to provide some forest preserves and year round shade in the villages. Here and there, especially at the bottom of the ridges, are large flat surfaces of hard clay that turn into gray-black mud during the rainy season. These provide clay for building materials and pottery, as well as water holes for the cattle of local villages and wandering nomads.

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132 The rainfall ranges from twenty-two to twenty-seven inches, in normal years, and is heavier as one moves from north to south. The important point that must be kept sight of is the fact that ninety percent of the rain falls in June, July, August, and September, while the months from October through June are almost totally dry. Indeed even within the four-month rainy season, about eighteen inches of the annual rainfall comes during July and August, so that in exceptionally dry years, June and September can easily turn out to be rainless months.

The various seasons are tied closely to the basic facts of rainfall and lati-
[137] tude. As the rain begins in June the dry sandy soil suddenly comes to life with large stretches of new grass and new leaves on the died-up thorn bushes. From atop one of the Bornu ridges, or from the roof of a house, the entire landscape, as far as the eye can see, starts to change color from yellow-brown to a soft green. The weather cools delightfully, the rains become more frequent, and the short daily
[221] storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by
[821] far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for every-
[136] body because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust
751 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morning, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind.
221 The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter"
[241] but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees
[821] seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

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(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

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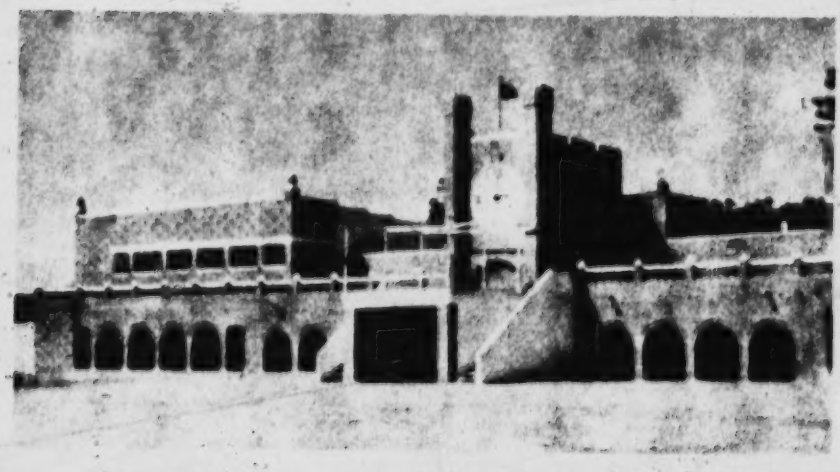

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A naming ceremony—women sitting in front of the mother's hut. (Crowd includes Diana Cohen, wife of the author).

Horsemen saluting a chief in Magumeri.

541
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Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

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361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are
361 the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their
[622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means
[988] that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev-
[443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan.
[302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their
[291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts
[231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as
[554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to
197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of
[193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the
[195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his
000 obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

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There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, 195
so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

576 197 178 191

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

178 177 302

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

412 531 171 304

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

171

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

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114 Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

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there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit. 632 184

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source. 115 114 123 [634]

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless. 114 122 [115]

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming. 114 123

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 "the Europeans of Magumeri." This pattern involved interviewing and visiting
123 households in Magumeri and its surrounding hamlets during the morning, asking
124 questions about household life, farming, and the social relations within the household and between its members and the wider community. Along with attendance at ceremonies, these morning activities came to be defined locally as my "work." My wife, not a trained anthropologist, visited a number of her women friends in the mornings, and looked after household matters. However, she was a part of Magumeri women's society, and we gained insights from her friendships that would have been difficult for a man to achieve by himself. In the afternoon we very often visited with a group of the young men who were associates of the school teacher. They became our intimate friends, and were defined locally as such. During these sessions, we participated in the conversation, or listened, often breaking in to ask questions about the meaning of some event being discussed. Sometimes data collected elsewhere in the mornings, would be discussed with our friends—hiding the identity of the informant when possible—in order to more fully understand what it was that had been collected.

114 This rather regular schedule was punctuated with visits to see the district head, visits to other villages, and a trip into Maiduguri, the capital, every month for a day or two to obtain supplies for the household. Special events such as the visit of another chief, or a touring British official, also broke the regularity of our days. But in general time stopped. We were without newspapers, radio, television, and even our mail was collected only when we went in once a month to the city. In this way, news from the world outside Bornu reached us first through Kanuri perspectives. Thus when the Suez crisis began in 1957 we heard of it from a young cattle inoculator who was living in Magumeri and had brought a battery radio with him. He told us and a large crowd that the British had attacked and "were killing the Muslims," but that the Russians and the Chinese were supporting the Muslims and were going to kill all the British. For days we were asked the relative population figures of Great Britain, Russia, and China, and really did not get the story straight ourselves for a day or so.

114 Later, after more than ten months of fieldwork, I began thinking of gather-
125 ing some questionnaire data on farming, marketing, status rating of occupations,
124 and family budgets. The latter was attached to morning visits and became a part of the work in each household. A field assistant already trained in gathering statistical data on crops asked a set of questions of seventy-five farmers in three villages, including Magumeri, where he was carrying on a fertilizer demonstration. Later this same young man did some work collecting information on kinship behavior among a number of people throughout Bornu. Much later still, after we moved to the capital, we asked school officials there to allow us to question the Maiduguri school children which we did *en masse* using the help of school teachers and Dr. and Mrs. Rosman. All the pupils were asked questions about the status rating of occupations, and about their marriage preferences with particular ethnic groups. These questionnaire data were extremely useful since they could be utilized to check some major conclusions concerning a whole series of attitudes, as well as economic and kinship behavior which involved a great deal of variation across the population. However it is important to note that such highly selective data collection had to be done at the end of the field trip when we knew what questions to ask and could interpret answers in light of our broader understanding of the cultural context.

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In summary, then, the methods were those traditionally associated with social anthropology, namely a long period in the field, learning the language, getting to know the people on a face to face basis, while participating, observing, and asking questions about the local social life. This is the basic experience from which the material described in this book is drawn. 12

Ethnography and Theory

By definition a case study such as this involves a description of the way of life of a people. However, no description is ever complete, nor is it a sheer listing of facts. The facts are related to one another, and many are left out. The basis for selection is, whether he knows it or not, a net result of the writer's theories and his biases. In this present work I have decided to describe what I consider to be the most important aspect of Kanuri society, and by this I mean those features which are its most determinant or causal aspects. This kind of approach can be seen more clearly when put into the form of a question phrased as follows: What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment, and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society? Specifically, I have tried to answer this question by showing how each of the major sectors of Kanuri social life, the family, the household, the individual life experience, the political, and the economic systems, are related to one another, through their use of the household organization and its modes of behavior. The household is a model, and a building block as well, upon which the rest of the complicated activities of the Bornu society rests. I will come back to this point in the concluding chapter after having described the way in which the society actually works as a "system," or an organized whole, in accordance with this theory. However it should be noted that I have excluded religion and ceremonial life as "major sectors." For purposes of this report I consider them superfluous to the problem outlined above and have therefore mentioned them only when such material seems necessary. Even then they are integrated into other sectors and not treated separately. 121

It is up to the reader to ask whether or not I have made a convincing case by using this theory, or whether these facts could be explained in ways other than the manner they are interpreted here. If skepticism holds firm, the reader should ask whether my interpretation would be weakened if facts not presented here were described. He should also ask himself what these facts might be, and how he would go about collecting them. Ethnography is in one sense a naïve undertaking, especially for a society as complicated and ancient as that of the Kanuri. How can we ever say we have adequately described a whole society of nearly one million people whose traditions go back a thousand years? Obviously we can't. And so we attempt instead to capture its essence. In what is to follow I have tried to do just that. If I am wrong, or naïve, or illogical, I am also of the anthropological faith which preaches that the attempt to understand a human society through fieldwork is a scientifically useful one besides being one of the most profound experiences that life has to offer.

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History

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Kanem-Bornu: The Historical Background

THIS BOOK is primarily an account of the way of life of a contemporary African people. However this particular group, unlike many others in Africa or elsewhere, has an ancient and well-documented history. The fact that such materials are available also means that we can observe the kingdom as it developed through time and obtain some appreciation for its continuity and change as one of the oldest political powers in Africa. I have therefore tried to bring together in summary form an account of Bornu history and its political development during the last millenium of southern Saharan history. In terms of the overall ethnolgraphic task it is important to realize that it is within this historical stream that the [814] contemporary way of life has come to be what it is. Indeed one of the most salient facts about Kanuri culture is the pride the people feel in their history; they believe that one cannot know them unless there is at the same time some understanding of their past. In order to do this I have written first an outline of the major events of this history, then analyzed the political development of the kingdom as it evolved through time. The details of the present political system are then taken up again in Chapter 6.

173 169 Kanuri legends all take the Bornu kingdom back to the north and northeast of Lake Chad to the ancient kingdom of Kanem and before that to Yemen. Like many peoples of West Africa as far removed from one another as the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fulani of Futa Djallon in Guinea, Kanuri traditions suggest that they as a people come originally from Yemen. It is said that a migrant Yemenite noble named Sef founded the royal dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa. There is very little doubt that the ancient dynasty of the Sefuwa has been in fact the ruling line in Kanem-Bornu for over a thousand years. However, there is very little evidence except for the legend itself to support the theory that the Kanuri or their ancient leaders originate in Yemen.

121 The problem of studying human origins scientifically is a fascinating one, but there are many pitfalls and a keen taste for skepticism is a primary requirement. The rules of the game are, however, quite easy. Simply ask what valid facts

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are available, then try for the best explanation knowing that new facts will very probably force a change in the historical picture you have created to best explain the facts. The greater the number of facts, the fewer the possible number of different historical interpretations that can be applied to any particular case. With these rules in mind let us examine briefly what facts are at hand to help us with Kanuri origins.

First of all we have the Kanuri legends themselves which state that they came originally from Yemen—a legend they share with most of the Muslim people of the western Sudan. Let us call this the local theory and come back to it after considering other available facts. Subsistence farming and cattle keeping came into the area of the central and western Sahara about 5000 years ago, as evidenced by a number of archaeological sites in the area. At that time the Tibesti region north of Lake Chad was much wetter and the lake itself was enormous. It stretched well into the Sahara desert, especially into a region just south of the Tibesti known as the Bodele depression, which even today is well below the present level of Lake Chad itself. People settled in this region and utilized both domesticated plants and animals for their basic means of subsistence. Since that time, however, there has been a steady desiccation of the central Sahara which has dried up the Tibesti and the Bodele depression while the water has retreated in a southwesterly direction towards the present site of Lake Chad. As late as 500 B.C. merchants from Carthage were voyaging to the Tibesti to trade with people who lived in a wet climate among crocodiles, hippopotami, and giraffes.[1] Certainly what evidence we have suggests a very ancient trade between the people of the entire Sahara and those of North Africa. This was much expanded by the introduction of the camel sometime in the first or second century A.D. which facilitated trade across much drier portions of desert and over much longer distances. If we add to this evidence the fact that the Kanuri language is related to the central Saharan group of languages—and these are as a group only very distantly related to all other African language families—then a picture or at least a theory begins to emerge.

The Neolithic agriculturalists in the southern Sahara were drawn further south between 1000 B.C. and 1000 A.D. as the waters of the desert began to recede southward.[2] As they moved southward they pulled the Saharan trade with them, and competition among groups in the Chad basin produced some differences in power and recognized status among clans who lived in the area. Leading lineages within these clans began to unite to govern the activities of clan members until finally the various clans formed loose federations with a leading clan and its leading lineage as the royal or kingly one.[3]

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[1] See Rhys Carpenter, "A Trans-Saharan Caravan Route in Herodotus," *Journal of American Archaeology*, Vol. 60, 1956, pp. 231–42.

[2] This process was also occurring in another area of "desert capture," the upper Niger bend where desert wet regions north of the river receded towards the south. The Niger itself bends into the Sahara, because like the Chad basin there are lowlands to the north of the great bend. Thus it is no accident that the Chad basin and the upper Niger bend have witnessed some of the earliest developments of centralized states in the western Sudan—they were the two areas into which the people of the desert could most naturally and easily move as desiccation proceeded.

[3] In his book on Bunyoro, John Beattie very concisely defines a lineage as "all the descendants in one line (that is, either through males only or through females only) of a particular person through a specified number of generations. It differs from a *clan* in that while usually all the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

173 Given the fact that very many of the Muslim peoples of West Africa have legends concerning their origins in the Near East and often more specifically in Yemen, we can, I believe, think of the local origin theory as a mythical genesis story that is part of a widespread cultural heritage of the Muslim people of West
174 Africa, likening it in this way to western stories about the Garden of Eden. On the other hand we do have "hard" linguistic evidence that the Kanuri people are related to peoples of the central Sahara northeast of Bornu. We also have very suggestive evidence from the geographic history that relates the people speaking these languages to one another and gives us grounds for positing immigration into the Chad basin and an increasing population density in the area. The exact details of this theory are matters for future research, but the major conclusion which places the origin of the Kanuri in the central Sahara seems to be a valid one.

At any rate, by the end of the first millennium A.D. the Muslim world outside the Sudan knew of the existence of Kanem, a sovereign state due south of Tripoli on the southern rim of the Sahara. Local traditions associated with the king lists (these have been collected periodically since 1850) assert that Islam came at least to the rulers of Kanem in the eleventh century. According to the traditions an eleventh-century Mai or king is supposed to have died in Egypt on his
175 way to Mecca. Certainly by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Kanem became a well-known state in the Islamic world. Trans-Saharan commerce was completely controlled, garrisons were built to protect the trade routes, and treaty relations were established with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis. In the mid-thirteenth century a travelers' house for Kanem pilgrims was constructed in Cairo so that they might have proper accommodation while on the long journey to Mecca via Egypt. At the other extreme of the Islamic world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was renowned in the court of El Mansur (1190–1214 A.D.) in Seville for his praise songs of the Sultan. This was a great period of Islamic civilization and Kanem played its part in that florescence.

175 648 From the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century a period of dark ages befell the kingdom. This is sometimes referred to as "the time of troubles." The dynastic chronicles indicate this period by including a great many rulers all holding sway for very short periods. The kingdom seems to have become a tempestuous stage for civil wars within and continuous attack from without. A letter to Cairo from this period has turned up, sent by a Kanem ruler, asking that the Caliph of Egypt send word to Sudanese Arabs who were helping Wadai to the east of Kanem raid amongst the people of Kanem for slaves even though such actions are considered to be against the precepts of Islam, since one must not raid for slaves amongst other Muslim peoples.[4] The main source of trouble is supposed to have come from one particular group—the Bulala. These people were either an allied subordinate tribe or a clan whose leading lineage had split off from the Kanem royal line and had then grown in its independence and power until its leaders challenged the Kanem control of the kingdom.

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members of a lineage know exactly how they are related to all the other members of it, and together, they often form a corporate group, clan members may not be able to trace genealogical
[113] links with other clan members, and often clansfolk are widely dispersed." See John Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 3.

[4] See R. H. Palmer, *Bornu, Sahara, and Sudan*, (London: John Murray, 1936), p. 195.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu. 175 648 167

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[5] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty. 173 648 688 [669] 174 648

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire. 174 643 174 167 648

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota- 175 643 [614] [648]

[5] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ble, and these men maintained Bornu at an apogee of greatness until well into the
643 seventeenth century. One of these rulers, Idris Alooma, had a court scribe at the
[644] beginning of the seventeenth century, who wrote a number of accounts of his royal
[212] master's military expeditions. Luckily these have survived to give us a picture of Bornu warfare and government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, too, that Bornu was first mentioned on European maps, and from this time forward its fame became part of the legends of unknown kingdoms that lay inside the unexplored interior of Africa.

Bornu traditions claim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a decline in the power of the state. This is explained by the claim that the monarchy was becoming weak and overburdened with pomp, rituals, and religious study by the monarch. The ruling Mai appeared in public in a *fanadir*, or cage, which only his most trusted servants could approach and rarely led military expeditions himself. Much of this may be a reinterpretation of Bornu history by the second dynasty and their followers, who would naturally have played up the failures of the previous regime, when they took over in the nineteenth century. Contrarily
175 there are traditions of many successful military campaigns during this period and
648 Bornu's reputation as a great kingdom was still very widespread. Thus a wandering Englishman, Richard Tulley, who visited Tripoli at the end of the eighteenth century, spoke glowingly of what he had heard of Bornu's power. Parenthetically, he claimed that one of the Kanuri noblewomen living in Tripoli could speak the Italian language fluently.[6] On the other side of the case, Tuareg and Tubu raiders attacked the northern boundaries of Bornu and harassed the caravans with greater intensity than before.

The activities of these raiders are said to have increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is important to realize that the entire southern Sahara was a hotbed of unrest during this two hundred year period. In the 1590s the armies of El Mansur of Morocco finally managed to cross the Sahara and destroy the great empire of Songhai. Its cities of Timbuctu and Gau never again became the great emporia of trade, politics, and learning they had once been. The Moroccans could not establish, so far from home, any stable administrative organization capable of replacing the one they had destroyed. This suddenly released vassal groups in the Sahara, many of whom bordered on Bornu, and these were now free to raid, stimulate revolts, and pillage caravans, while their cousins to the west fought over the remains of the Songhai empire and the control of western trade
175 routes across the Sahara. It was during this same period of unrest that, all across
648 the Sudan, wandering holy men, especially nomadic Fulani of Futa Djallon in
668 Guinea, in Masina in the Upper Niger, and even in present day Nigeria, were expressing this disorder in religious terms. They preached through their leaders for a return to a truer and purer form of Islam. Often they claimed that those round them were pagans and had to be subdued in a holy war to reestablish Muslim order and law. It is in the light of all this turbulence that the so-called decline of Bornu
175 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should be seen. Elsewhere empires were
648 tottered or being formed, as in Futa Djallon; but Bornu remained, shaken perhaps by the general unrest of the period but still it survived, controlled its trade routes,

[6] R. Tulley, *Letters Written During a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli*, Vol. II, [113] (London: 1819), p. 51.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ruled its territory, and attempted to keep the peace with its neighbors and tributary states. 175 648

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area of what is now Northern Nigeria was rocked by the Fulani wars under a religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, who proclaimed a *Jihad* or holy war. Ultimately these developments resulted in the founding of the empire of Sokoto. In Bornu the local Fulani organized an attack on the Kanuri kingdom, not so much to support the Sokoto Empire, as to take advantage of it and set up principalities of their own. By 1808, the Fulani in Bornu constituted a dangerous threat. Indeed they had succeeded in attacking, defeating and sacking the ancient capital of Bornu, Birni Ngazargamo. When this happened the ruler and his followers fled towards Lake Chad and were not able to return to the city until some unexpected aid from Kanem enabled them to deliver a powerful defeat to the Fulani forces some six weeks after they had abandoned the capital. A few years later in the winter of 1811–1812 another Fulani force attacked and pillaged the capital. Again the Kanuri were helped by this same Kanembu chief or Shehu who defeated the Fulani and sent them fleeing westward to the borders of Bornu.

However, this aid was to change the entire history of the empire. From 1812 onwards the traditional Bornu government lost its control of the state. The Shehu, Mohammed el Aminu, El Kanemi, or Shehu Laminu as he is remembered locally, had the only effective armed force in the Bornu kingdom, and he used this to control sporadic Fulani uprisings that continued until at least the 1820s. Both the traditional government and the Shehu moved away from the western and northern boundaries and set up in adjacent towns near the west shore of Lake Chad. People soon realized that the Shehu held power in the state and flocked to his town, while that of the old Magumi Sefuwa monarch became a small redoubt for those still loyal to the ancient dynasty. The former leaders still retained the royal title, held court, and collected or were given some of the state revenues. When they intrigued against Shehu Laminu, he simply deposed them. At the same time he made bargains with rival claimants to the old throne so that any changes in the royal office, made under his direction, would be to his own advantage. Meanwhile the ancient rulers came more and more to be simply ceremonial puppets in the hands of the real ruler of Bornu, Shehu Laminu. 175 642 [648] [643] [662]

Yet Laminu never asserted ultimate control over the kingdom. Even after he had built a new capital, at Kuka, for himself and his dependents, the small village of Birni nearby was maintained for the ancient monarchy. Across the entire Sudan and beyond, however, he was recognized as the real ruler of Bornu. He was the leader of its administration and his political, military, and judicial sagacity were and still are lauded in praise songs that match these secular skills with his supernatural powers. Indeed his fame spread to Europe as well. This resulted from the writings of Denham and Clapperton, who crossed the desert in the 1820s and remained for an extended period in Bornu learning about its people and of the double regency under Shehu Laminu's control. Laminu died in 1835 and it was not until a decade later in 1845 or 1846 that his son, Omar, finally did away with the last remaining members of the Sefuwa dynasty proclaiming himself and his royal heirs to be the only rulers of Bornu. This was the occasion for the formal inception of Bornu's second dynasty whose descendants are the ruling family in the kingdom at the pres- 175 642 643

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175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 648 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 came to Bornu—and who also came to be called Kanuri about this time—were the Sefuwa, their fellow Magumi clansmen and loyal followers, clients and slaves. The traditions declare that the leader who finally founded the new capital of Birni Ngazargamo curbed the power of his own nobles and insisted that all of them (except one who protected the western boundaries) should live in the capital, leaving subordinates to administer their fief-holdings.[7] It should also be remembered that 175 this newly formed Bornu kingdom (*ca.* 1450–1550 A.D.) tried to regain control over 642 Kanem and many of its other lost vassal territories in the Chad Basin and the 648 southern desert. Thus they very quickly attacked and defeated Bilma 400 miles to the north of Lake Chad which was the center for the Saharan salt trade. They also had to defend the kingdom against raiding desert Tuareg and the rising power of Songhai in the west.

Kanem was a state organized around a confederacy of clans, with one clan and its leading lineage having a senior status. The migration of this leading group into Bornu helps to explain why the Bornu kingdom was more centralized than its 175 predecessor as a political system. In Bornu the Magumi Sefuwa had no other re- 64 lated clan or clan leaders to share power with; instead they were confronted by a group of pagan peoples spoken of under the general term of "So" in the traditions. Against these people they fought battles of conquest to establish their rule in the area and in the end absorbed many of them into a group known today as the Kanuri. It would have been much simpler to unify this one group under a leader who had no rival clan or clan leaders to cope with. Thus the new situation in Bornu 175 642 afforded both a stimulus and an opportunity for increased centralization of power in the political organization of the Kanuri state. It is against this growing centralization in the hands of the ruling monarch of Bornu that the following account of its structure should be gauged, for it is not always easy to portray change and development while describing how a society is organized.

Pre-nineteenth Century Bornu

175 643 At the head of the early Bornu state was the Mai or king. This office was hereditary in the male line, and all men whose fathers had been monarchs were eligible for the succession. The Council of Nobles, and accounts vary as to who these 646 were, chose the new monarch upon the death of the reigning one, although powerful rulers could obviously affect the choice. The royal office carried with it an aura of untouchability, remoteness, and sacredness. People referred to the Mai as "Master" using the term applied by slaves to their owners. People approached the royal cage in which the Mai was seated and prostrated themselves before the bars putting sand on their heads or going through the motions of doing so to indicate the humility and respect they felt in his presence.

175 644 Members of the royal family held titled offices. These included the monarch's own mother, his senior wife, and often a senior female relative, either a sister, half-sister, or more distant female relatives in the male line. The sons and

[7] A fief is a political unit within a state over which a superior has rights of tribute collection and political leadership (not necessarily exclusive rights) given to him by his or his ancestors' relationship to a monarch.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter
642 case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to
631 his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he
634 wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to
648 the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the spe-
793 cialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurispru-
692 dence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom al-
651 though records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Tributes could be quite large; there are records of payments from Kanem to Bornu in the sixteenth century that mention amounts of 1000 head of cattle per year. 175 651

Along with taxation and other demands such as annual military service, there was a system of exemption whereby persons or groups were released from their obligations to the state in return for some service—usually prayers and other religious duties. These exemptions, *Mabram,* were made by royal declaration in writing which stipulated that facets of a person's obligation were henceforward considered to be *haram* or forbidden, like the eating of pork. One of the oldest of these, given to the family of Umme Jilma, declares that the family is forever exempt from (a) entertaining the king's men during the dry-season military and tax collection campaigns, (b) from *diya* or blood compensation for injuries inflicted on others by accident, and (c) all forms of tribute and taxes. In time, however, all these exemptions were often honored more in the breach or renegotiated. Thus one sixteenth-century monarch ordered a large group to go to war. These people promptly refused on the basis of a *Mabram* given them by a previous ruler. When the king insisted, the entire group prepared to leave his kingdom. However a compromise was worked out in which they accepted military service and paid practically no taxes. This very same group is mentioned again in the traditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Shehu Laminu ruled that their exemptions should pertain only to the leaders of the group, not the entire set of male line descendants of the original holders of this privilege, who by this time had become a very large population. 175 651 701

In its apogee during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bornu kingdom was an expansionist power, and warfare was the state function par excellence. According to traditions and written records, as many as seven or eight military campaigns a year were not uncommon; this meant an expedition might leave Bornu every six or eight weeks during the dry season. With so much militarism the techniques of warfare elaborated accordingly. From at least the sixteenth century onward, Bornu imported muskets, swords, chain mail which were vital and ancient parts of the Saharan trade, although such armaments were also manufactured by Bornu craftsmen as well. 175 721 [411] [914] [431]

The army itself was organized into regiments, representing a local area or an ethnic group under their own leaders, and they went into battle according to a well laid out military strategy. Campaigns were amost always conducted against walled towns. The shield bearers advanced first; then after it was felt that the poison arrows of the enemy were exhausted, the rest of the army would advance either storming the walls or forcing the town dwellers to come out and fight—whereupon muskets and cavalry were used. Generally speaking open encounters were quite unusual; the Bornu army was large, well disciplined, and well equipped, while the town dwellers were weak in all these respects and would usually try to flee once the siege went against them. Fallen towns were then mercilessly looted and the inhabitants killed or enslaved. 175 704 72

After the campaign and the distribution of booty by the leaders, the army disbanded. Leaders of various territorial ethnic groups swore allegiance to the king and arranged for the next campaign to be held so many days hence. At that time, criers were sent around to local markets stating the date and place of rendezvous for the army. Able bodied men were expected to go or send a representative bear- [203]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 704 72 ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient [703] even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

175 178 642 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu Shehus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachel- [554] las and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court.

175 554 642 178 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering 175 554 644 [643] through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to discuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient. 175 564 644

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today. 175 644 662 175 642 643 692 175 64 793 [178]

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means." 175 681

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There 175 634 642 643 421

175 634 642 643 421 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territorially based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord remained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 634 622 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a village head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both. 175 634 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings expand in size, and he tried to help this process along by not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them from raiders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and ability to supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so that it was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 622 632 634 642 643 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles. 175 554 66

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs. 175 433 175 423

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area. 175 463 467 [443]

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere. 175 43 [567] [286] [184]

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed. 175 431

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu- 175 439 437

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroi-
439 dered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and
437 later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the
648 kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu
175 under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had
177 not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do
648 as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade,
634 which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the
175 nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was
177 called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of vil-
648 lage areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area
632 head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore
634 called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now
[622] headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which
177 were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-
648
634

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

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throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

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3

The Family and Household in Bornu

AFTER SUMMARIZING the historical background and the setting of Kanuri life, I can now proceed to analyze the society as a working, on-going whole, in other words as a process. Anthropologists generally do this by dividing the society up into what they consider to be its most significant parts. They then describe each part and try to show how these parts are related to one another, and to the functioning of a whole society. The manner in which such an analysis proceeds—what is left out, what is included, and what comes first or last—is the product of the author's "functional theory" of the society, his idea of how it works. 121 128

For Kanuri society I have chosen to start with kinship and the household as the first parts of the whole to be described and understood. First, the household is where the Kanuri themselves begin to learn of their own society and how they must act to become full-fledged participants. Secondly these parts, especially that of the household, form the basic units of Kanuri social structure such that almost all other social life in Bornu can be analyzed and understood once these particular parts are described. To start with a description of any other part of the society such as the economic or the political organization would require explanations and references to family and household life in order to make the material understandable to the reader. It is better to start the analysis at this point—that of kinship and household—then proceed to build up a picture of the society having first looked at what I consider to be its crucible, the kinship system, and its cornerstone, the household.

The Kinship System

The kinship system of any society involves three categories of behavior that may overlap one another but are always different from each other. They are as follows: 121 60 61

(a) Genealogical relations—the links between individuals which are based upon biological reproduction.

(b) Descent relations—the links between individuals which are based upon

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121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

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These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be 611 settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court nor- 613 mally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance 671 dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court 428 at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal 692 grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he 578 can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is 672 legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime 602 against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations 602 through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin 611 (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are consid- 613 ered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their 829 lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always [578] some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not [554] just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a cer- 554 tain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take 123 him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers 829 or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might 613 be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate 848 613

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

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848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the [586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 595 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, supposedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tives, usually female relatives, in the name of the groom; these are called the *kwororam*, or the asking-a-question payments. Secondly, there are the formally recognized payments. The first of these is a large one called the *luwaliram*, given to the *luwali*, or the man who officially gives the bride to the groom and to whom she will return if she ever runs away or separates from her husband. This is followed several weeks later by a *sada'u*, a small fee given to the girl's family through her *luwali* on the morning of the wedding day. And thirdly there are a number of small payments paid out to the girl and her young friends, to the female relative(s) who accompany her to the groom's house, and to any unmarried sister she has left behind. The groom receives a few small gifts from the girl's family, and on the morning of the wedding day when the *sada'u* is paid, he receives gifts of money, clothes, and even on occasion a horse. He never knows beforehand, however, just how much or how little this "rebate" will come to in relation to his own outlay for the marriage. 583

When the status of the two families is similarly low, as it is in the vast majority of rural marriages, then there is very little worry over bridewealth. Generally it is not very high and almost standardized for the locality. An important man always pays more bridewealth because everyone believes he can afford it. Paying more for everything he does, including marriage, is one of the ways he validates or proves his higher social rank. An interesting insight is also gained when it is realized that not only is the status of the person getting married taken into account, but also the status of those whom he is associated with and whom he can count on for help. In our little town of Magumeri many people tried to have their daughters marry members of my household because, as they laughingly admitted, they knew I would help my household members with bridewealth, and my apparently wealthy status in Magumeri meant that payments could be set a good deal higher than usual for such a marriage. 583 554 583 554 123

No matter what the status of the two families may be, girls who have not been married before command a much higher set of bridewealth payments, and more of them. The magnitude is often three to five times as much and in extreme cases it goes even higher than that. Men tend to give more as they grow older and can afford it, while conversely women often receive less as they go from one marriage to the next. Kanuri say that a woman who has been married many times has been used a great deal and is therefore worth much less than others who have not had so many marriages and been used as much. On the other hand, if she remained with previous husband(s) for longer periods, has a reputation for quiet obedience, and staying inside the household, then the groom feels more confident about her and will pay more. Similarly if the women has borne children and has demonstrated her fertility, she is also worth more. Although some men know practically nothing about their wives to be, others investigate them and inquire into the reasons for previous marriage break-ups and so on. Was it because her previous husband beat her, or because she was an adulteress, or was excessively jealous of co-wives? Did she not perform her wifely duties properly, or show proper respect to her husband? Certainly some men like to know what kind of wife they are getting and this affects their willingness to pay bridewealth. However, it is not uncommon for a Kanuri man to say that he knew a particular wife for only a week, or perhaps just a day or two before they were married. In this case the woman's marital record is 58 562 581

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

581 unimportant; instead the man considers other factors such as his need for a wife, the marriage expenses including the bridewealth, and the physical attractiveness of the woman.

583 The previous relationship of the groom to the girl and her family can vary the bridewealth enormously. Often the groom, and/or his family, are acquainted with the girl, and/or her family, as neighbors and friends. When this is the case, then other factors tend to enter in to determine the bridewealth. But in a number of special and not uncommon situations, the groom is released from the bulk of the bridewealth or it is substantially lowered. If the girl is his cousin (the Kanuri [582] marry all cousins, although they claim it is not good to marry one's mother's sister's daughter) then he may find that only a small *sada'u* payment is necessary. About [584] one-fifteenth of all Kanuri marriages are of this kind, and of these about one-fifth involve unions in which the little cousin was promised to the boy when she was an infant at the time that he was circumcised, roughly about puberty. At that time he becomes her *luwali* or the dispenser of her marriage rights and can arrange for her future husband or marry her himself when she reached puberty. In other cases the 583 groom is a dependent or client of the girl's *luwali* (usually her father) and the 581 marriage tends to cement the relationship between him and the father even further. Indeed many subordinates of "big men" in Bornu think of their superiors as being obliged to help them find a wife. In such a case the groom may assume only a small portion of the expenses, or the wife-to-be is a daughter or relative of the superior and the latter depresses the payments purposely, so his subordinate can marry. In a few cases girls are given to *mallams* (koranic teacher-priests) and no bridewealth is required. Such unions are called "marriages of charity" and the *luwali* who abrogates his rights to bridewealth in this fashion is considered to be a pious man. In actual practice it is not very common. This is seen in the marriage histories of the *mallams* themselves who may have married once in five or six times this way but rarely more than that. *Mallams* claim that they do not like it because it makes them obligated to the wife-giver for free prayers, constant officiating as a religious leader in the household of the *luwali*, and so on, so that they avoid such charity in order to maintain their independence. This avoidance is mitigated if they are already members of the *luwali's* household and the marriage is simply cementing the relationship.

583 The bargaining abilities on both sides of the marriage can also determine the bridewealth. The groom's representatives are told by the girl's family, through her *luwali*, that the groom can expect many gifts which will compensate for an elaborate and expensive wedding. The groom's representatives tell the woman and her relatives, especially her *luwali*, of the groom's qualities, especially his kindness and generosity, his wealth and expectations of more, his potentialities as a successful man, and his connection through friends, through his own services, and relatives to very important people. On his side, the *luwali* speaks of the benefits to be gained by marriage to this particular girl and slowly the bridewealth payment, [585] especially the *luwaliram*, emerges at a set price. On her first wedding night, a previously unmarried girl also bargains at great length in order to bid up a special consummation fee that is her right.

If the marriage arrangements take place in the autumn, or around harvest time, it is assumed that the man will have more cash than at other times. Thus the

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price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.*

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style [582]
schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife. 581 562

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times. 58 159

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bridewealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [887]

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58 often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and
159 so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose
[832] magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali,* (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

183 The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in
586 and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

592 By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great
593 deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their
512 friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

593 In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household)
562 and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave
565 the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

For the most part relations between husbands and wives are highly formalized. They avoid using one another's names in conversation. In public only the most necessary interaction takes place between them when other people are around. Women walk generally behind their husbands when the two are going somewhere together, and even in the household the woman remains or should remain inside the compound. When he is not working, the husband sits most often in the entrance hut or in front of his household. A visit to a Kanuri household brings the husband to the entrance hut if he is inside, and at the same time the wife retreats out of sight. For the most part women remain in the company of women, and men with men. Only in a few rare cases have I ever observed public expressions of friendliness between a husband and a wife. 593 576 562

Cultural tradition has ordained that men are the dominant members of society, and women, more specifically wives, are to be submissive. This is both Islamic and Kanuri. It is good and seemly for a woman to obey her husband and to appear humble in his presence. Men decide where the family is to live, who a daughter is to marry, and a multitude of day-to-day questions on every aspect of family life. For a wife or indeed any family member to make a decision without consulting the husband-father is asking for trouble. Disputes between a husband and a wife, in which a man can refer to a breech of his authority as the cause of the disagreement, are invariably settled in his favor and might include physical punishment by the husband if the wife is very young. Thus a district head ruled against the plaintiffs in a case in which the husband had been accused by the wife's relatives of a beating which he had administered to her. The district head stated that the girl had been grossly disobedient and that it was the husband's right to punish such acts, especially in one so very young who was still learning how to be a proper wife. 593 [562]

One out of every two Kanuri marriages is a polygynous one. Thus a woman is very likely sometime during her life to be in a situation in which she is one of two or more co-wives. Relations between co-wives is governed by strict codes of procedure. Each wife has her own hut in the back area of the compound farthest from the entrance hut or gate. Each wife cooks her own food and raises her own children who sleep in her hut while they are small. When co-wives go abroad as a group to the wells or to a ceremony, the senior wife—the one married to the husband-in-common for the longest time—takes the lead with the other wives behind in a single file. Then come the female children in terms of their own relative ages. During a family ceremony the senior wife is the authoritative head of the women's section and directs the work of the others. Relations with the husband are strictly regulated. The general rule is that each wife performs her duties from sunset to sunset and the evening meal is taken after sunset. Every wife takes her own turn cooking the husband's food and that night she visits him in his hut. He may or may not have intercourse with her, but he must try to share sexual favors as equally as possible or else word about it will spread around in the family and cause tension between wives. 595

Although it is very rare to observe cases of long-standing co-wife relations because of the high amount of divorce in Bornu, the Kanuri always say that co-wives can become very good friends if they remain married to the same man for a long period of time. On the other hand it is fairly easy to observe co-wife relations that are stiff, formal, and even tense and hostile. One woman whom I know actual-

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595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very 597 common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' com- [562] pound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed 837 this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes [521] about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their 593 own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband 586 and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

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rare circumstances women themselves initiate the proceedings by announcing the divorce, although this is usually done with a circumlocution such as when she says, as one woman did, "There is nothing holding us together but these gifts that you have given me. Take them. I wish to go." 593 586

About eighty to ninety percent of all marriages end in divorce, probably because it is such a simple affair. The husband in most cases simply tells the wife to go, saying "I divorce you." He does not say it three times, as is usual in Islamic countries, because the wife may return, for the Kanuri practice of Muslim marriage is such that, after saying "I divorce you," three times there should be no reconciliation or remarriage. Once a pronouncement of divorce has been made the woman leaves her husband's household and the marriage enters a special hundred-day period in which the woman cannot remarry although the man may do so. This is defined as a waiting period to see whether or not the woman is pregnant so that the man can claim the child. The woman generally returns to her *luwali* at this time and there is always some negotiation between the man and the *luwali* to see whether or not the marriage can be patched up. About one-third of all divorce pronouncements do end in reconciliation even though the husband most often divorces her again later on. It is interesting to note that unlike western society, practically no Kanuri divorce cases (perhaps one percent) go to the courts; thus it is impossible to get the records of divorce except through field study of actual cases. [979] [114]

When a divorce occurs children remain with their father unless they are still nursing. After nursing they are generally sent back to the father's household, although the period is sometimes stretched out for young girls who are trained by their mothers. Children of broken unions are cared for by a father's co-wife or by some other close relative of the father. Contacts with a divorced parent are always maintained and the child visits his or her mother regularly. This is especially true for boys who expect to take care of their mother when she is an elderly unmarried woman. Conflicts sometimes arise because a man's daughter does not return and the mother's relatives or one of her subsequent husbands might try to arrange a marriage without consulting her own father. If such consultations take place, however, no one feels put out and the man who arranged the marriage takes a portion of the bridewealth in payment.

Each spouse in a marriage maintains very close contacts with his or her own relatives. Presents are exchanged and visits back and forth between members of kin groups are very common. Children are named after relatives, especially grandparents, and in many cases go to live with them after weaning, or before the birth of a new baby in the family. Only in cases of long term marriage does a wife finally come to feel a part of and fully accepted by her husband's family. However when this does happen the wife can become a very powerful voice in the family, and her long and intimate association with her husband often means that she has become a permanent authority in the household. In one such case a senior wife had never been married to anyone else and had been married to her husband, a powerful man in the village, for thirty years. The man remarked that he made very few decisions without consulting this woman, and people recognized that she had a powerful position in village affairs. Such cases, however, are not common. Kanuri marriage involves a separation of the sexes not only by custom and tradition but as a result of the conflicts in marriage relations which produce tensions between husbands and 593 602 [553] 593

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593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 577 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode [861] of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may [602] take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [867] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what [561] their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

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Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to 577
their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Al- 571
though men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and 593
respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality [828]
to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and [861]
his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior 571
called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, 576
especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very 571
friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. 576
His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and 593
never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of 571
father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as 576
older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young 593
nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are 602
greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri [591]
girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, 571
the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* 576
or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

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571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex.

571 576 578 602 [182] Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

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very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households [829]
through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

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592 uses it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather
593 than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for
592 more than one generation.
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> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, ". . . continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances. An-
554 other informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of
592 people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

592 About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two un-
571 married adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

000 The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bar-*

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bar-zum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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takes place. Here an individual learns the modes of behavior towards others that he requires for an adequate and successful social life in Kanuri society. The kinship system, the family, and the household produce individuals who can live in other households; and using the basic modes of behavior from household life they can participate in the widely ramified political and economic organization of their society. Thus kinship, family, and household—but most importantly the household and the superior-subordinate relations within it—provide a basis and a locus for maintaining the society and its values in their present form.

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4

The Life Cycle: From Birth to Death in Kanuri Society

THE HISTORY of Kanuri society, its family and household organization, and the other groupings described later in this book that make it into a system, are all activated and made real by the people who spend their lives in Bornu. Kanuri society, indeed any society, can be described by giving the major details of its organized social life. However, such a description uses as its units the roles and groups that make up each organization. The units (roles and groups) are separate parts of the system, but it is important to remember that roles and groups are stage settings for the behavior of real people who are born, grow up, love, hate, get married, grow old and die. Some are more successful, some less so, but the way in which they live a Kanuri life from beginning to end is what produces the energy, the continuity, and the change within the structure of their society. 121

Like people everywhere the Kanuri see a pattern in the life span of individuals. This is thought of as a series of stages or grades determined fundamentally by age and sex. Whether he or she be rich or poor, peasant, slave, or of royal blood these stages still apply and mark off a lifetime. Like age grades in all societies there is a rough correlation at each stage with that of physiological growth, maturation and decline. However, the specific factors of local geography and the adaptation to it, as well as their social complexity and culture history, have molded the grades into the specific set of life stages that can be called Kanuri. In the future, the forces of modernism will add their weight to this stream and produce changes in this traditional cycle. For the present, however, I want to present a picture of a Kanuri lifetime, as my informants report it and as I have observed it in Bornu, starting with gestation and ending with the death of an individual. 561

Gestation

Kanuri men and women almost universally claim that having children is desirable for married couples, although charms that both promote and prevent pregnancy can be obtained locally from specialists. The culture norms on this point are 842 183

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842 quite explicit, and married couples are supposed to want children. Those few
183 women who admitted to me, confidentially, not wanting children had very high divorce records, while all others conformed to expectations when asked specifically concerning their desire for offspring.

842 Traditionally the Kanuri believe that conception results from simultaneous orgasm during sexual intercourse. This information I got from older men who do not, however, know in any detail when or how often such an event actually takes
843 place. Instead they reason that it has occurred when their wife reports a pregnancy.
[842] When a woman is over one month late in a menstrual cycle (a few said forty-five days) conception is suspected, and she begins to buy charms on the market to safeguard a normal gestation. During this initial period the husband and wife, ideally at least, should not speak of the pregnancy to anyone until at least the second menstrual period has been missed, and then only to their very close friends and relatives. Such talk, indeed any excess conversation about the pregnancy, is believed to be dangerous to the course and development of a normal pregnancy. Even during the later stages just before birth only very cryptic references are made by the parents when they refer to the coming event. Pregnancy, like a number of other occa-
[984] sions in one's lifetime, is considered a very fragile time, a time when an individual is vulnerable to maliciousness from humans or spirits. Because it is difficult to know about such maliciousness, until after its effects are felt, it is better to avoid mentioning the susceptible circumstances.

[833] Sexual intercourse is continued throughout pregnancy since the Kanuri believe that such activity makes for an easier labor at birth by keeping the passage open and providing fluids for the child and the mother.

Although the Kanuri recognize the pregnancy period of nine months, the woman continues her normal work until the lying-in period is signaled by labor. On the other hand exceptions to the nine-month period occur, and some women claim to have been pregnant for years although no outward sign is visible. This latter condition is referred to as *bənji,* that is to say an embryo that will not come out of the womb. A woman may miss a menstrual cycle once and then become convinced that she has conceived. If her conviction holds she may, after menstruating again, diagnose the condition as a *bənji.* Missing a menstrual period, however, is not absolutely necessary for the diagnosis. Women who spoke of having *bənji* felt that any woman could have one, but they also agreed that in their experience the woman was usually older and either had not given birth for a long time or had had a completely infertile marriage history. Certainly many Kanuri women seem to be barren, and this cultural belief must help to assuage the disappointment of a hopeful but sterile woman. It may also serve to alleviate the loss of womanly role for an older woman who sees herself being replaced in her reproductive functions by her husband's younger wives.

Birth

844 When the woman is about to give birth, she is assisted by her own mother if she is in the vicinity, or her mother-in-law if she is living with her husband's family, and sometimes by a specialist in midwifery. There are stories told about

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women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks 844
by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby.

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a preg- [515]
nant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a [759]
local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose.

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains 846
inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman.

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is un- [851]
known outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats [825]
are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during [966]
these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community.

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the 431
child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the 851
men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of

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this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

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nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success. 553 [431] [465]

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way: [792] [782] [431]

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes 551 553 553

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in [431] the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after [431] him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

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dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the infant then has a simple 863
and comforting toilet ready made for it by the mother. Afterwards its loins are
washed and the hole covered up with sand. During the entire infant stage breast- 853
feeding is carried on easily and simply upon demand by the infant for the breast.
Indeed the breast is generally used as a pacifier.

A typical scene in a mother's hut illustrates the way in which the introduc- 867
tion of a new baby to society is carried out. The mother and her friends sit around 854
chatting and they pass the baby around, dandling it in turn, although the baby re-
mains with the mother for a large part of the time. A very common topic of con- [521]
versation at such times is, quite unsurprisingly, the new baby. But unlike a similar
group of American ladies most of the talk is *to* and not *about* the baby. The
mother and many of those present tell the uncomprehending infant in sing-song
voices about its kindred, "So-and-so is your father, so-and-so is your brother, so-
and-so is your sister," and so on through a vast complex of kinship links on both
the mother's and the father's side of the family. The infant is also told in the same
way about its neighborhood, its section of the town, or its village, its political lead-
ers, and so on. "So-and-so is your village head, so-and-so is your district head, and
this is your tribe and this is your emirate, and this is your *Shehu,* and so-and-so
is your Waziri." The family occupation is also mentioned and how soon the infant
is going to help in such-and-such activities around the compound and grow up into
successful adulthood within the framework of all the associations and expectations
that are referred to constantly.

Why tell a baby about its social connections, occupational expectations, po- 867
litical affiliations, and so on? Certainly later on, when it can understand a little 182
more of the language, such talk is a means of initiating it into the social groupings
of the society. However at this stage another function is performed. The child is a
new member of the society, and it is being introduced into and given a recognizable place in its social setting. The new member means new relationships. So-and-so who did not have a younger brother's son, now has one; someone else now has a new cousin and perhaps a future spouse; or someone else now has a sister's son or an additional one. The coming of the *tiful* or infant creates changes because a new member has been added and in introducing it to society people are asked to shift their understanding of the organizations which now must include this new member. By constantly referring to these new relationships during the infant's first few months people close to the family affirm to themselves and finally to others the fact that many relationships are different now that the new baby has arrived safely.

As far as training goes, the *tiful* is too young to be very harshly dealt with 861
or to be told not to do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and grow into a 854
useful, law-abiding, member of its community.

Childhood

Infancy ends as weaning begins, about the end of the eighteenth month al- 862
though a good deal of variation exists in actual practice so that many are weaned [858]
earlier. In general weaning is carried out with a matter-of-fact attitude as if to say,

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862 "This is just a common, everyday matter," and should not be thought of as giving anyone any trouble. When difficulties do arise an older woman of the compound or the family offers her breast as a pacifier. In the odd case where this does not succeed pressures tighten up. The breast is referred to as "dirty" or specifically as "excreta" and in extreme instances bitter grounds of leaves are put on the breast and the lesson is very quickly learned.

861 863 858 [516] [826] After weaning, pressures are slowly brought to bear to teach the child proper ways of living among its people. Thus, as soon as a child can totter, the adult woman in whose hut he is sleeping starts to enforce the rule that he or she should go outside to perform toilet functions, stoop over with knees bent and buttocks near the ground using only the left hand for any attentions necessary to elimination. Later on as language skills develop the importance of the left hand is more highly emphasized as well as the advisability of being discreet about toilet functions. After the age of two and a half or three, scolding gets more intense and the child is told it is dirty or bad for urinating on the floor. Naturally the severity of the training depends to a large extent as well on the particular situation, the mood and personality of the mother, or other socializing agents present, as well as the age of the child. Thus a grandmother was observed who was not overly excited when her two-year-old grandson urinated on the floor, but she became quite angry when he wet her bed.

861 Patient but continuous teaching by adults in the household is a constant part of everyday activities for the young child. The following excerpt from field notes tells its own story:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little grandson, "Kachella, pick up the plate. Now, take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now, take that other plate and cover the food over. (Plates are made of grass.) That's right, very good." This simple operation which would have taken the grandmother a few seconds has been carried out after two patient minutes of instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

867 868 Childhood also ushers in the establishment of sex roles. Boys are now called "small boys" and girls are "small girls" or "three heads" referring to the three-pronged hair style of prepubescent girls. Boys and girls wear different clothes and begin fairly soon to associate with members of their own sex and to carry out chores that are specifically for boys or for girls. In play groups based on sex they wander freely about the village or neighborhood of the city gathering like flies to honey at the slightest hint of any excitement, and wandering further afield from their own compound as they get older. The girl comes quickly under the authority of the women of the household especially her own mother if she is brought up at home. She learns the intricacies of preparing food, carrying water, and the ever-present task of grinding millet either at a quern or by pounding it on a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, run messages, gather grass for a horse if there is one, tend the goats and sheep of the compound, and learn the family dry-season occupation. Pressure to learn these skills is slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but severe. The child is beaten with a rod or whip until neighbors and friends succeed in persuading the parents to cease or desist. Reasons given for the beating often concern the sudden, or con-

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tinual dereliction of some duty although outright malfeasance such as stealing can also bring swift and awesome retribution. For example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest. When punishment occurs its severity is noted by all children within earshot, and thus the beating of one child of the village or ward serves notice on all that punishment is not just a matter of threats but may become a reality if limits are transgressed. 861 868

That such household learning soon becomes habitual can be seen any day in a Bornu village by watching children. Even a little girl of three and a half can accomplish tasks involving quite a lot of dexterity. One little girl of this age was passed a straw mat plate and separately given some paper clips. She neatly put the paper clips on the plate and began her own already advanced imitation of the quick, deft, jiggling movements associated with the sifting of ground-nut shells. None of her paper clips was dropped, and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some sifted ground nuts." 868 857

Sometimes play takes in both sexes and is more complex than simple imitation like the one above. Thus for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through ten may organize a "wedding." The "bride" and "groom" are chosen as are the various kindred, the best man, the leading woman, etc. Care is taken to practice as many of the details of the adult virgin wedding ceremony as they can manage including even a mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll. Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children. Adults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children. Such play is related to an even more complex form called *mai-mai*, which is no longer practiced in Bornu. In playing *mai-mai* the young children in a village put on a pageant. They chose a king, nobles, servants, slaves, wives, gave titles to everyone, and behaved for several days in the guise of these socio-political roles. Mock battles were fought, slaves taken and justice meted out in a mock court. Seniority was established by age and consent. The organization was temporary like the "wedding" and disbanded after a few days. During periods when adults are out of the compound, away at a market, or working in the fields during the growing season, children often play house. The group gets together and appoints "fathers," "wives," and "children." The little children may actually cook for their "husbands" on such occasions and the couples go into a hut in the compound where sexual play is carried on. They are, however, soon called back to the larger group where it has been declared "morning" by another child who has announced the "morning prayers" signifying that night has passed. Boys are aware that such play should stop when they can ejaculate. From then on they are men; sex is a serious affair and unmarried girls are illegitimate objects of sexual intercourse. However such prepubescent sex derived from playing "house" is widespread, or to paraphrase one young informant, "Everyone does such things when they are young." 867 857 [864] [858]

Boys especially, but girls as well, may also begin some religious instruction during their childhood. Although girls never leave home for this purpose, boys sometimes do after the age of six or seven. In some cases the teacher lives nearby 869 871 562

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869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community; and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
871 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly
584 as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[594] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of interest one is struck by the similarities and the differences in their lives as compared to similar groups in western society. Like young men everywhere they discussed the merits of various occupations, the economic returns, the power and prestige to be gained from one or the other type of job, and so on. Unlike their counterparts in western society, they also spend a great deal of time discussing the qualities of "the big men" in Bornu and the benefits received by loyal followers of these men. They are keenly aware, or try to be, of whose fortunes are rising and falling among the big men and listen with great interest to some new tidbit of information to this effect. Like their counterparts elsewhere teenagers learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble, and drink alcoholic beverages during this period. School boys also learn western table manners and take periodic meals in the places that serve western style food.

One of the most important features of a Kanuri boy's adolescence is his choice of training for an occupation. All young boys learn the fundamentals of farming in the households of their youth since almost all compound heads in Bornu, except some in the city, have farms. In some rural villages boys will learn nothing else but farming and probably remain farmers all their lives. On the other hand the majority of Kanuri boys learn another occupation which they will practice during the dry season or the non-farming season. For most boys the choice is determined ahead of time by the elders of the household, or by the economic specializations in their own vicinity. For example, one boy whose father is a salt retailer and who lives with his father in the ward of the dyers has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households. In general boys are expected to take up the occupation of their fathers unless they or their parents have strong desires and an opportunity to do something else. There is much evidence to show that in making the decision the wishes of the young boys were taken into account. Thus one young man remarked that he would never comply with his father's desire that he become a butcher. Instead he started to work with his father's younger brother in the nearby compound and is learning to be a trader in hides and skins. Today a large range of new occupations is opening up; modernization has served to accelerate this degree of freedom simply because there are many more occupations and a wider range of potential income.

Kanuri occupations other than farming usually involve some apprenticeship, especially for young boys. Such training varies with the kind of job being learned, with the age of the boy, and with the nature of the relationship between the boy and the man teaching him the occupation. If an occupation has a higher status or there is an expectation of high income or prestige associated with it, the person doing an apprenticeship must expect a longer training period in return for having been admitted into an advantageous position. Thus truck drivers who make a comparatively high income demand a fee besides three to five years of service from the person taken on as an apprentice. Butchers occupy a low-status position in the society, but they can also earn fairly good incomes and therefore they, too, claim longer than usual apprenticeship. As the boy becomes older, it is expected that his training period will become shorter, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun, the longer the education. This simply reflects Kanuri recognition of the more rapid learning that comes with age.

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima*, or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima*, or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima*. The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[8] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[8] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

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192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

posed to divorce so often; he is not supposed to have liaisons with divorced women, and he is supposed to behave in a judicious manner as one of the leading members of his community. Thus many young married men living in or near the compound of an older relative or some non-relative, who might be a political and economic superior, refused to be called mature even when they were married. They claimed that they were still young men and that they had still some way to go before they could be called mature adults. Carrying this point further, men whose occupation required that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives limited the application of the word "mature" to themselves, and did so rather proudly. For example, one man of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the district head's father and who was himself a lifelong servant of the district head of Magumeri, accepted a definition of himself in general as a mature man. Indeed he said, laughingly, he would soon be an old man. He explained that he was mature because he had a married daughter, a farm, a nice compound, a wife who he asserted proudly had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he thought he should be dubbed "mature." When asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his district head without the latter's instructions, he quickly replied, "Oh no! In that sense, I am still a small boy." This was in no way shameful for him since his recognition in the community and his status in the society as a whole stands upon his subordinate relationship to the district head.

885 196

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term for the mature man whose meaning also embodies the same ideology of adult behavior. The woman who has had a child can be referred to by a special term that indicates that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and added a new member to her husband's household and to both of their families. Middle-aged women can be referred to by another term which distinguishes them from younger woman and from old women whether or not they have given birth to children. In practice such terms are not observed in common use, the woman's status and age being described in other terms.

885 192

Ideally an adult woman should be married and should desire to remain so. She should be obedient to her husband, have and want children, and perform her womanly tasks promptly and efficiently while remaining chaste within the walls of her husband's compound, leaving it only when absolutely necessary. She should, however, maintain contact with her own family and return there for important family ceremonies. As one would expect, those who come closest to this ideal in their own behavior often tend to agree with this image of womanly perfection and give it their unqualified support. However those who divorce often and easily tend to qualify their agreement. Thus in answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband demanded you always stay inside the compound?" a woman who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years answered simply, "He is the head of the household," meaning "I must obey." Contrarily, a woman who at the age of thirty-five had been married and divorced four times replied, "Then I would make him divorce me. I would leave him immediately."

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While men who are unmarried or between marriages live very similar lives to married men, divorced women are striking in their contrast to their married sisters. A married woman among the Kanuri is tied to her husband's household and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
888 though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men
[826] and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

888 on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women.
565 If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age,
589 and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in
[434] society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some
[788] notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a universal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to
775 achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many
621 religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who
621 teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

in Magumeri died in the morning and was buried in the afternoon. The people explained this by saying that it was the hot season and he had died early in the morning. To wait until the next morning, they said, was too long and not good for the community. This was an oblique way of referring to the belief that the ghost of a dead man is dangerous especially to children until he is buried. 764 [775]

The ceremony itself is quite simple. The body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth and placed on a bier, and then taken out to the burial grounds by the men. Prayers are said continually and the family mourns officially for forty days by saying special prayers and remaining close to home. During the ceremony men remain impassive, quietly telling their beads and praying softly to themselves. Women, on the other hand, come in groups walking slowly in single file wailing and crying, especially if the deceased is a close neighbor, friend, or relative. If a man is needed for a short communication, a woman might stop wailing suddenly, talk in an ordinary voice, then just as quickly resume her keening. A few women at every funeral were observed who were much more totally involved and did not break up their wailing when asked to do something else. Sometimes these wails of the women become songs with words. This is less true at funerals of men where if it happens the song or chant says over and over again, "He was a good man." For a dead woman the words are also, "She was a good woman," but an added verse, especially if the dead woman was not very old, refers to the hard life of a woman and how long and unending are her chores. There is a definite implication here that the heavy burdens of womanhood can bring an early death. [782] [765] [761]

This, then is the Kanuri life cycle; it is adapted to Bornu society and the historical development of that society. The fact that the household is the major unit of social organization means that people of different ages are constantly in touch with one another. Even though those in all age groups have many friends of their own age, they associate freely and easily with people of all age groups within their household where membership crosses generation lines. This means that younger age groupings are constantly learning the ways of behaving and thinking of those older than themselves and almost automatically know how to act as they grow up. By contrast in many western societies interaction between generations is extremely difficult, and each generation seems to be developing an almost semi-separate culture whose intricacies must be learned after one has joined that particular age group. Because western schooling has not yet separated an entire generation from their parents, there is little room among the Kanuri for many discontinuities in learning, and therefore in hopes, fears, and aspirations on the part of each successive generation. Obviously this has produced and helps to maintain much of the stability in Kanuri society, and as such it is a key factor when we wish to ask questions about conditions of change in the entire society of Bornu. 105 182

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Economic Life

121 433 NO MATTER WHERE or who they are the members of every human society must have some means by which they obtain the material goods and services deemed valuable and important to their way of life. How these goods are produced, distributed, and consumed forms the basis of the economic system of any society. However, for our present purposes the details of production are beside the point, for they deal with the local technology rather than the economy in the sense that this economy is part of the social system. Therefore, I will restrict the present chapter to the various units of Kanuri economy and its interrelationships which provide the means by which economic life is successfully carried on in Bornu.

433 The Kanuri do not have factories to produce goods, there are only a few large trading companies, and there are even fewer large institutional consumers of goods and services such as hospitals, schools, factories, armed forces, hotels, and so on. The bulk of the people is spread out over the entire area of Bornu in small [162] towns and hamlets, and even in the few cities the basic economic facts of life for most of the households are very similar to those throughout the entire area. Villages and hamlets are only economic units to the extent that they have boundaries, and all the land is held by virtue of one's residence in a particular village or hamlet. However towns do not act corporately for most economic purposes. That is to say they do not buy and sell things as units, they do not organize the production of goods as units, nor do they organize the distribution of goods and services within or between villages as units. The only level at which this is done consistently [592] throughout the society is at the level of the household whose members do form themselves into a unit of production and consumption.

592 It is important to remember from Chapter 3 that a household is not the same thing as the family. Very high divorce and fairly high mobility of the household members in general means that the people living in a Kanuri household can and do change a great deal over time. The economic life of the household, however, may not have changed at all. Just as personnel turnover does not change the basic nature of a business firm in western society, so does it have little effect on the jobs to be done and how they are carried out in a Kanuri household.

[433] There are other units in the economy, and as we describe the major features

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of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

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the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

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cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers, all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social relationships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

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and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

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423 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer,
592 simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they
241 are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader
423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings.
[428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in
[691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams
[241] or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering.
[221] These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in
467 each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived
[622] in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather
[178] worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

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so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

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438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
591 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

463 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them
592 to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a
159 skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continu-
571 ous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who
[253] wander through the area.
[554]
[171]

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together.
[428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the
[241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his appren-
[464] tices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also
[434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's
592 meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep
571 and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the
253 time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before
159 the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the
434 market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have
[221] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has
[572] unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 443 43 [455] in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 443 445 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 [192] [103] Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week [796] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you 443 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one 484 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy 438 trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route. 443 489 438

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life. 443 494 489 443 438 182

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling. 443 [691] [692]

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they 443 438 435

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age. 44 159 466 571

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father." 443 159 571 592

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa. 442 159 [435] [439]

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself. 442 437 159

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this 442 437 452 159

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Political Organization

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THE POLITICAL LIFE of Bornu ties togther the entire society into one overall unit so that it has an identity. As far as we know this has been the case for centuries and still is today, so that, although the Kanuri people see themselves and their society as many things, they view it primarily or basically as a political entity. To the people who live there Bornu represents a culture, a language, an ancient history, but more than anything else it represents a kingdom, or sovereign realm whose definition is political. Thus whether anyone belongs to it or not, and how one should behave within its boundaries depends first and foremost on its organization as a polity, that is, as a system in which there are recognized and legitimate means of distributing authority and making decisions at all levels of the society.

Authority distinctions are present in all organizations, and from this point of view all organizations have a political aspect. However, for our purposes it is easier to limit the discussion to the means by which decisions are made and carried out in those particular sectors of social life having some territorial or bureaucratic identity as sub-parts of the emirate government of Bornu. This excludes such things as trade groupings, like that of Ajimi's uncle described in the last chapter in which there is some hierarchy of authority, but which may not be, and often is not, located in one place. It also means that what we are discussing is a system, since each of its parts is clearly connected to the other to form a working whole. Like most other aspects of Bornu life, this system starts with the household as a basic particle and then builds onto it. It is a complicated and interwoven structure of an ancient, majestic, and yet contemporary kingdom whose stability and adaptability are monuments to men's striving for these illusive goals.

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Households, Wards, and Hamlets

As we have seen in Chapter 3 a household can expand and become a group of linked households under the superior authority of a senior man. When a young man, or a man's younger brother, or his apprentice or client, wishes to get mar-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alterna- 591
tives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or pa- 592
tron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus [593]
if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between house- 621
holds, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. 592
The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles [361]
southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa [162]
250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Sur- [103]
rounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworon-* [276]
go which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and [302]
cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named
Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. 621
He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled 592
with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a 159
younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons 571
left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
[578] are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
[627] outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
[692] in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
[103] either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
[651] present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
622 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
159 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
62 that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
[627] tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not ac-
[692] cepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
[592] named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
[571] brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these com-
[651] pounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always
[692] consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
[592] sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

632
621
622 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such
[633] as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced.

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan.

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge.

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate.

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
591 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
626 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the
[692] contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the
632 action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
182 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu, especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

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There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

632 689 578 692

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

632 689 578 692 159 [571]

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

632 685 689 578 692 159

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

578 632 689 692 [159] [685] If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643] Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. [634] On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

632 634 578 66 One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for [166] example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or [651] by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] [368]

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waz-634 iri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by 662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of 592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound [342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in [361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to 634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol-592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men 571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants 571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci-634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully 571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis-678 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize 634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci-571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan 578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-632

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head. 634 632 571 578

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization. 634 571 692 578 661

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area. 632 634 578 661

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap- 000

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate
571 leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital
592 and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

634 District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions
64 that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these
665 factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal
578 lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn
[195] into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and
[177] maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two
[662] cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district
[431] head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other
[829] powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

634 The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The dis-
651 trict head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes
578 and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a
66 large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 829 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, tele-
571 phones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional pat-
576 terns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the
[179] conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in
[663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

642
634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on. 634 652

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government. 642 634

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas. 634 [178]

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria. 665 634 642 648

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the 665 208

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true reli-
gion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
[563] riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
[579] but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them cor-
rect, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C.
and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us
here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and
eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian par-
ties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-
Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a
one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emi-
rate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There
are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until
January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern re-
gion was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the
former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this re-
gion between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be
represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these
have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more
modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within
this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and
political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals.
Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tra-
dition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it
has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

7

Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the
12 trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business en-
182 terprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same house-
592 hold. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks
829 in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live
44 there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to
571 behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of
12 Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle
178 the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators
[48] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding
[177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Recommended Reading

General Reading on the Culture Area

113

HODGKIN, T. L., 1960, *Nigerian Perspectives; An Historical Anthology*. London: Oxford University Press.

A useful introduction to many of the historical writings on Nigerian societies, especially the northern emirates. The author also synthesizes the material into a general historical summary of the western Sudan.

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/For roles of single adult males in client-patron relationships (tada njima), see category 116, pp. 48-52./

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/For client-patron relationships (tada njima), see category 571./

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/For information on the Kanuri practice of child fosterage, see category 855./

abba -- nickname meaning father, indicating child has been named after a grandparent.
abba gana -- small father; the nickname of many Kanuri boys named after their grandfather.
abba njima -- designation used by unmarried adult males for the head of the household, (a non-kin), in which they reside; it indicates the status of patron in their client-patron relationship.
ajia -- title of district head; appointed by the shehu, he is the senior among the chima gana (junior lords).
alkali -- a district judge.
aman -- the trust that exists between persons who stand in a client-patron relationship.
ashirmanza -- "secrets man", the person in whom one confides and is intimate; often a sibling or cousin of the same sex.
banji -- the belief that a woman can be pregnant for months or even years beyond the nine month gestation period, but that the fetus will just not emerge.
barzum -- an interpersonal relationship established between a senior and junior male, modelled after the father-son relationship, and in which discipline, respect, and reciprocal support are involved.
bullama -- the village head; appointed by the junior lord, he is frequently a patrilineal descendant of the village founder.
chima gana -- junior lord; in nineteenth century Bornu he administered a fief for the big lord, the fief holder, who resided in the capital; was the highest authority residing in the fief.

chima kura -- "the big lord"; holder of a fief in nineteenth century Bornu, he was appointed directly by the monarch, the shehu, and resided in the capital.

chiroma -- the prince who was heir-apparent to the throne in pre-nineteenth century Bornu.

drupa -- imported herb believed to induce fertility in women.

dur -- kinship term meaning family; applicable to either father's or mother's side.

galidima -- title of a high ranking nobleman who controlled a set of villages on the western boundary of pre-nineteenth century Bornu; he protected east-west trade and the western approach to the capital city of Galidima.

gworongo -- a plant grown as a special crop and used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic; is also the name of a small hamlet.

jihad -- a holy war.

jili -- "variety" or "kind"; defines one's ethnic background or lineage; a separate fief division encompassing nomadic groups not strictly within a territorial jurisdiction.

kachella -- military rank; powerful leaders of armed regiments with their own followers, in nineteenth century Bornu.

koguna -- the nobility in pre-nineteenth century Bornu.

kwando -- a large rope-wrapped package of nuts.

kwororam -- part of bride price; small gifts to prospective bride or her relatives.

lawan -- the head of a village area or a city ward.
luwali -- the male who retains control over the selection of a girl's spouse.
luwaliram -- a bridewealth payment made to the luwali.
magumi sefuwa -- the highest status clan in the Bornu kingdom around 1500 A.D. when the new state of Kanem was established; the highest lineage in the clan held royal power.
mai -- king; the head of the early Bornu state (1500 A.D.)
mai-mai -- complex form of play (no longer prevalent) in which children put on a pageant.
mbarma -- the head of a new hamlet or village sub-section which emerged as a satellite community.
mallams -- a male who is a koranic teacher-priest.
nungu -- "shame-avoidance" relationship; a relationship in which the junior (e.g. a son) behaves in a manner that is formal, reserved, subservient to the senior (e.g. the father)
purdah -- the confinement of wives to within the household.
rashidi -- the ideal traits of a mature adult male.
sada'u -- small fee given to girl's family on morning of wedding day.
shehu -- head of state; the monarch of Bornu.
So -- designation for the pagan group within the state of Kanem around 1450-1550 who were conquered and absorbed by the Magumi, making up part of the ancestry of the present day Kanuri.

suli -- the pattern of joking approved in certain culturally defined relationships, such as between a grandchild and grandparent.

tada njima -- (son of the house); the client in the client-patron relationship between a single adult male and the head of the household in which he resides.

talba -- title of the chief judge and religious leader who is knowledgeable in the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence.

tiful -- the designation for an infant from birth until eighteen months of age.

ujim suri -- the designation for a young female who has been divorced during the first years of her marriage and is beginning to become a woman but is not yet considered to have attained full adulthood.

wakil -- among the followers of the lawan the one who has the highest status.

waladi -- the followers of a lawan; they reside in or near his compound.

waziri -- chief minister; chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council.

zairo -- a young bachelor.

zower -- a divorced woman.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ACCULTURATION AMONG THE KANURI OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

by

Abraham Rosman

A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

New Haven
1962

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ABSTRACT

Social Structure and Acculturation among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria

by Abraham Rosman

105 The Kanuri people are the dominant element of the population of Bornu Province, in northeastern Nigeria, bordering on Lake Chad. At one time the Kanuri had a powerful state, known as the Empire of Bornu. At the time that the field research for the present study was carried out (1956-1957), they were under British colonial rule. Since the beginning of this century Kanuri culture has been changing as a result of contact with the industrial West. The present study focuses on these changes, as they have been channeled through Kanuri social structure.

128 Chapter I provides the ethnographic and historical background for the material which follows. Chapter II describes the general features of Kanuri culture. Chapter III describes the community of Geidam in which the study was carried out. These chapters present the broad outlines of Kanuri culture and the social structure of an urban community, in order to provide a framework for the data on acculturation.

Chapter IV presents the theoretical orientation of the acculturation study, describes the sample of informants, and presents the measures of acculturation which were used. Three hypotheses concerning the relationship between social structure and acculturation are proposed.

The data on acculturation are derived from a questionnaire-interview which was given to forty-four informants, who are representative of eight distinct social categories in the Geidam community. Chapter V presents the analysis of these data. The final chapter, Chapter VI, discusses the data in the light of the hypotheses advanced earlier, and examines some of the theoretical implications of the findings.

Forty-seven tables and four figures are presented in the text, and a glossary of Kanuri words is provided.

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Chapter I

Introduction

101 This study was carried out among the Kanuri people of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The writer and his wife were in Nigeria from August, 1956 until October, 1957. Almost all of that time was spent in the town of Geidam, in the northern part of the province.

A. Geography

131 1. Major geographic features.

Bornu Province is in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. It is bounded to the north by what was then Niger Territory, French West Africa (now the independent Republic of the Niger).
[133] To the east lie the marshy shores of Lake Chad and, south of the lake, Cameroons, trusteeship territory administered as part of Bornu Province. The Yobe River, largest of the rivers flowing through Bornu into Chad, forms the northern border of the
[161] province for much of its length. Maiduguri, the provincial capital, population 56,740, lies roughly in the geographic cen-
[491] ter of the province. The main road through the province runs from Jos through Maiduguri and then on to Fort Lamy in Chad.
[496] The railroad barely penetrates into Bornu, running from Kano and ending in the northwest tip of Bornu at Nguru, the second largest town in the province.

133 Bornu is a huge sandy plain, contrasting sharply with the rugged country of the Bauchi Plateau, which rises steeply to the southwest. South of the plain is the hilly area of Biu which is in Bornu Province. The flat plain extends eastward,

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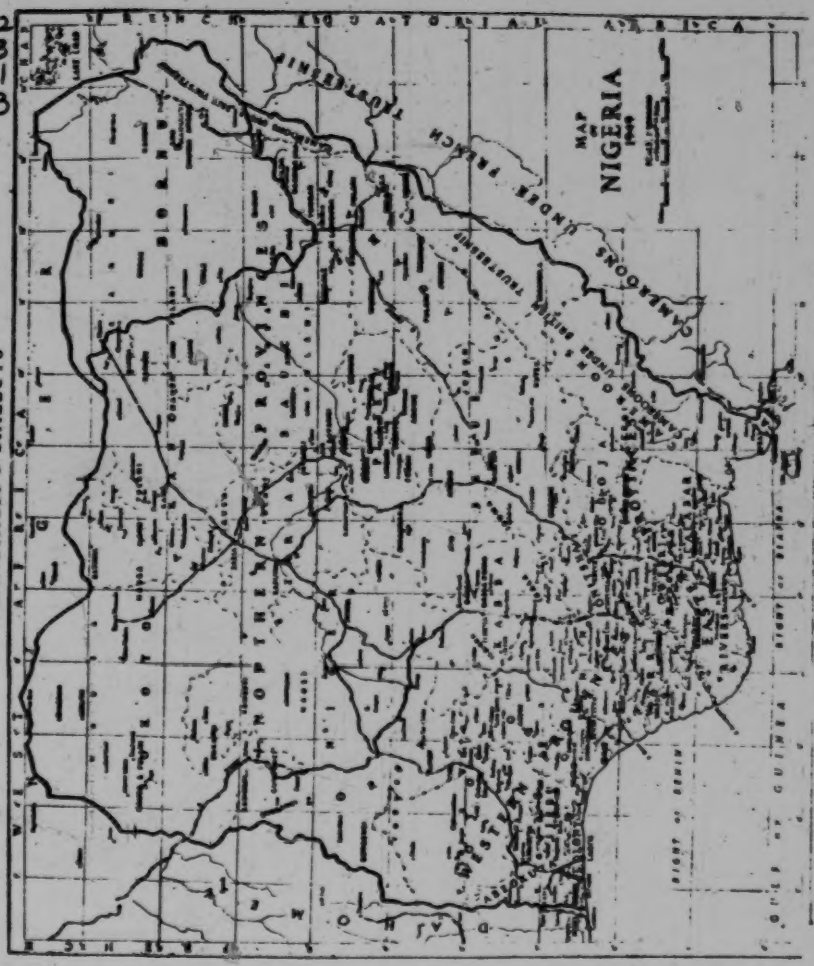

Figure 1 - Map of Nigeria

133 south of Lake Chad, into the Cameroons. Here the fingertips of the great Cameroon highland range, steep and impenetrable, extend into the flatlands.

2. The Nature of the Land.

The sweep of the horizon, as one travels in Bornu proper, is unbroken by hills. But as one goes north from Maiduguri toward Geidam, the land perceptibly rises and falls, and in the neighborhood of the town of Geidam these rises become steep. On close examination one notices that the rises are really no more than dunes, their inner consistency concealed by the cov-
137 ering vegetation. The natural vegetative cover here is sparse, limited largely to a profusion of low shrubs and bushes, most of them thorny. Much of the year the grass is brown and parched.
[134] However the sandy soil is fertile. Immediately following the beginning of the rains, early in May, the new shoots begin to grow and soon the thick, coarse grass covers everything. Like the low bushes, the grass brings its harvest of burrs and thistles. In heavily watered places one may see copses of trees, but by far the most impressive tree characteristic of the area is the baobab or kuka (Adansonia digitata). Baobabs are relatively tall, but their huge thickness of trunk gives them a distorted appearance which is heightened by gnarled, twisted, stunted limbs. They grow in solitary splendor, and are used as land marks because of their prominence against the flat line of the horizon. Again, traveling north toward Geidam, one notices that the water

137 courses are marked increasingly by dum palm trees (Cucifera Thebaica), and this heightens the impression that the border of the great Sahara desert lies not far away.

133 Because of the flatness of the land, rain water does not drain readily into streams and rivers. Low areas become marshes, roads become quagmires, and towns are completely cut off. The Yobe, a slow, meandering river, flows throughout the year though it may dwindle to a width of twenty-five feet in the dry season. At some time in July its flood reaches Geidam and it then swells to a width of half a mile.

3. Rainfall and Temperature.

132 The agricultural productivity of the region is determined completely by the amount of rainfall. The rainy season begins in early May and lasts until October. Sporadic rains mark its beginning. During its height it may rain every other day, usually at evening time for half an hour to an hour. The storm clouds can be seen gathering in the east in the late afternoon. A strong warning wind precedes the rain, which descends in sheets. At times during the rainy season, from a slight rise of ground, one can see several distinct storms on the horizon, the distant columns of mist falling from their individual clouds. During this time of the year the temperature is moderate and pleasant.

The rains steadily decrease in frequency and come to a halt in October. A brief hot season follows, lasting until December when the cold sets in. For several months the temperature drops

132 nightly, often approaching freezing. This is also the time of the harmattan, a strong wind bearing down from the desert, carrying with it silt and fine white sand. The sand stings the face and chaps the lips. It penetrates all cracks and openings, covering everything with fine powder. The mornings are cold but the noon sun is always strong and brilliant.

This period is followed by the long hot season. For months the temperature ranges between ninety and one hundred degrees F., often soaring to one hundred and ten degrees. Clouds never appear and the glaring sun is reflected and intensified by the shimmering sand. Beneath the unrelenting sun the countryside withers and turns brown.

B. History

175 [01] The name 'Bornu' refers to the ancient empire of Bornu which existed here for more than a thousand years. The Kanuri people, builders of the empire of Bornu, moved into the plain of Bornu from the still more arid reaches north and east of Lake Chad. According to the historical sources, the Sefawa, a part of the Zaghawa tribe, allied themselves with the Teda in the neighborhood of Kawar at about 850 A.D. and proceeded to the southwest, organizing the early kingdom of Kanem, with its capital, Birni Njimi, near the northeastern edge of Lake Chad. Bornu was then the most southerly province. In 1389 the Sef dynasty, as it had then become, was expelled from Kanem and moved to Bornu. From that time onward Bornu became the center

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid 177 [648] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 567 [439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

175 567 839 complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sahara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

175 636 Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and 175 167 powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa 175 721 territory. In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

175 439 The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose 'Mais' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [568] Shehu (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to
[174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

648 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[431] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and
563 are numerous in the western sections of the province. In sim-
177 ilar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[465] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

177 of Moslems and Europeans.

4. Peoples acculturated to the Kanuri

177 563 101 A circle of peoples surrounding the Kanuri have become, in varying degrees, acculturated to the Kanuri. These are relatively small groups who today are part pagan, part Moslem, and who speak Kanuri as well as their own individual languages. They lie in a sweeping circle along the borders of the area occupied by the Kanuri.

Directly east of the Kanuri, along the borders of Lake Chad and on the innumerable islands in the lake itself, live the Buduma. They probably represent part of the indigenous population of the plains of Bornu, forced into the inhospitable environment of the lake by the incoming Kanuri. Buduma living on the shores of the lake and in constant contact with Kanuri are Moslem and very Kanurified (acculturated to the Kanuri). Those in the interior are neither.

South of the lake and southeast of the Kanuri towns of Dikwa and Bama are two large tribes, the Mandara and the Kotoko (or Mogori). Kotoko towns like Segel, on the border of Chad, whose inhabitants are in immediate contact with the Kanuri from nearby towns, are very Kanurified. The people of Segel all speak Kanuri in addition to Kotoko, but the Kotoko are a distinct group. The Mandara, Moslem like the Kotoko, are more strongly identified with the Kanuri. Many individuals of Mandara origin live among the Kanuri and have adopted Kanuri cul-

177 563 101 [567] ture. Many slave families among the Kanuri today were originally Mandara. The Mandara live to the immediate east of the mountainous area inhabited by the Gwoza pagans, and Mandara is the lingua franca for the Gwoza hills.

The Marghi of Damboa District, just west of the Gwoza hills, are perhaps the clearest case of a group which, though still identifiable as a distinct people culturally, is fast [567] losing that identity and adopting Kanuri culture. The Marghi, up to recent times, served as a source of slaves for the Kanuri. Famous Kanuri title holders were Marghi slaves, called by the surname 'Marghi'. In Bornu Province they have become entirely integrated within the larger Kanuri society, within the present Kanuri-dominated political system, and within the urban-oriented economy of the area which looks towards the Kanuri capital, Maiduguri. Although older people among the Marghi still speak their own language, it is very common to find younger generation Marghi who have never learned Marghi and speak only Kanuri.

The Babur people live in the hilly upland area directly south of the Kanuri, centering around the town of Biu. They remain a part-Moslem, part-pagan people. The Bura and the Tera are sub-groups of the Babur. The upper classes of the Babur are entirely Moslem, and speak Kanuri. Many Babur have moved to Kanuri towns, particularly to Maiduguri. Often, after being accepted by the Kanuri community, they seek to deny affiliation with the Babur and call themselves Kanuri.

The Bolewa, southwest of the heart of Kanuri territory,

177 563 101 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 563 The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and [175] in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the [636] empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist

177 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are
563 many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 The culture of a people never remains static; it is con-
105 stantly changing in response to forces, both external and in-
177 ternal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957)
[01] Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

648 greatly since that time, as Nigeria is an independent nation today.

The policy of the British in Northern Nigeria had been one of indirect rule. In this manner, a small administrative staff was able to govern a huge area, and the chiefs and Emirs of the North remained the political rulers in their own areas.
631 Bornu Province is divided administratively into five Emirates,
642 though the Emirate of Bornu overshadows the remaining four in geographic area, population, and political importance. The Emirates of Bornu and of Bama are Kanuri. The Emirs of Fika, Biu and Gashua rule over three small tribes, discussed in the preceding section, which are within the sphere of Kanuri influ-
634 ence. In addition to the Emirates, the provinces of the North are divided into districts, and each district has an appointed native District Head. The large Emirates are made up of many districts; the small Emirates sometimes have no more than a single district. Bornu Emirate has twenty-one districts.

648 Although the British ruled through the existing political system in Bornu Emirate, they controlled all important policy decisions and they had brought about important changes in the political organization of the Kanuri in order to carry out their policies. The actual relationship between the British Resident, who was in charge of the province, assisted by his staff of District Officers, and the Shehu, his Waziri and the Shehu's Council, differed radically from that officially stated. Although the British administration claimed to be merely advisory, it was

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appointments formally need not be approved by the British administration, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
631
178 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times, since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the political system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit, the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which protects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the protection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 829 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,
political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-
lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these
Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often
the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments
as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.
Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[65] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439] sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

A network of European trading companies exists throughout
439 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
442 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
473 The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[452] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav-
[556] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

178 783 556 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trad-
[554] ing class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, along with wealth and political office. Many of 565 178 these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

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494 A number of material changes have been introduced which have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
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312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[653] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563]
[651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town
134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

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significant changes. Remote as Geidam is, it is bound with ever increasing ties to the larger world. While Geidam is in a sense the center of its own small world, it is at the same time a minute part of an immense and continually expanding economic and political system.

This study focuses on changing Kanuri culture, on the process of acculturation. An acculturation study must begin with changes in the behavior of individuals. Yet the concept of culture comprises more than the behavior of individuals. It is concerned with behavior which characterizes a social whole, or segments of a society. When changes in the behavior of individuals are incorporated by the groups to which they belong, acculturation is occurring.

If one views acculturation in this way, it is clear that not all members of a society will show initial changes in cultural behavior, nor will changes occur at the same rate for all members. It is postulated here that one of the critical determinants of rate and type of acculturation in an individual's behavior is that individual's position in the community social structure. Because of their position in the society, certain individuals are in better positions than others to learn new things, to change in their thinking, their aspirations and their overt behavior. The rate of these changes and the particular areas of thinking and behaving which undergo change are considered as dependent upon the position of the individual in his society.

121 The anthropological concept of the community is used to
621 define a micro-society. The community of the present study is an urban town, and its people belong to a variety of sub-groups. The townspeople of Geidam are members of occupational groups, social classes, ethnic sub-groups, common interest groups, neighborhoods, and friendship groups. They may be members of many such groups, which may overlap, but they all share one characteristic--they are all Geidamites, part of an interacting community. The various interlocking social groups of the town make up its social structure.

121 In terms of the particular field situation, the general
177 acculturation problem presented above becomes: In what ways does the process of acculturation differ among members of differing groups in the urban community of Geidam? Two related additional problems emerge from the general one. The original problem focuses attention on the manner in which social structure guides and directs acculturation. A necessary consequence is that the social structure itself is undergoing change. The second problem is: what are the changes in social structure brought about by contact? Lastly, a third and oft-neglected problem concerns the mechanisms whereby changes are controlled and kept within acceptable cultural limits so that the emergent social structure retains its integration. Generally, this falls within the area of social control, though it is not usually seen in this light.

121 Before the research itself can be presented, however, much

|2| additional information will have to be provided. Information on current changes in Kanuri culture can only be understood against a background which provides the norms of Kanuri culture. The particular measures of acculturation which were used in the present study can only be assessed when viewed against the overall picture of Kanuri culture.

Similarly, individuals who were chosen for study are members of community groups. The significance of such group membership can only be fully understood when the functioning of these groups is described in relation to other community groups, when something of the interaction between members of different groups is described so that the operation of community social structure becomes generally apparent.

Though the present study deals with a particular theoretical problem, it is nevertheless conceived of as a community study because it uses the community as the unit of study. However, the community will not be the means for providing a total ethnography of the Kanuri people. It is viewed here as a structured micro-society, within which the process of acculturation can be differentiated and studied. Through the concept of social structure, one can describe completely the activities of all of the various groups in the community. If one continues this process in detail, all the standard ethnographic categories, religion, economy, political organization, etc., will ultimately be fully described. This will not be attempted here. Rather, the general description of Geidam town will serve as a back-

121 ground for the activities of groups making up the social structure, so that the social structure of the community can be seen in its larger cultural context.

121 128 In the section immediately following, an overall picture of Kanuri culture will be presented, stressing the general features of Kanuri social organization. This will be followed by a section on the community of Geidam.

Lastly, the problem which was studied will be presented. This final section will include the theoretical orientation of the study, the manner in which the data were collected, the data on acculturation with their analysis, and the implications of the findings in relation to existing theory.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[p.30-A]

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Chapter II

General Features of Kanuri Culture

121 The variables which provide the conceptual basis of the present study are social structure and acculturation. Before one can single out individual groups and focus attention on behavioral patterns which are associated with those groups it is necessary to delineate the larger structural features of Kanuri society so that the particular groups which have been selected for more careful examination can be seen in their societal context. In similar fashion, acculturated behavior can only be evaluated when one has a general understanding of the more stable behavioral norms which characterize Kanuri culture. It is against the background of the expectable Kanuri behavioral patterns that items of acculturated behavior takes on significance.

177 178 It was noted in the previous chapter that important external forces are acting to bring about changes in Kanuri culture. While these are powerful forces, and the changes themselves are far-reaching and significant, Kanuri culture still retains its essential integration. This can be seen in several areas: in the consistency of people's behavior, in the stress placed on important Kanuri values, and in the integration of Kanuri personality which is apparent despite acculturation. The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of these general features of Kanuri culture.

A. Larger Features of the Economy

1. Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Land Tenure.

161 There are strong indications that the population of Bornu

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
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[178]

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[73] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a cataatrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

243 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months
221 of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans,
243 okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions.
312 These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts
492 as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading com-
439 panies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the
433 world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Ka-
334 nuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They
233 keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but
433 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam
233 and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in
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433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs, on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most northeasterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep different breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Gei-
dam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of
cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves
of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-
time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages
and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men.
In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is car-
ried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by
a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, net-
ted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the
Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market,
where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the
products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited
regional exchange is effected through the market. External

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
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[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
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[369] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

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643 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[92] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
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565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
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565 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
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565 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
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565 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
631 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
423 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
[651] ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
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175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631 selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[567] [554] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
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175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 648 642 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 [642] Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

779 of the population is pagan (Maguzawa), there are no pagan
177 Kanuri. Among the tribes who are influenced by and are ac-
779 culturating to the Kanuri, the Bede, the Babur, and the Marghi, both pagans and Moslems can be found.

795 According to Trimingham[1], many pagans in the Western Sudan become Moslems by slipping into Islam, calling themselves "Mohammad", and imitating their fellows without special ceremoney. A rite is performed in the case of chiefs and important men, where public recognition is sought. This is undoubtedly the case for those part-Moslem, part-pagan peoples surrounding the Kanuri, and was also probably true in former centuries when the Kanuri themselves adopted Islam.

182 Today Islam is well integrated into Kanuri culture. With-
779 out entering into a detailed discussion of Islam as practiced by the Kanuri, those general areas which are most affected by Islam will be discussed here. These include: law, education and social organization. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the general features of Islamic worship as exemplified by the Pillars of Islam.

1. The Pillars of Islam.

782 The Pillars of Islam are five in number. The first of these is the confession of faith (shahada) which those who

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1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), see Appendix I "Ceremony of Joining Islam", p. 226.

782 embrace Islam pronounce.

The second is ritual prayer. Ritual prayer (Sallah) occurs five times each day at the following times:

Sua (Ar. Asuba)	5 AM (time of arising)
Duar (Ar. Azahar)	2 PM
Asar (Ar. al-Asar)	4 PM
Magəribu (Ar. Magriba)	6:30-7 PM (sunset)
Lasha (Lishai)	10 PM (bedtime)

Generally this observance is strictly followed by all Kanuri. Prayer is an individual matter, and can take place wherever the individual happens to be. The Friday afternoon prayer tends to be communal in character, and people go to mosques to pray. Everyday prayers are not customarily carried out in the
793 mosque. The religious hierarchy is only peripherally involved in the ritual prayer. The Ladan announces the times for prayer by public calling; the Imam (Liman) leads prayers in the mosque on Fridays and on religious holidays.

785 The third Pillar is fasting. During the lunar month of Ramadan all adult Kanuri fast from sunrise to sunset. This is rigidly observed by all, and it would be exceedingly shameful to be seen breaking the fast. The first sighting of the new moon is announced by the Shehu and the news rapidly spreads throughout Bornu that the month of Ramadan has come to an end. The end of fasting is marked by widespread festivities.

782 The fourth Pillar is the giving of alms. There are two types of alms in Islam: the zakat or tithe which all Moslems are expected to give to support the church, and sadaka, or vol-

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[777] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

796 ceremony. Naming of children, circumcision, marriage and burial all have a religious aspect, though of course the nature of the ceremony is strongly Kanuri in character, and differs from the same ceremony as practiced by Moslems generally or from that ceremony as practiced by other nearby African Moslems. Similarly, the ceremonial holidays in the yearly cycle follow the Moslem calendar. Days of celebration include: the new year, the prophet's birthday, the sacrifice of the ram, and of course the month of Ramadan.

2. Islamic Law.

671 779 577 Several aspects of Kanuri culture are most profoundly affected by Islam, and will here be given more extended discussion. Law is perhaps the foremost of these. Acceptance of Islam means the acceptance of Islamic law. This involves two broad areas: one's conduct in everyday life, and formal, written law which is a part of political organization. With respect to the first, the Kanuri view of the "good man" is synonymous with being a good Moslem. In one's every-day conduct one should be properly humble and respectful of superiors, and false pride (ro kura) is considered a despicable trait. One should be devout not only in performing ritual acts, such as prayer, but in one's thoughts. It is commendable for a man to awake early in the morning, long before the time one begins the day's work, for contemplation and the counting of prayer beads (tasbih). [692] Disputes are taken to the Lowan and to the Ajia for arbitration,

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692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

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779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[463] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
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779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [372] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 177 554 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, Ibid., p. 81.

779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. 779 595 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A comcubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse. [554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. 779 58 Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the [595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

779 marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights
58 of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support
[593] of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does
not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement;
[182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All
of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies,
are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in
Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million peo-
[161] ple. About one-third live in towns with a population of more
than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital,
which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying
villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten
towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of
these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu
Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26
towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost
a third of the population.

369 Although there may be some question whether a town with a
632 population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear
121 that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly ap-
proaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table I

162 The population of Bornu Emirate, according to towns ranked as to size.

Town	District	population
Maiduguri proper		56,777
Nguru proper	Nguru	21,796
Kumagunnam	Nguru	18,034
Digago	Kanembu	15,435
Jajere	Fune	13,798
Titiwa	Magumeri	12,377
Chibuk	Marghi	12,139
Chobal	Auno	12,121
Ngetra	Gubio	11,930
Geidam	Geidam	11,032
Goniri	Gujba	10,124
	Total	138,786
Kabuiri	Konduga	9,736
Bilaljawa	Yusufari	9,649
Masuba	Auno	9,270
Koriyel	Damaturu	8,838
Bornu Yassu	Magumeri	8,639
Masho	Fune	8,587
Matsena	Matsena	8,283
Dankalwa	Kaga	7,980
Yajiwa	Auno	7,903
Maimalari	Yusufari	7,722
Daura	Fune	7,673
Goyamari	Yusufari	7,263
Wadi	Geidam	7,225
Gazabure	Gubio	7,212
Gatafo	Mobber	7,063
Mintar	Monguno	7,034
	Total	130,077
Total for 27 towns above:		325,640

369 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists
632 of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at
121 the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less
[622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village.
[463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors.
[622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger,
[565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are
[595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and
[592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and
342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sagdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

632 [366] The towns are market centers, and frequently also administrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nguro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
556
342 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sagdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled, thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
565
342 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.
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361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are sim-
[363] ilar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern,
[492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided
[463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
361 the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's
[844] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
366 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a
368 town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
632 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves
463 strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
171 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more
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611 171 182 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 595 000 The most important social unit determined by kinship is the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 587 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

586 with ease. Since most men marry a number of times in the course
587 of a normal life, they are likely to marry women who have been married previously and whose earlier marriage (or marriages) has ended in divorce. An important distinction is made between a marriage with a girl who has never been married before, and marriages with women who have been married previously.

585 a) Marriage with a virgin. The adult Kanuri woman wears
302 her hair in a striking coiffure which resembles a Trojan helmet. Adolescent girls who have not yet married wear their hair in totally different fashion. Their hair-do is divided into three parts, and they are referred to as kalə yaskə, a term for their particular developmental stage which derives from the hair-do that characterizes the stage. Since very high priority is placed on virginity for a girl before marriage, a first marriage with a kalə yaskə is equivalent to marriage with a virgin.

584 Marriages are frequently arranged, but consent of both boy and girl plays a part, even in marriages in which the boy is marrying for the first time and the girl is a kalə yaskə. A boy may come to his father to say that he likes a particular girl. It frequently happens then that the boy's father will go to the house of the father of the girl, bringing presents with him, to arrange the marriage. The father of the boy may also select a particular girl as wife for his son, ask the boy if he likes the girl, then make the arrangements with the father of the
[565] girl. A talaka may marry the daughter of a very good family, if he can raise the money needed for her bride-price. The sole

584 obstacle to such a marriage is the bride-price, which will be
565 high for a daughter of a good family. The father of a boy of good family, conversely, may arrange to have his son marry the daughter of a talaka if he likes the girl, particularly if she is very pretty. A talaka will not usually arrange for the marriage of his son with the daughter of a very rich man (a wealthy trader, for example), because the girl will eventually inherit wealth and her husband will have no claim to it, nor will the
584 boy's father ever see any of it. However, a talaka father may
565 arrange for his son to marry the daughter of a <u>kəntuoma</u> (aris-
557 tocrat) family in order for his son to benefit from his future father-in-law's influence in obtaining power, though the boy's own father will not himself directly benefit from the marriage.

581 The qualities desired in a kalə yaskə spouse are as follows: a pretty girl is highly desirable in marriage; a girl with a nasty temper, one who curses people or has other undesirable personality characteristics (such as shamelessness--<u>nungu ba</u>) will not find a husband so easily. A pretty girl is better than a wealthy one, but better still is industriousness and willingness to work hard. Being able to cook well is also more important than beauty. If the father of a boy has two girls to choose from as brides for his son, one pretty and the other industrious and skillful, he will prefer the industrious
584 one for his son. If a girl does not like the boy suggested for her by her father, if she thinks him ugly, the marriage will not take place. The father of the girl will ask her if she likes the

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

582 369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.

582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-

[833] sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy

[591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

583 Marriage is effected through the payment of a bride-price, the luwaliram, before the marriage proper. There can be no marriage without payment of the luwaliram. The luwaliram is conceived of as money for buying a wife. One informant stated, "It is just like buying a ram. Your children are the profit [85] (riba) of your investment." It follows, of course, that among [436] the Kanuri, children belong to the father. At present, the luwaliram is always paid in hard currency--pounds and shillings, though in former times it was paid in Maria Theresa dollars (gursus) which served as currency in the area.

The amount of the luwaliram varies with a number of factors. Luwaliram varies with social class, with urban and rural differences, and with the qualities of the bride-to-be. For common folk (talaka), it may run to five or six pounds. In the smaller, isolated villages it runs higher, occasionally over ten pounds. A Lowan may pay as much as ten to twenty pounds for his son's bride; very poor folk in the towns may pay as little as three pounds. Luwaliram for a very pretty girl, for the daughter of a kantuoma (aristocrat), or of a very wealthy man, is naturally high; while that for an ugly girl, or one who has undesirable traits, or who is no longer a virgin (bati) is conversely low.

583 If the boy is old enough to have accumulated money of his 593 own, that will go towards his luwaliram, but the bulk of it is given by his father. The boy's father, or the head of the house in which he grew up, should he have grown up in a household

583 593 other than that of his own father, is the basic contributor to
583 the luwaliram. His abakura (FaElBr) and abagana (FaYoBr) may
604 contribute a share of the luwaliram, but his bawa (FaSi) is more likely to help in building a house for the boy rather than give to his luwaliram. His yakura (MoElSi), Yigana (MoYoSi), and Rawa (MoBr) only would give money to the luwaliram if their nephew grew up in their house. If not, they have no responsi-
583 bility towards paying a share of his luwaliram. Since it typ-
593 ically happens that a boy grows to maturity in his father's house, his father has the primary responsibility for providing the luwaliram. A poor man would not ask a wealthy friend of his for luwaliram money which he, the poor man, must provide for his son.

If the father of a girl sees that his daughter is getting older, and that her prospects for getting married are not good for one reason or another, he may give his daughter away as a sadaka (alms) marriage. If he can, he gives his daughter as wife to an important malam, along with many presents and clothes. If he cannot afford to give presents, he just gives the girl. In such a marriage there is no bride-price, the only permitted exception to the general rule. The girl's father acts as her luwali, assuming responsibility for her conduct. Though she may be unattractive and bad-tempered, the man to whom the girl is given cannot refuse her if she is given as a sadaka marriage.

583 Other forms of marriage which avoid payment of a luwaliram are specifically not permitted. Exchange marriage is forbidden

583 by Maliki law. Premarital bride-service is not permitted in lieu of the luwaliram. A man would be ashamed to go to his future father-in-law to say that he had no money to pay the luwaliram.

584 The girl is represented by her luwali in arranging a marriage. The luwali may be a relative or friend of the girl, but not her father (except in the case of a sadaka marriage noted above). The luwali states the amount of the luwaliram. The bridegroom may also be represented by someone, or he may make his own arrangements. The bridegroom, or his representative, may accept the stated price, or he may bargain for a lower price. The luwaliram is given to the luwali, who in turn passes it to [431] the girl's father. The girl's father gives a token fee to the luwali, gives presents to the groom which include both money and clothing, and gives his daughter household utensils and jewelry.

583 At the time of marriage, an additional payment, <u>sədagu</u> [436] (Arabic, sadak), is made. Sədagu is paid in the form of Maria Theresa dollars, two to five being the average amount of sədagu payment, though now eight shillings may be substituted for each Maria Theresa dollar. The size of the sədagu is arranged for before the marriage, and initial payment of part of the sədagu [586] may be made before the marriage. Should a couple divorce before the entire sədagu has been paid, the difference must be paid at the time of divorce.

Finally, in addition to both luwaliram and sədagu, there is still a third type of payment, called <u>məri</u>, which must be

583 paid before the marriage or it is not a legal marriage. Mori, too, can vary in size, but it is the smallest of the three payments, and usually amounts to several shillings.

585 The wedding itself is very brief. It is presided over by a Malam, before many witnesses. The Malam asks the names of bride and bridegroom, asks them if they wish to marry, reads a section of the Koran. Then all pray, and the ceremony is ended as kola nuts (coro) are distributed to all present, and gifts are given to Malam and luwali. That evening, the husband's closest friends come to the bride's house to take her to the house of her husband. While her friends cry and try to hold her back, the husband's friends take the bride off by horse, and leave her at her husband's house. One friend of the girl refuses to leave her until the husband pays fugurum (or ferorum), which is the set amount of thirty shillings, alike for rich and poor. Fugu means hymen. The friend keeps several shillings of the fugurum for herself and gives the remainder to the mother of the bride, payment to her for protecting her daughter's virtue.

585 626 Virginity of the girl is attested to by blood stains on a white blanket which has been spread on the wedding bed. The blood-stained blanket is taken from the room the following morning by friends of the girl and brought to her mother. If it is stained, mother praises daughter, and her friends parade it throughout the neighborhood. If it is not stained, the girl is cursed by all. If the husband finds that his bride is not a

585 virgin, he beats her that night, and proclaims it openly. Both
626 the girl and her mother feel shame; the husband, in turn, feels that he has been defrauded and has gotten a bad bargain. The fugurum money, however, is not repaid him. Though the Kanuri know that the hymen may be removed surgically, and that the Arabs do do this in order to make the wedding night less painful to the bride, they never do it themselves; the hymen is always forcefully broken.

585 On the following day, friends of the girl come to cook for her and for her husband, and they do this for seven days, while the bride does nothing except bathe and decorate herself while
[834] visitors come to greet her. Her husband is permitted to resume having intercourse with her after four days. If he has another wife, he does not sleep with her for those seven days, nor does she cook for him during that period.

b) Marriage with a divorced woman. The above description of marriage practices represents the marriage of a man with a kalə yaskə, described as a virgin, and usually, though not always a virgin. More properly, such a marriage should be called a girl's first marriage, in contrast to subsequent marriages.
586 Should she be divorced, the woman enters a totally different cat-
587 egory in the social structure. She becomes a zogor, and marriage with a zogor is different in many respects from marriage with a kalə yaskə. The status of a man does not change significantly after a divorce, consequently there is no category for a
000 man corresponding to that of the zogor. His first marriage fre-

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
584 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
587 [548] of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
[83] ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive
several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution
which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them.
A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of
weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find
themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and some-
one else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
626 new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her
status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the
freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the
attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage,
begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few
men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not
be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a
zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing
this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him,
"What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer
that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is per-
fectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife.
However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

595 en, depending on a number of factors, and the husband would wish to determine his first wife's feeling on the subject before proceeding further. He might also want to examine his own feelings toward his first wife, should the possibility arise that she might refuse to accept a second wife in the household.

[837] Unlike the unmarried man, a married man is not supposed to sleep with a zogor before marrying her, since that would be adultery.

587 A man wishing to marry a zogor discusses the matter with her. If the marriage is acceptable to her, he pays the luwaliram money directly to her. Luwaliram for a zogor is much less than for a kalə yaskə. Whereas all marriages with a kalə yaskə involve the payment of sədagu, many marriages of a man with a zogor leave out the sədagu. Məri payment on marrying a zogor is no more than two or three shillings.

The husband-to-be buys kola nuts (goro) which he will distribute, while his wife-to-be begins buying and grinding millet which she will take with her to her new home. A zogor may buy six to eight shillings worth of millet which she pounds and grinds, and other foodstuffs such as wheat, rice, salt and pepper to take with her, but she brings less food to the new home than does a kalə yaskə.

The marriage ceremony itself is the same as that held when a kalə yaskə marries. Both husband and wife have a luwali who is responsible, in a sense, for the conduct of that person. The wedding takes place in the morning, and that evening women friends

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own
[595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this
[115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-
583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law
836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nəmgəmtəm, and is quite distinct from
587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse.
581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no
887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

587 The levirate among the Kanuri is called fatorongabe. A man must marry the widow of his elder brother (yaga); he is not permitted to marry the widow of his younger brother (kərami). At the death of one's wife, one may marry her younger sister, but one is forbidden to marry her elder sister. This, too, is called fatorongabe.

2. Divorce.

586 779 The Koran has a great deal to say about divorce, particularly in Sura II ("The Cow"), and Sura LXV ("Divorce"). It specifically mentions a waiting period of four months (three full menstrual courses for the woman) to determine if the woman is pregnant before the divorce is final and the woman becomes a zogor. A man may divorce his wife twice and take her back again, but after the third time, she must marry another man before she can remarry her first husband. After the waiting period, the husband cannot maliciously retain his former wife or prevent her from marrying another man. If the husband divorces his wife before the marriage is consummated, but after the bride-price has been settled, half of the bride-price should be paid, unless the husband is released from payment, but it is more proper that the [853] husband should forego it. After a divorce, mothers with nursing children should be permitted to let the children nurse for two whole years, while they are supported by the father of the child.

Kanuri practice concerning divorce operates within the limits dictated by the Koran. The husband divorces his wife by say-

586 779 ing, "I divorce you," or, "The marriage is over." When a husband divorces his wife she leaves his house and goes to the house of her luwali. A wife cannot divorce her husband, but, as the Alkali of Geidam phrased it, "The power of a woman is in the law; the law helps her." As an example, he noted that if a woman hits her husband, that is nothing, but if a man hits his wife, the marriage can be dissolved by an Alkali. She can ask the court to grant her a divorce if her husband is impotent, and therefore not a real husband. If he disputes the accusation the court may actually attempt to ascertain whether it is true or not, by witnessing whether the husband is capable of having intercourse with his wife.

A man may divorce his wife twice, and take her back within the three months and ten day waiting period, or at any time after that. After the third time, he is forbidden from taking [784] her back until she has married and divorced another man. If they continue to live together after the third divorce, they are living in a state of sin called dəl for which the punishment is hell. A man may divorce his wife only once and say dəla to her, and the marriage is dissolved, just as if he had divorced her for the third time.

When a man divorces his wife, friends and neighbors frequently come to attempt to arbitrate their dispute (sholo). 586 681 The husband may finalize the separation by saying, "Yanyi" (She is like my mother). Having said this, the marriage is ended, and the husband may not take back his wife unless he pays a fine

586 779 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is <u>haram</u> (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

586 779 626 695 [784]

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

[431] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalə yaskə wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about <u>boye</u>, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
578
152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
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369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

000 near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth
591 differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is consid-
369 erable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out
166 on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of young-
183 er people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

591 When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter
888 can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may
[592] build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

h. The Family.

596 As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital
592 residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zəgəsə (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zəgəsə are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband 422 593 usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household pos- [586] sessions. He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

593 The husband has absolute claim to the sexual rights of his
595 wife. Should he have more than one wife, he must regularly alternate his stay at the house of the wife with whom he sleeps, spending one night in turn with each of his wives. Though he might not have sexual intercourse with her, he must spend the
[692] night in her house. Should he, for any reason, break the regu-
[684] lar alternation, his wife can bring him before the Alkali who would force him to observe the rule or dissolve the marriage. In this way, although the husband has absolute rights, the law once again helps to protect the wife. It can, and frequently does happen that a man will have preferences among his wives. He may recently have married a young girl whom he finds more attractive than an older wife, but he may not allow his attraction for her to cause him to favor her by sleeping with her, at night,
[846] more frequently than he does with his other wives. After a woman has borne a child, her husband must not have intercourse with her for forty days, but he must sleep in her house when her turn comes despite the fact that he may not have intercourse with her.

595 Where there is more than one wife, the wife who has been married to the household head for the longest period of time is senior wife in the household. This is a position of authority in the household. Though she may not curse or beat the other wives, she does give orders which are obeyed by the other wives. Disputes between lesser wives are settled by the head wife. If one lesser wife will not cease making trouble after being warned, the head wife may tell her husband that the lesser wife is a per-

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [581] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house- [252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (<u>fəle</u>) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

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595 for weekly household expenses. If one is given a gift, the other must also be given a gift of equal value. No sign of preference of a public nature may be shown. Finances of husband and wife are maintained separately. Money earned by the wife through her own activities (for example, through trading) belongs to her, and she may spend her own money as she wishes.

Though the polygamous family has a certain overall organization, particularly in the structuring of relationships between co-wives, with a senior wife as head wife, it is also evident that each nuclear family within the household exists as a separate entity. The individual distinctiveness of the nuclear family can be seen in the emphasis on separate and isolated houses for each wife, in the discreet units of time which the husband is required to spend with each wife (he sleeps with each in turn and she cooks for him on that day), and in the separate and equal treatment which he is required to give each wife (equality of market money, equality of gifts). Emphasis on the distinctiveness of each nuclear family functions to preserve the identity of each wife and to stress her worth to her husband,
593 the head of the household. It thus serves to inhibit jealousy,
595 a divisive force which, if permitted direct expression, would
152 shatter the unity of the household. Jealousy between co-wives finds expression in a number of less direct ways; it is not permitted to erupt into quarreling, cursing or fighting (though these certainly occur), and above all the husband must do everything in his power to avoid actions which might encourage jealousies between his wives.

000 ousies between his wives.

59 The separate nuclear families which make up the larger polygamous Kanuri family demonstrate an overall unity when one focuses attention on the household as a structural group. At the core of the household is the polygamous family, but the household may include many other individuals, both kin and non-kin.

595 855 Polygamous families also appear much more unified when one attends to the behavior of adults towards children within [152] the household. Though the presence of children is potentially the greatest source of jealousy between co-wives, particularly when one wife has borne one or more children while another has never borne a child, Kanuri attitudes and treatment of children within the household minimizes these jealousies. All women within reach of a child play with it, feed it, and watch over it. Children wander freely in and out of the houses of their father's wives (their ya chinta), and differences between co-wives are not permitted to extend to their children. In effect, children bridge rather than emphasize the gaps between co-wives and between nuclear families.

5. The Household.

592 It is a natural step to move from a consideration of the polygamous family, the central kin group in Kanuri society, to that of the household. However, though the household has the polygamous family at its core, it is not primarily a kin group.

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It follows, too, that under those circumstances the household is
[595] small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

592 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extend-
565
369 ed discussion will be reserved for a later point.

351 To this point the compound has been described as an area
392 enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanzə fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zəgəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty
567 (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population
[565] do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

592 567 particularly acknowledges the relationship between them, unless the slave should be in the direct presence of the man who he knows is his master. However, the relationship between master and slave determines the behavior of both at all times, when 592 567 595 the slave is part of his master's household. A female slave may be chosen as a concubine (chir) by her master. She then becomes part of his household. Though a man may have no more than four wives, he may have any number of concubines. A chir enters into a special class of concubines when she becomes a <u>murshe</u>. She is then given a house of her own, and has a distinct legal status, slightly different from that of a wife, but with its own strictly defined rights and obligations. Like a wife, a murshe must have her own house. A husband spends one night with a murshe, and two with a wife, in regular rotation. However, here the husband has an option--he may spend no more than one night with each murshe, but if angry at a particular one, he may pass her by. The murshe prepares the master's food on the day when it is her turn to sleep with him, just as a wife would do. She also shares in all the economic tasks which fall to the woman in a household.

592 567 565 The household of aristocracy, therefore, may include slaves, both male and female. Male slaves (<u>kalya</u>) may be young boys and youths who live in the forok area of the compound, or they may be married men who live with their own nuclear families in areas of the compound alotted to them, and are included, along with their families, as part of the master's household. Female

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's <u>chibuna</u>). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

592 In addition to the formal relationships between master and slave, and between adopted son and chibuna, described above, there are informal ways through which an individual may become attached to a household. Every adult must be attached to some 592 household. Since the minimal household is represented by a man 586 and his wife, a divorced couple marks the end of their household. Each of them, man and woman, must now attach himself to another household. The primary reason for this is economic--and it makes itself felt immediately in the problem of food. [462] A man without a wife has no one to cook for him. Since no Kanuri man would ever cook for himself (cooking and preparation of food are tasks confined to women), he must attach himself to the household of a friend, neighbor, or close relative, [156] and regularly take his meals there. However, it is somewhat shameful to continue on in this position, and a man who had recently divorced his wife tends to take another wife before long, thereby re-establishing his own household. The woman, after a divorce, goes back to her luwali, and becomes a zogor who lives in his household until she remarries. She, too, becomes a temporary member of her luwali's household and takes her meals with the women of that household. The luwali has the responsibility of offering a roof to his ward after her divorce, and it is not uncommon to find a zogor living for a time as a part of a large household. Men will regularly come to court her, and in time she will remarry and leave her luwali's household.

000 There is still another way to become part of a large house-

There is still another way to become part of a large house-
592 hold. This is the most informal of the various sets of rela-
369 tionships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is ex-
369 tremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
874 some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
463 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector,
571 and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the komanzɔ fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with shelter and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce, both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

592 pected to provide for the larger needs of members of his house-
571 hold--to provide education for the gifted, or to give a donkey or horse to a particular household member so that he may more effectively perform his tasks. The obligations of one set of the pair, the master of the house for example, becomes the expectation of his counterpart, the tata njima. Conversely the master expects that the tata njima will fulfill his obligations
[567] to the household. In the case of slaves, obligations are more binding on both sides than in the case of tata njima. A master who recognizes his obligations to a slave is ultimately bound to provide for him. A tata njima who fulfills the expectations of his master can expect to be given greater responsibilities, in accordance with his master's position. However, a tata njima who does not fulfill his master's expectations (i.e., does not properly perform his obligations), can expect to have responsibilities taken from him, and less desirable tasks thrust upon
592 him. Should he radically violate his master's trust he may be
571 expelled from the household, and the relationship between tata
464 njima and master of the house is abruptly ended. This is far
[626] more serious than merely being unemployed. An adolescent who finds himself in such a position attempts to become attached to another household, that of a less important man, in which he occupies a more lowly position. It is imperative that he be attached to some household, particularly if he is a young man with not enough savings set aside to provide for a decent luwaliram. Should he be unsuccessful in finding another household for him-

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

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5. Slaves--both male and female; chirs and their children.

6. Zogors and bachelors, as temporary members.

7. Tata njima--non-kin.

8. Malams of the Koran--taken in, and provided with a house and food, as an act of charity.

592 571 554 The term yal is used for members of the household who are not close kinsmen of the household head. This group, some of whom are necessarily present while others are occasionally found, some permanent and others temporary, some kinsmen and others not, forms the central social unit in Kanuri society. Its size and its composition reflects the status of the household head in the larger society, in terms of both the old and traditional system of social stratification, and in terms of present-day [156] realities and opportunities. The solidarity of the household as a unit also reflects the ability of the household head to satisfy the expectations of the various members of his household, and consequently to live up to his own view of himself and his status in Kanuri society. In order to satisfy his wives, his slaves, his tata njima, and to induce people to name sons after him, he must be in a position, economically and politically, which will permit him to meet expectations. They, in turn will labor for him, and by their labors, as well as by their very presence as part of his household, the members of his household will help the household head to validate his status in the society.

6. The Web of Kinship.

61 It was noted earlier that, according to Fortes, the rise of the state marks a decline in the importance of corporate descent groups. Fortes cites the Nupe as a case in point. Nadel, who has described the Nupe in detail, has this to say about kinship:

> "Let me say in conclusion that kinship structure in Nupe is not that dominant, all-enveloping structure which we know from many primitive societies. Although it bears upon religious life, education, and the organization of production, it is greatly overshadowed as a determinant of social behavior by the factors of political organization and, in economic life, by economic interests proper."[1]

This is even more true for the Kanuri, who have no kin groups, than it is for the Nupe, who are patrilineal in descent and have
61 patrilineages. The Kanuri recognize kinship as an ever-widen-
602 ing network of relationships. Behavior towards one's various relatives is structured and follows cultural rules of respect and joking as the case may be, but, as in most bilateral societies, only the personal kindred exists, definable for any given individual but without the formal properties of a group.

601 The word dur is used in referring to both family and relatives. The Kanuri distinguish between relatives linked through one's mother, referred to as dur chambe(family through milk), and relatives linked through one's father, called dur bube (fam-
602 ily through blood). They say that the dur bube (father's family)
627 is stronger than the dur chambe, and in explanation they offer the following example: if a child is killed by someone, the

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1 S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 33.

602 younger brother (karami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The karami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
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[197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

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563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

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614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

173 614 613 from Yemen, consequently the dynasty of the Mais of Bornu is referred to as the Sef dynasty. There are twelve such sub-jilis within the jili Magumi. If within the sub-jili Sef a man should arise to great power and importance, his future descendants would refer to him as the ancestor of their sub-sub-jili (lineage) of the sub-jili Sef. One informant, who is Kanembu (but culturally Kanuri), gave the following pedigree: Kanembu, jili Kuvuri, sub-jili Kongana, sub-sub-jili Malam Shia. Malam Shia was an important historic personage who is considered to be the founder of the lineage which bears his name.

173 643 614 The Sef dynasty came to an end after the Fulani invasions, and Shehu Laminu established the line of the present Shehus though he himself never ruled as king. Shehu Laminu was Kanembu, of the jili Kuvuri. He was followed into Bornu by a number of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, with their retinue, who assisted [178] him in driving back the Fulani. Shehu Laminu was instrumental in further reducing the role of the jilis by appointing a Shetima Kanuribe (Shetima is a noble title) as head of all the Kanuri, replacing the various heads of the jilis; he did the same for the Shuwas under him.

614 178 Today everyone knows his own jili, and the jili of his parents, which may and usually does differ, but the jili no longer performs any social function. Few people can give their sub-jili. [643] Many of the jilis today have a nominal head. The present Shehu is obviously head of all the Kanembu Kuvuri. The head of the Kanuri Magumi is the former Waziri Ibranim. The Shetima Kanuribe

614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [648] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogana) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

121 61 66 565 of a society. In societies where the state as an institution does not exist, political structure is either coterminous with kinship structure, or there is close co-ordination between the two. In the case of the Kanuri, the separate and distinct administrative organization which serves as the framework of the political structure,[1] implies a lessening of the role of kin groups to the point where they have disappeared among the Kanuri. Aside from relationships within the nuclear family, and to a lesser extent kinship relations generally, power derives its authority, among the Kanuri, from one's position in the political system, and the ability of one man to exert power over another is determined by the roles which the two men play in the political system.

121 556 565 Wealth as a variable used to determine the social importance of a single individual or of a category of individuals is analogous to power. Relative wealth defines a relationship between two individuals or two classes of individuals, and just as power derives from one's role in the political system, wealth derives from one's role in the economic system. In most primitive societies, the economic system is submerged within kinship and within the operation of kin groups. In some, the market has begun to emerge as a separate economic institution and increasingly social relationships are defined in terms of the market.

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1. the distinctions made here as to types of political systems are taken from the Introduction to African Political Systems, edited by Meyer Forres and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

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556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
436
437 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
[425] is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through eco-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
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565 head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>bərzəm</u> or <u>dareja</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

175 565 554 granting of titles by the Shehu (and before him by the Mais), and the regular practice of slavery.

A title (kagala) which the Shehu bestowed on a man was both a recognition, and a source of his social position, for the title embodied power, wealth and prestige. Power lay in the political office which accompanied the title; wealth lay in the access to land, labor and taxes which followed from title and office; prestige lay in the recognition by all of the symbolic meaning of the title. Aristocracy and slaves were given titles, but talaka, commoners, never were granted titles in former times.

565 554 644 [643] One set of titles is held by royalty. The title of Shehu itself is conferred by a council (modulas) according to strict rules of succession, after a Shehu dies. Other titles belong to members of the Shehu's family. These are unlike most titles in that they are titles ascribed by virtue of royal kinship and are not conferred to the individual by the Shehu. They include:

Maina - a prince, the son of a Shehu; also brothers of the present Shehu whose father was himself Shehu.

Mairam- (also called Nana) - the daughter of a Shehu.

Maidugu - the grandchild of a Shehu.

Some royal titles are granted by the Shehu to royalty. These are:

Maira - mother of the Shehu. If the Shehu's own mother is dead, another woman is given the title Maira, and functions as the Shehu's 'mother'. The title can be given to someone not of the Shehu's own family, should he wish to do so.

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Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Karjiroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

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Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.

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The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaigama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

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The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

175 554 565 are individual titles which can be held by only one man at a time. There can be only one Kaigama, one Mastrema, and one Yerima at any given time. A man's son did not invariably inherit his father's title at his father's death. The title was conferred by the Shehu, customarily to the son of the previous title holder. If there were several sons, the one whom the Shehu judged most worthy was given the title; and if a title-holder had no sons, or no sons worthy of holding a title, the title might be given to anyone, though it was almost always given to someone of the household of the title-holder. There are several interesting cases of high titles given to talaka who were members of a household (the present holder of the title Talba is a slave who was given the title because there were no sons of the previous Talba; a horse boy inherited the title of Kaigama in the past; the Malam to the family, and a member of the household, inherited the title of Yirima). A talaka who was considered worthy, and was a member of a household whose head held a title might inherit that title; a common talaka without appropriate household affiliations could never hope to receive a title in former times.

The title was the mark of nobility in Kanuri society, and the embodiment of the several dimensions which, when taken to-
[63] gether determined social importance. The title was linked to the system of feudal chimas who paid allegiance to the Shehu
[64] and effectively governed the land. The chimas had power, subject only to review by the Shehu himself, over the people in

175 554 565 [642] [556] [651] 175 554 565 567

their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But, interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.

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Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which determine social position are shared by an entire household, and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

2. Slaves.

565 Royalty, by virtue of their close kinship with the Shehu,
354 fall into a distinct category in Kanuri society. For some, the kinship terminology takes the form of a title (Maina = prince), others are granted royal titles by the Shehu (Gumsu). Nobility represent a second category, composed of those titled freemen who trace no relationship to the Shehu. Here the titles are all conferred by the Shehu to a member of a household, who becomes the head of that household upon receiving the title.
567 Since the Kanuri recognize a category of slaves, they should be
565 distinguished as a separate segment of the population. However, they do not form the bottom-most stratum of Kanuri society, as might be supposed. On the contrary, just as freemen are stratified into nobility and commoners, so too can slaves be considered as a vertical segment of Kanuri society, falling into numerous stratified layers within the category called "slave."

567 The principles governing slavery in Kanuri society must now be considered so that the above view of the position of the slave can be properly understood. A Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, so that slaves can be taken only from pagan
175 peoples. In former times slaves were captured by raiding parties
567 who drove into pagan territory, sacked and burned villages, and
721 brought back captives who became slaves of Kanuri masters, either of the Shehu himself, or of officers of the army. Slaves were most frequently taken by the Kanuri from among the Marghi, to the south; from the tribes of the Gwoza hills; from the neigh-

175 borhood of the Shari river, south and east of Bornu; and the
567 lands east of the Shari. Of course, only pagan areas were
[72] raided.

Pagan peoples, on being captured in slave raids, remained with their Kanuri masters. As noted above, captured slaves belonged to either the Shehu (or the Mai in olden times), or to officers of the army, who invariably were titled nobles, and kabuna of the Shehu. However, Kabuna of the Shehu might be freemen or might themselves be slaves of the Shehu. In either case they could own slaves, so that it was possible for a slave to have slaves himself. In fact, a slave of the Shehu might own a slave, who in turn had a slave. In a legal sense, the owner of the first slave owned all the others, so that the Shehu owned all slaves of his slaves.

Although a Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, it is proper for a Moslem to own another Moslem as slave. Pagan slaves taken by Kanuri masters learned Kanuri culture, and their children grew up speaking only the Kanuri language and considered themselves Kanuri. They also became Moslems, but continued to remain slaves. This is in order, since one may not capture another Moslem, but one is not obliged to free a slave who converts to Islam. The slave of course has no jili since his ancestors were originally pagan (kərdi).

567 The hierarchy with respect to slaves is determined by sev-
554 eral factors. The first is whether the individual, and his descendants, are slaves of the Shehu or the slaves of a noble

175 567 554 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas, ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna, 175 567 644 839 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of [304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six, who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's 175 567 644 household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:

839 554 Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the four greatest chimas. On his death his title goes to the adim presently holding the title of:

Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim, and another of the four greatest chimas. He is succeeded by the holder of the title:

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Shetima Abu Karim - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Agadi. All other adim are called abagana. Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Borsari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Maiduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title Digma is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

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Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled freeman, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the susana, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one

175 567 554 [304] family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who

175 567 554 592 was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The susana of an important noble shares some of that importance by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 428 [643] Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or

567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are

567 576 178 themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his master, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and [673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
178 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-
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648 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[643] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [329] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [329] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Ajia.

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political pow-
178 er. Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new
556 avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading
565 class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy in-
441 dividuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times.

[121] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[p 113-A]

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Chapter III

The Community of Geidam

[GEIDAN]

121 The previous chapter has been devoted to an overall view of Kanuri culture, against which the recent changes brought about by contact with the industrial Western world can be measured. It is apparent that this description, which attempts to provide the general features of the culture, is primarily of what has been called ideal culture. It is generalized, highly abstract and frequently derives from statements by informants about how the 'good Kanuri' acts in various types of situation.

An anthropologist customarily studies a community, which occupies the focus of his analytical attention. From his study of a particular community, he makes judgments concerning behavior which he considers to be idiosyncratic for that community, selects out and discounts atypical aspects of the culture which are represented by his community, in order to arrive at a statement about the larger patterns of the culture with which he is concerned. In the study of small homogeneous cultures, it was usually not important to distinguish between the two processes since small total size and homogeneity meant that there were little or no differences between various communities. What held for one camp, one lineage, or one settlement, undoubtedly held for all. In the study of more complex cultures to which anthropologists have turned in the recent decades, of which the Kanuri are an example, it is imperative to recognize the dis-
[124] tinctions drawn here. Kanuri culture is large and heterogeneous, and has only the most incidental resemblance to an American Indian tribe or to an isolated Pacific island, the "type cul-

[GEIDAN]

121 tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The
184 Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy,
[109] and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal
[369] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizantal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- 197 [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain with scrub vegetation which becomes increasingly more

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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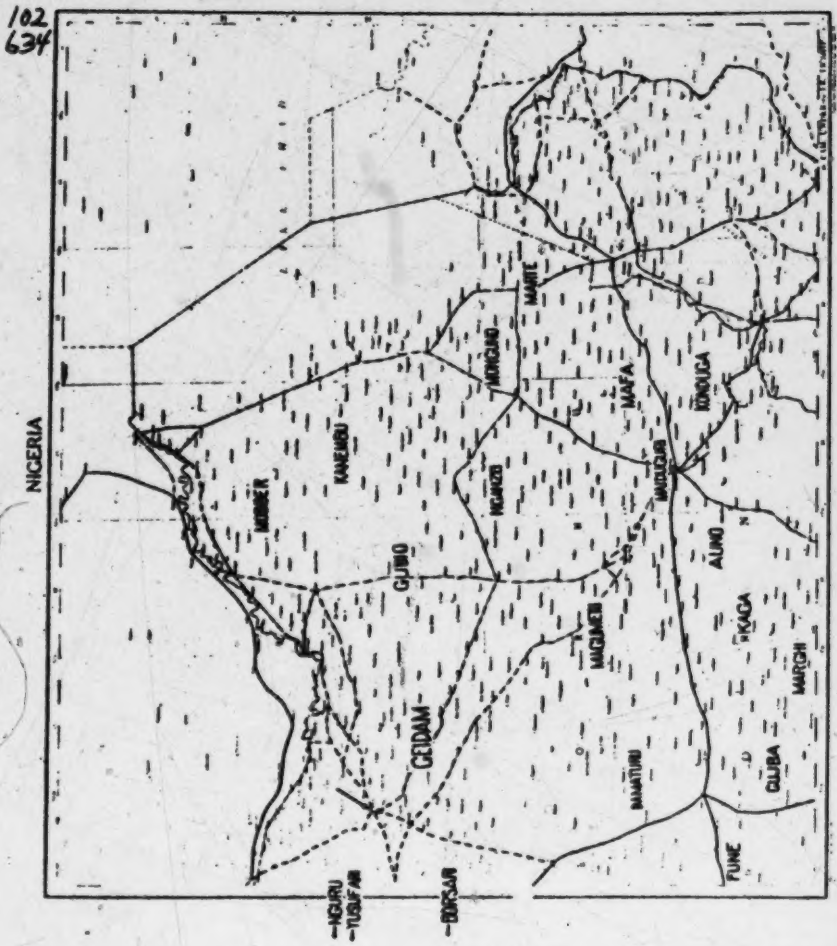

Figure 2 - Map of Bornu Province, showing the districts.

[GEIDAM]

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
[137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam
lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe
River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri
language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into
Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams
and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and
then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to
continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced
to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the
river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad
on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of
Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital
of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[361] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still
further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages
and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is
significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it
[496] marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos.
Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade
with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with
Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It
would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went
by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south
from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total dis-
131 tance covered amounts to 170 miles. Though distances are great
49 and the condition of the roads is very poor, trade is dependent
438 on trucks which are the life-line of the country. Goods come
into Geidam by truck from both Maiduguri and Nguru. They are
then distributed throughout the countryside by merchants and
tradesmen, using camels and donkeys to transport their goods.
[366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri vil-
lages north of Geidam, nor do roads lead east along the Yobe
River to the villages and towns there, Geidam is an important
regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location
is therefore an important factor in determining the nature of
the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles
[366] west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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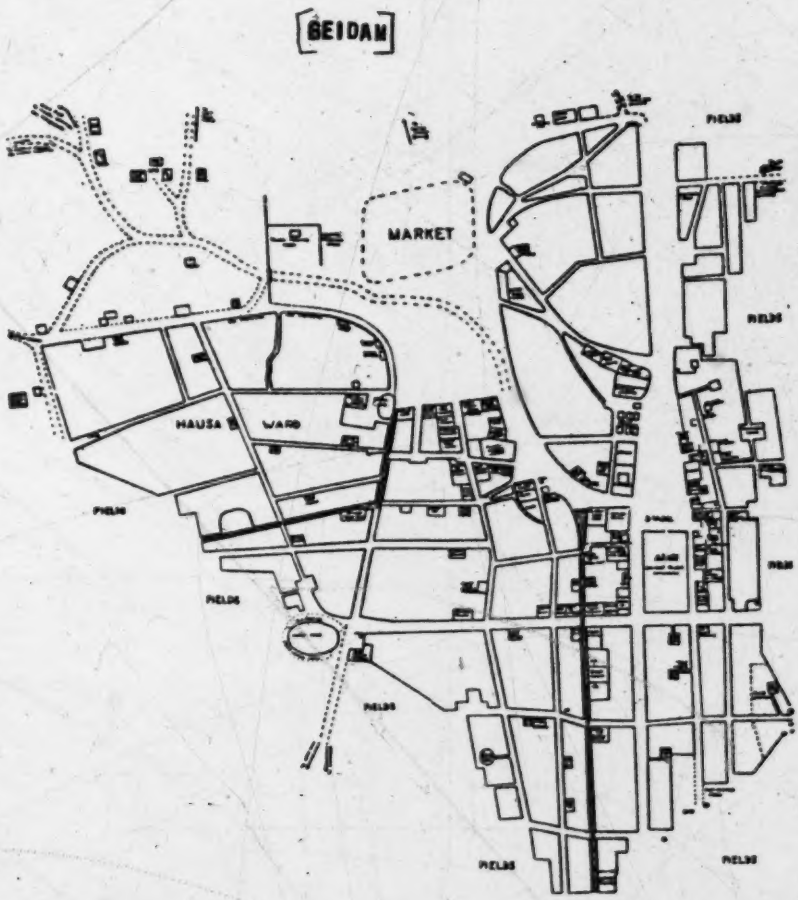

Figure 3 - Map of the town of Geidam.

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491 dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the
[366] European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds
across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town
361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has
no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In
three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded
by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying
compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe,
but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the
[244] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found
[134] garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly
[366] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering
[232] area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the
town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is
648 the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the
colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where
Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart
from the African town. In this case, the sole government build-
ing is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high
on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house,
remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years
ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied
by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during
a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied
by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

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361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 177 [439] There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

114 in the town proper, in a Kanuri house, since it was obviously
361 impossible to live as all other Europeans did, more than a mile
177 from the Kanuri people, surrounded by fellow White men.

1. Foci of Communal activity.

36 If an archeologist living centuries in the future were to excavate the ruins of Geidam, he would be able to establish from the physical characteristics of the community that this was undoubtedly an urban community, provided that he excavated with great care. He would find a large area, the market-place, devoted to trade; specialized structures devoted to religious activity, in particular the large central mosque; and others devoted to the government bureaucracy, the largest of these being the Ajari, the 'palace' of the District Head. In addition, he would note great differences in the size of dwelling places or compounds, and would infer that households varied widely in size;
[463] this would imply social stratification. Lastly, there would be revealed economic specialization in different sections of the town, indicating the presence of specialized craftsmen. On the basis of solely physical evidence, Geidam would be considered an urban community.

This view is strengthened considerably if one looks at the activities of the people of Geidam. However, as we are still concerned with the physical nature of the community, let us first examine the activities of the townspeople in relation to the various sections of the town, which serve as foci of communal activity.

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366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees.
443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

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of the dandal to watch.

368 788 The central mosque of Geidam also faces on the dandal, along its northern edge. Geidam has several smaller mosques, and although it is not necessary for a Moslem to go to the mosque to pray, Friday prayers at 2 PM (Duar) have become communal prayers. At that time almost the entire adult male community of Geidam gathers to pray. The mosque itself will hold only a small portion of the community, no more than 300 or so. All others gather under the shade of trees which line the northern and southern edges of the dandal, and while the Liman leads prayers in the mosque itself, all go through the ritual positions of prayer in unison following his lead. On the Friday Sabbath, the mosque and the dandal become the focus of attention.

368 Along the dandal, to the right and left of the entrance-way to the Ajari, are a number of buildings housing branches of the administration of the town. On the northern edge is the police charge-office, the court, and the community reading room. The courthouse serves daily as a center of activity. On the southern edge are the police barracks, the prison, the dispensary and [554] the primary school. Along with these compounds housing various types of officialdom are to be found the compounds of several important men whose gateways also face out onto the dandal.

The dandal, leading up to the chinna of the political head of a town, is the traditional political center of that town. Just as the market-place serves as the focus of all local commerce, the dandal serves as the focus of political, ceremonial and religious activity.

ooo and religious activity.

2. Wards and Neighborhoods.

632 Since the town of Geidam is the administrative center of
[634] Geidam District, the Ajia of Geidam is the central political figure in the town. A town itself, however, is administered by a Lowan. Formerly, Geidam had one Lowan; however, as the town grew in size, it was subdivided into wards (nguro). Geidam has three wards, and each has its own Lowan. Each of the wards has its own character, and although many activities have reference to the town of Geidam as a whole, other activities are limited
[563] to a ward, or centered within a particular ward. Two of the wards are almost entirely Kanuri and have Kanuri Lowans; the third is predominantly Hausa and has a Hausa Lowan.

The "U" of the town surrounding the dandal represents the center of the old town and is solidly Kanuri. This is the ward of Lowan Ashek, a kabuna of the Ajia. Political and administrative activities of a higher order center in Lowan Ashek's ward. The overwhelming majority of the Ajia's kabuna (47 of the 54 kabuna) live there. A small section of the river area falls under his jurisdiction as well since his ward stretches
[732] westward to include the river-edge. At the northeastern tip of Lowan Ashek's ward is the section where the blind live.

The second Kanuri ward is under Lowan Kolo Kolo, who also is a kabuna of the Ajia. His ward is largely but not entirely Kanuri. Under his jurisdiction is the market and most of the

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632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serakin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dagora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

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632 563 167 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come [162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 621 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper. [162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula- [622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves [651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection 632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem- 621 563 177 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Kabam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of [302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in [771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude [275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip [534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the 632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all 621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition [243] [285] [463]

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632 621 they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sɔgdis). Eco-
[248] [335] [463] nomic specialization along ethnic lines is a common character-
istic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koldi make sɔgdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living
[732] [283] [621] [622] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized
[281] [285] [323] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts-
men who make the fine sitting mat (bɔji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen,
[441] [735] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

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tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[574] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[431] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

128 [125] erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times, quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited [651] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a [311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it- [662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a [435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

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42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
67
[651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

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425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head
[465] because this is one of [illegible] duties. They receive no payment
241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some
565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
464 [178] may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
241 proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm
427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
634 [423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

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241 634 [554] him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal 241 643 460 farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

241 463 565 554 Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

241 565 are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly
554 more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people
463 in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by
[462] their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the
241 previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none
433 depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

463 The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

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The second category is the tradesmen. They depend less on a special craft ability than on their general skills in buying and selling at a profit. Through their knowledge of the operation of the economic system they assist in the distribution of goods, and earn their livelihood by taking for themselves a percentage of the value of goods which pass through their hands. The tradesmen and the craftsmen are two specialized groups within the social system of the town of Geidam whose activities are largely centered within the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The third category of specialists typically found in an urban community are specialists in maintaining the bureaucracy, and though there is an economic component to their activities, these fall more properly within a consideration of the political organization, so that discussion of the role of this group of specialists will be deferred.

Table III lists the major types of craftsmen found in Geidam, and notes in addition whether they are organized under a single head, whether they are localized in one section of the town, and the extent of their participation in the market. The seventeen types of craftsmen listed in Table III are all full-time specialists. They are highly skilled at their craft, and no Geidam man would attempt to perform for himself the services, or to manufacture the products, which the craftsmen supply. Eight crafts in Geidam are each organized under a single head. The head of a craft group such as the barbers, or the butchers, is appointed by the Ajia of Geidam and is given a kulugu as a mark of office.

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Table III

Major Types of Craftsmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In market: works	In market: sells
Barber	*			*	*	*
Blacksmith	*			*	*	*
Bəji-maker		*	*			*
Butcher	*		*		*	*
Calabash decorator		*		*		*
Dyer	*		*			
Fishermen	*			*		
House builder		*		*		
Leather-worker		*		*	*	*
Potter		*	*			*
Praise-singer	*		*			
Səgdi-maker		*	*			*
Sewing machine operator	*			*	*	*
Shoemaker		*		*		*
Tanner	*		*			*
Well-digger		*	*			
Wood-worker		*		*	*	*

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463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the draftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
621 [563] and sogdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[574] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

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Table IV

Less Specialized Craftsmen in the Geidam Economy

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In Market: works	In Market: sells
Beggars		*		*		
Charm sellers		*		*		*
Grooms		*		*		
Hair setters		*		*		
Hunters		*		*		
Transporters		*	*			
Water carriers		*	*			
Wood cutters		*	*			*

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen:

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

463 commodities; some are wholesalers and others are retailers;
441 some are very wealthy men dealing in large quantities of goods while others buy and sell small amounts and count their profits in pennies. Some, as will be seen, center their trade activities in the market-place; others are never involved in trade in the market, but do their buying and selling entirely in private homes or in canteens.

463 The Kanuri recognize many distinctions in the types of
441 trade in which one may be engaged. These distinctions are re-
192 flected in their vocabulary. Four general types of tradesmen
[452] are recognized: balasma (or ribama)--one who buys and sells at a profit (riba means profit), paying for the goods, which were originally obtained on credit, after the sale; sabarma--one who buys in one place, pays for his goods in cash, then takes them elsewhere and sells them at a profit (saber means trade); dilelma--a broker or commission agent (dilel means commission). The dilelma arranges sales between prospective buyer and prospective seller and takes his commission from one or the other, depending on who first contacted him, and for whom he is attempting to obtain the most favorable price. Lastly, the fatoma is a dilelma who operates in a large town, from his house, as is indicated by the name fatoma (fato means house). People coming into town with goods to sell, primarily livestock, are accommodated in the fatoma's house while he seeks out prospective buyers, arranges for the sale at the best possible price, and takes a commission from the sale-price paid to his guest, the seller.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 142]

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seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, 441 their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

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441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fɔtkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taborma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fɔtkema are organized under a head man; the taborma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taborma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
177
178

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the
178 market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

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44 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in
438 the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued.
[442] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[543] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

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44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
438

Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

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d) 71 sellers of raw materials.

Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 3% sellers of bundles of grass used for making bəjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.

73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.

[439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.

77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (fəle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.

46 fatkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.

[439] 46 taborma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.

[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1,477.

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44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retailing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[563] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[462] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods, of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and the entire range of household goods noted above. Included within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins, etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents perhaps the single most important imported item, and items like enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most sell typically local Kanuri items. The taborma sells imported

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44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.
439

[77] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing, traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining
44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market, serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen
[192] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sabdə (Saturday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each
44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are
439

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44 438 439 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown, does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamelware, and everything sold by the taborma are all imported into Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reaching these retailers in the market-place. Saborma from other small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell them in their own towns, and saborma from Geidam go out to the small towns and villages with their goods.

44 438 439 563 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found living in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day to sell particular items with which they are associated and to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns solely to exchange their goods for those made by the townspeople; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes; Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and basket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts, [415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

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44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
439 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
563 ly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the
[815] Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439 process through which Western goods, imported by the European
177 trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
177 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The
952 companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are baləsma in Kanuri terms.

[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[571] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

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44 439 177 452 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the surrounding villages that are not large enough to support canteens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and sold in this fashion, the balasma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- 44 439 177 new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, saborma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shop-keepers directly from the trading companies who import them [56] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to taborma. Taborma, who are Kanuri, further break

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44 439 177 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kerosene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] [237] [244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cowhides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same European trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth, once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balɔsma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

44 439 452 244

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44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[448] [465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy 177 Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44 fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439 554 ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 452 who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439 of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276 The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494] by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435] the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492] to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

44 439 276 [512] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 [497] curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[498] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried
meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs
are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to
Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose
livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south
by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

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64 the ruling body in Bornu Emirate. Native Authority (NA) officials, under the overall jurisdiction of the Shehu, are appointed by the Shehu's council (modulas). These include the Ajia, the highest official representing the NA in a district, 634 and all the lesser office-holders in that district. In Geidam District, Yerima Mustapha is the most important political fig- [693] ure. Second in importance to Yerima Mustapha in Geidam is the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura Imambe, who served as Alkali in Geidam for most of the year in which the present [632] study was done, and then was promoted to a higher court. The three Lowans, Lowan Ashek, Lowan Kolo Kolo, and Serokin Garba, Lowan of the Hausa ward, follow. Their jurisdiction is limited to their own wards within the town. Then follow a long list of officials, all NA appointees, each with his own area of specialization: the Chief Scribe, Treasurer, Primary School Headmaster and three teachers, Agricultural expert, Veterinary, Hides and Skins Inspector, Forestry expert, Local Government Advisor, Adult Education Organizer, Dispenser, and Sanitation Inspector. The Chief Scribe and the Treasurer both have assistants. Lowest of the NA officials are the NA messengers. Six NA messengers are attached to the Ajia of Geidam; one NA messenger serves the Alkali.

Most of the officials listed above serve the district of Geidam, though all are permanently stationed in the town. The Ajia and his staff, headed by the Chief Scribe and the Treasurer, are responsible for the administration of the entire dis-

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634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
[692] a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
[872] the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
[692] of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

648 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
[178] trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the
692 Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

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634 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to oper-
692 ate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of
178 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri
648 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional
63 political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly
178 in the following example describing the functioning of the po-
625 lice in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian
698 Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of
[661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

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177 178 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge
625 Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam
648 is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present
177 178 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the in-
625 formation was revealed (in private, of course) that the new
648 Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago,
567 571 at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property including a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
625 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
648 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
567 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature
571 of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the
178 political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[501] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

571 his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to
662 replace him with one of his own men.
178

178 The kabuna represent a special category in the adminis-
571 tration of the district. The colonial administration makes no
631 provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are
66 all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

571 Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some
634 are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

175 The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town
called Damjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

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175 was an old town called Geidam Balara, from which the town today
[103] takes its name. In the eighteenth century, when the capital of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo not far off, Geidam was part of the Mai's lands. Later, when Kukawa became the capital, and the Mais were replaced by the Shehus, Geidam became part
175 of the fief granted to the Imam. Since Geidam District is
634 very large, it was divided among a number of chimas. The town
[632] of Geidam (Dəmjeri and Geidam Balara, at that time) was controlled by Kazella Ibrahim Geidama, a slave of the Imam who served as chima gana (literally little chima--serving the real chima who lived in the capital). Geidam was a kalyari, an area under the authority of a slave.

The first Ajia of Geidam, in the early years of the twentieth century was Kazella Sulama, a slave of the Shehu's. He was followed by Aba Rəfəgə, a son of Shehu Ibrahim, who served
[648] as Ajia of Geidam until his death in 1915. Maiduguri had not yet been built and the Mounted Infantry, along with many Europeans, were stationed in Geidam. Aba Rəfəgə was the most important of the Ajias at that time. Kazella Kakami (Kaigama) then became the Ajia of Geidam, where he served for almost thirty years until his death in January, 1944. Kaigama Kakami was the son of Kaigama Bilel, the commander of the army during the days of Shehu Laminu. His son, Kaigama Zubairu, succeeded to the title of Kaigama and to the office of Ajia of Geidam. Kaigama Zubairu remained Ajia of Geidam for ten years, until he was demoted to a smaller district, Dəmboa, in 1954. In 1954 Yerima

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175 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from
634 Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kaigama Zubairu.

175 Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa kabuna who came
634 into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who
554 [167] entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. However, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili), their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were "Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab, who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar (son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house, with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu", so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the position of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Laminu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

159 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary
634 school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and Vac-
554 cinator in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District, where he resided first at Ngəlzerma and later at Damagum. At that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

159 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year
634 later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha.
554 The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately
632 bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in
634 the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

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175 632 634 was a very young man, whose father had been a Lowan under Kaigama before him. In fact, years earlier Geidam had had one Lowan instead of three--and the single Lowan had been the grandfather of Lowan Kagu. Then the town was split into three wards, each with its Lowan. At that time, Lowan Ashek, who had been a kabuna of Kaigama's and his slave as well, became a Lowan. Lowan Kagu's father was also made Lowan of a ward, succeeding his father; and the young Lowan Kagu in turn succeeded his father at his father's death.

175 632 634 66 The Lowans of Geidam were loyal to the departed Kaigama, but now it was necessary to demonstrate that they could transfer their loyalty to Yerima Mustapha, the new Ajia of Geidam and their new master. Lowan Ashek, an older and more experienced man, was able to do this. He became one of Yerima's kabuna, and while he is far from the most trusted of Yerima's men, he continues to serve as Lowan under Yerima since he knows the people of his ward well and had been performing the job for some years. Lowan Kagu was young, and was unable to control his feelings in the face of strains created by the situation. He, too, might have bridged the difficult transition as Lowan Ashek had done, had he had more experience in office. As it was, he was dismissed shortly after Yerima's arrival because he lost his temper in an argument with Yerima and threw a book in his face.

Yerima was then free to appoint one of his own men to replace Lowan Kagu. When he was approached and asked whom he

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175 wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indif-
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634 ferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town
66 council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dijelma dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

692 The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to oper-
692 ate independently from the political arm of government, and in
000 particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

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693 personnel who occupy positions in the judiciary, however, are
554 bound to the social system. The Alkalis of Geidam exhibit a pattern in their personal histories, and are representative of specific social strata--the Koranic malams, the Imams and the Alkalis--whose sons follow their fathers and pursue the same
693 goals. Alkali Baba Kura was the son of Imam Komi, the chief
159 Imam at Maiduguri who later became Chief Alkali. He studied the Koran, explanations of the Koran, Hadith (traditions), and Tarikh (chronicles) at his father's house and at the houses of other learned Malams in Maiduguri, and then went to study law at the Kano Law School. He was appointed Alkali for the districts of Magumeri and Gubio when he was only twenty-five years old, at the time when Yerima Mustapha was Ajia of Magumeri, and Yerima became his mentor. Alkali Baba Kura remained in Magumeri for four years. After Yerima moved to Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura was transferred to Geidam. One year later he was elected to serve in the Northern legislature at Kaduna, while continuing on as Alkali of Geidam. Then in August, 1957 he was again promoted, this time to be Inspector of Courts in Mai-
693 duguri. He and two other powerful and important Alkalis make
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662 up the Shehu's court. This is an extremely important position
554 for so young a man, and Alkali Baba Kura owes much of his success to help which he received from Yerima, although his own family connections were still more important in helping rapidly
693 to further his career. Alkali Baba Kura's older brother is to-
554 day Imam Ibrahim, having succeeded his father as chief Imam in

693 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri
554 District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another young man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the same families tend to retain their positions of power and
[66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a reliable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group
692 justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Disputants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the zogors arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has disputants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia
[618] for sholo. The Alkali will settle disputes out of court. The British officially forbade Lowans and Ajias from hearing cases
[719] and arbitrating in disputes. However, Alkali Baba Kura says that according to the Koran, the settlement of disputes through

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627 arbitration is encouraged, so long as the complainant has his
692 [779] grievance adjusted.

627 Carrying out sholo is one of the most important functions
662 of the individual in a position of political authority. It is
431 subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be
[192] a source of difficulty. The words kunjo and nasha are used for any sort of gift. Kafelo is the traditional gift which the small man, the talaka, gives to the important man, the kantuoma. Risa (Arabic) means simply a bribe. Wushira is the fee paid
[779] to the court after a dispute is settled. According to Alkali Baba Kura, kafelo and risa amount to the same thing, and both are forbidden by Maliki law since gifts given with the expectation of preferences in the future are haram (forbidden according to religious law). Giving of kafelo is traditionally done nevertheless.

627 Before the hearing of a dispute, both parties give kafelo
[431] to the mediator. If no kafelo is given, the dispute will not be heard. After a ruling is made in the dispute, the side which has received a favorable decision gives wushira to the medi-
[693] ator. The reasoning involved in the giving of wushira is that if the case had gone to court a set fee would have been paid. When a case is heard in Sholo, therefore, the mediator receives as wushira a smaller fee than would have been paid in court.

Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

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627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan 663 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, 661 because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition [431] [534] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which 931 he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the [67] case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

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627 431 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 578 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse

627 663 661 her husband. Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

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627 Alkalis as Yerima is with Alkali Baba Kura, but Yerima would
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661 put his influence to use only when affairs arise which directly concern him.

627 In the eyes of talaka, sholo is the major means for keeping
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671 the peace. They do not distinguish sharply between the resolution of conflicts through sholo and through judgments handed down in the courtroom. The Kanuri do not conceive of an impartial legal system which grants all individuals equal protection. Law is conceived of as mediation granted by particular individuals, some more trustworthy than others. Whether one brings one's complaint before the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan depends on whether one has greater trust in the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan. In any case, one brings one's complaint to be heard by a single man, with his particular whims, idiosyncracies and prejudices, and one chooses the man in whom one
[68] has the greatest confidence. According to the British view, sholo given by an Ajia or Lowan is not permitted,and is therefore not binding on the parties involved. A man who has received an unfavorable decision in sholo can complain to the court and the decision will be overruled. The Ajia or Lowan who heard the case will have difficulty because of it. This rarely happens because the talaka sees the situation from an entirely different viewpoint. When he brings a case for sholo and receives an adverse ruling, the dispute must end there as he has done everything possible for him to do in the situation, particularly if no bribes have been given (to his knowledge)

627 and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dis-
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671 pute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the
[626] case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al-
[693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political of-
651 ficial are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and
[565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

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000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [563] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

ocalists.

651 The essential problem in the collection of nomad Jangali is to find the cows and their owners, who are wandering in search of good grazing, and who are most likely to wander into the deeper thickets when the time for Jangali collection nears. Once the cattle owners and their cattle are found, their names are recorded along with the number of cows which each man owns. Then, as he usually has no cash, it is necessary for the owner of a herd of cattle to sell some of them so that he can obtain cash with which he will pay the Jangali tax. After his name is recorded, he does not attempt to evade payment. He is then given several weeks to pay his tax. Nomad Jangali rates are [657] five shillings for each cow. If a man attempts to conceal cows, if he reports that he owns a number of cows and then is discovered to have more than announced, he pays at the rate of ten shillings per cow.

651 654 The prescribed method for collecting Jangali is for the Ajia personally to ride after the Fulani and collect the tax from them for their cattle. In a district the size of Geidam [447] this is obviously impossible. It is necessary for an Ajia to have many horsemen in order to canvass his entire district so that he will collect an amount in Jangali which corresponds to the actual number of cows in his district. This is the primary role of the kabuna. There are several approaches to the problem of Jangali collection, relying on differing tactics, all used by Yerima. One is to assign important kabuna, who can be

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65 634 trusted, to large areas. A number of less important kabuna collect the Jangoli, under the responsibility of the chief kabuna in their area. The wakil, Wakil Ali, tours the entire district. Occasionally Yerima himself tours key sections, accompanied by a special wakil (formerly Wakil Guloma had this assignment, but [10] he has been replaced). A second tactical approach is to keep a certain number of horsemen in reserve. When an unusually large number of cattle are reported in any one area, horsemen are rushed into that area, assuring that all the cattle will be reported and that the kabuna there will not be swamped in their work. A third approach which Yerima used successfully in Magumeri District is to divide the entire district into strips several miles in width. Several kabuna comb a strip moving from east to west looking for Fulani with cattle, while other kabuna are simultaneously combing similar strips to the north and the south. When a group of kabuna have gone through their own strip, they exchange strips with another group and return in the opposite direction.

563 631 In Geidam today the Fulani are organized under Ardos and Mais. A Fulani lineage is under an Ardo, appointed by the Ajia, Yerima Mustapha. When an Ardo dies, his people bring the man that they would like to succeed the dead Ardo, usually his son, to Yerima who appoints him Ardo. The Mai governs over all Fulani in a large area; he has many Ardos under him. In Geidam District there are four Fulani Mais who fall within the territories of particular Lowans. These are Mai Musa, Mai Kusur, Mai

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563 Maganuwa, and Mai Mar. Several other Mais roam in the brush
651 areas without being attached to particular lowanships. A new man may come to Yerima with a group of Fulani followers and ask to be made an Ardo. If he is appointed Ardo, he is then asked to which Mai he wishes his group to be affiliated. A kabuna sent by Yerima to collect jangali from a particular area records the number of cows reported by the Ardo or Mai for his group of followers in that area. Then the kabuna hunts down the cows
[687] and their individual owners. If the kabuna finds that an Ardo actually has more cows than he originally reported, the Ardo is fined five shillings for every additional cow found. Each Fulani Mai receives a percentage of the total jangali collected from his group. The percentage that he receives (wujira) is in the neighborhood of six pence for each pound of jangali collected. The Mai then distributes money to his Ardos, according to the amount of jangali that they brought in.

651 When Yerima left Magumeri District in 1953 there were
634 28,000 cows on which village jangali was paid, and 59,700 cows on which nomad jangali was paid. In 1956, under the new Ajia, Digma, the number of cows on which nomad jangali was paid had dropped to 23,000. The drop in the reported number of cows may be because Fulani have left Magumeri District, but it is more likely that Digma is unable to have them tracked down so that the jangali tax is paid. This is because Digma has insufficient kabuna to do the job adequately. When Yerima first arrived in Geidam in 1953 there were 33,000 cows reported for nomad jangali. By 1956, there were 39,000 cows reported, an

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651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangali		3,000
haraji		41,000
	total taxes	£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
156 [648] in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

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651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
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651 cattle is to deal directly with the Ardos and Mais, bribing
634 them with gifts to come into the district. This is highly im-
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662 proper, as the Fulani of a district are considered a part of that district. Movement of Fulani from one district to another merely alters the source of jangali, but does nothing to increase the total amount which flows into the central NA treasury. Indeed, one source of concern to Yerima is that the Fulani Ardos of Geidam District will hear that the Ajia of Magumeri District, which is directly south of Geidam and shares with it a long unprotected border, has an inadequate number of horsemen, and will move south into Magumeri District out of reach of Yerima's kabuna, to avoid paying jangali. Should such a movement out of his district occur, Yerima would notify the Waziri in Maiduguri, who would in turn force Digma to patrol his side of the border to prevent the Fulani from moving unnoticed into his district. It is clear, however, that Yerima is not above offering inducements to Fulani Ardos to move into his territory and increase his tax lists.

651 Yerima's overall scheme depends on the stationing of im-
634 portant kabuna who are in charge of jangali collection in their
563
66 areas. These are as follows:

Grema Jisami - responsible for all the territory north of the Yobe River.
Kolo Kime - responsible for the area around Gumsa, and all the Fulani under Mai Musa.
Aba Chiari - responsible for the area around Kusur, and all the Fulani under Mai Kusur.
Kongodi - responsible for the Maganuwa area, and the Fulani under Mai Maganuwa.
Kazella Dokalla - responsible for the Zurukuduk area, but with no single Fulani Mai in his area.

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651 634 563 66 Mai Mar, the fourth important Fulani Mai does not have assigned to him a kabuna in charge of jangəli collection from his people. All other kabuna remain located in Geidam town, and are sent out to particular areas on demand. The primary method used by Yerima is to send out horses to areas in which cattle are reported. One aspect of Aba Chiari's job is to let Yerima know if Fulani are crossing over into Magumeri District, as his area is along the Geidam-Magumeri border.

Yerima is willing to reach a compromise in assigning jangəli payment to a particular Ardo or Mai which is below the full amount according to the actual count of cattle belonging to his group. If the Ardo is willing to accept Yerima's assessment, then both sides benefit: Yerima benefits because his kabuna have less work to do and can turn their attention elsewhere where it may be needed, the Ardo benefits because the total jangəli is less for his group than it would be if every cow were counted. It is through such methods that the Fulani Ardos are induced to remain in Geidam or to come to Geidam should they find themselves in the district of an Ajia who is erratic or uncompromising. Should the Ardo feel that he can get away with paying less jangəli than the amount assigned to him by Yerima, on the basis of information given him by his chief kabuna, he might try to hide cattle or to sneak away. Then Yerima would descend on his people with many kabuna and every single head of cattle would be counted and taxed. The threat of Yerima's many kabuna makes this an unwise course of action,

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and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compromised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is demanded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangoli, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

The roles of a number of political figures have been discussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-

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634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
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554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[863] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554
565 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
871 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a
871 school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to
555 speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman
177 to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged
565 derives from the aristocracy or from minor political official-
554 dom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power
[178] and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128
76 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from
[184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual
128
79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas:
[185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[462] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[462] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Ngumeribe (ngumeri means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zemabe (Zema means Friday). The Liman Ngumeribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was considered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that Malam as the Liman Zemabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zemabe was given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumeribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[805] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[539] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubə̃ro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bori, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumori Ashembe, at Ngumori Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[212] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-
[265] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

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796 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at
574 the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe,
554 the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan,
182 Ngumori Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In
554 the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumori Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 Another extremely important yearly festival is called
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796 Ngumori Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
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second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nangima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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128 within that community. This section, then, is a particularization of the section on social organization in the preceding chapter. It will deal with kinship in an urban community; the data on which the present discussion is based are taken from a sample of individuals (the construction of which will be discussed later) chosen from the community of Geidam. It should be considered against the more general background provided earlier.

Much of the data in this section are presented in the form of tables, wherein individuals are grouped into categories which are contrasted with each other. There are eight groupings in all, and each stands for a category within Kanuri social structure which is significantly represented in the town of Geidam. At this point in the discussion, all of the categories should be readily recognizable since their roles in the community have previously been described and discussed. In the following chapter, Chapter IV, they will be considered in yet another context as the problem of acculturation will be treated in terms of categories in Kanuri social structure. At that time, the manner in which the various categories were selected, and the choice of individuals who make up the categories will be described in detail.

1. Marriage.

582 It had been mentioned earlier that boys in the small vil-
369 lages marry earlier than they do in the cities. It may be seen

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582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

592 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems
463 to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that
565 one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief

595 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing
565 the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear
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Table VI

Age at First Marriage

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	...	35
Aristocracy							1		1		1		2									
Koranic Malams							1					1		1								
Canteen Traders							1		1				1	1			2					
NA Malams						2		1	1			1					1					
Kabuna				1		1	1					1		1								1
Craftsmen				1	2				1										1	1		
Talaka						3	1		1		1	1		1								
Low-status	1								1					1								
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1		1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

582 The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin)
587 and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length.
565 Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə
463 yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Un-
554 der a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four cate-
gories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom
[193] four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is
for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage.
Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaskə or a Zogor

	a. Present wives		b. First wife		c. All previous wives	
	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	-	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

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582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

593 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two
562 individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound
565 but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower cate-
554
463 gories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives secluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75
586 (mean is 4.88). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-
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GEIDAM

Table X

X a

Total Number of Wives per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy		1		1			1		2												
Koranic Malams			1		2																
Canteen Traders					1	1	2		1	1											
NA Malams			3	1				1								1					
Kabuna					2	1		1		1	1										
Craftsmen		1				2		1	1									1			
Talaka		2			1			1	1					1			1				1
Low-status	1			1					1					1							
Totals:	1	4	4	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1

median = 5.5
mean = 6.4

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X b
Number of Divorces per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy	1		1		1		1	1													
Koranic Malams		1	2																		
Canteen Traders		1	2		1		2														
NA Malams	2	1	1			1								1							
Kabuna			2	1			1		1	1											
Craftsmen	1				2	1		1								1					
Talaka	1	1		1			1	1					1			1				1	
Low-status	1		1					1					1								
Totals:	6	4	9	2	4	2	5	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

median = 3.75
mean = 4.88

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586 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had
565
554 more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the
463 lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalo yaskas have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa

Number of Living Children

163
565
554
463

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning
Kabuna	-	
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age h
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11
	8	

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
163 ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
[142] have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[562] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invariably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the great love for children and desire to have children. However, those who have borne a child have indicated their ability to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives who have no children of their own, and who are probably unable to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediately after the child was weaned; two were given away at later ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not have an adequate home at the time.

have an adequate home at the time.

634 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima
351 Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table
592 XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zəgəsə of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 The principles of household affiliation have been de-
565 scribed in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual
554 composition of forty-three households is presented. In each
463 row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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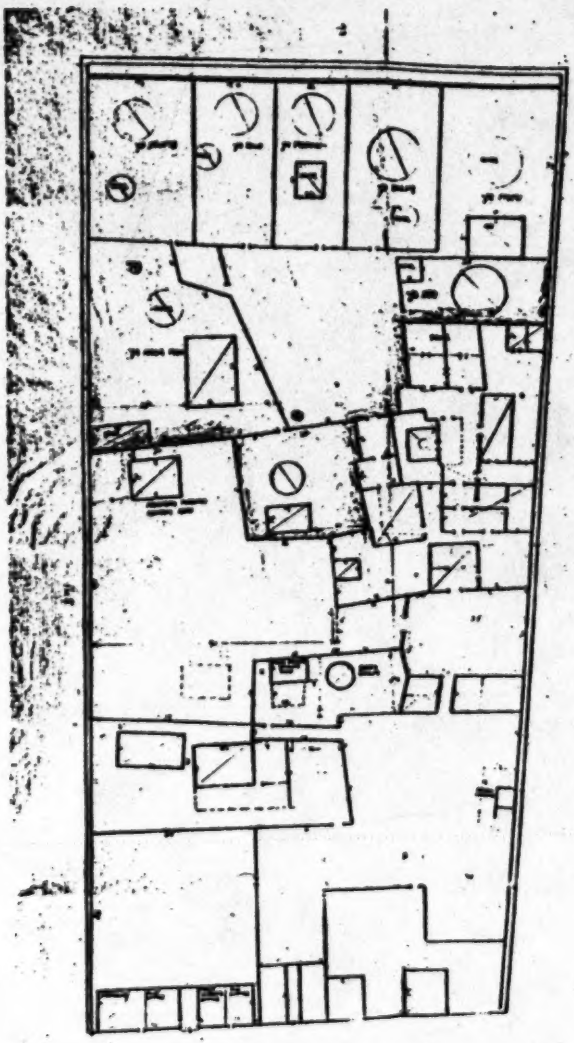

Figure 4 - Diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha.

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Table XIIa

Household Composition

	wives	children	tata nlima	relatives	wife's relatives	zogors	chibuna	others	yai total	household total
Aristocracy (minus Yerima)	2	1	1	-	WiYoSi	ElBrDa	1	-	4	8
	1	1	2	Fa/cou	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 friend's children	3	7
Koranic Malams	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7
	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	student	2	7
Canteen Traders	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	-	0	5
	2	0	-	YoBr + Wi	-	-	-	-	6	9
	3	1	2	YoBr+Wi+Da	-	-	2	-	4	9
	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
	2	0	5	-	-	-	-	friend+Wi	7	10
	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	malam+Wi: 5 students	11	19
NA Malams	1 (1 chir)	1	7	YoBr;YoSi	-	1	-	-	10	14
	2	2	-	YoBr	-	-	-	Fa's chibuna + Wi	3	8
	1	1	-	2 YoBr	WiYoSi	-	-	-	3	6
	2	2	2	ElBrSo	(ElWiYoBr (ElWiYoSi	1	-	-	6	11
	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
	1	-	1	FaBrSo	-	cousin	-	-	3	5

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Table XIIa (continued)

	wives	children	tata nlima	relatives	wife's relatives	sogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Kabuna	2	0	1	-	-	YoWiYoSi	-	YoWi's chibuna	3	6
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	0	0	-	-	-	YoSi	-	-	1	2
	2	3	1	ElBrSo	-	-	-	-	2	8
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	1	0	2	Mo	-	-	-	-	2	5
Craftsmen	1	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	2	0	-	MoBrSo	-	-	-	-	1	4
	2	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
Talaka	1	0	-	-	-	-	ElBrSo	-	1	3
	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	0	0	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	Wi's gr.so	-	-	-	1	3
Low-status	0	0	-	(lives in ElBr's house)					-	4
	1	0	-	-	WiElBrDa	-	-	-	1	3
	1	0	-	2 YoSi cousin	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3

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Table XIIb

Summary of Household Composition Table (XIIa)

Totals for 43 households:

38 Tata njima

21 relatives of household head: 3 Mo; 6 YoBr (2 with wives, 1 YoBrDa); 3 YoSi; 2 ElBrSo; 4 cousins

6 relatives of wife of household head: 3 WiYoSi; 1 WiYoBr; 1 WiElBrDa; 1 Wi's grandson.

7 zogors: 4 relatives; 3 not family.

6 chibuna

16 others: comprising - Wi's chibuna; Fa's chibuna + Wife; malam + Wi and 5 students; friend + Wi; 3 friends' children; student of Koranic malam.

Mean Number of Tata Njima and mean number of Non-nuclear family in Household

	Tata Njima	Yal Members	Mean size of Total Household
Aristocracy (- Yerima)	1.8	3.5	7.0
Koranic Malams	0	.67	6.67
Canteen Traders	1.5	4.67	10.2
NA Malams	1.8	4.3	8.2
Kabuna	.67	1.3	4.5
Craftsmen	1.0	1.2	3.5
Talaka	.13	.5	2.75
Low-status	0	1.0	3.75

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592 of Yerima Mustapha is not included.)

565 554 463 Household composition has been broken down into the following categories: wives and children (which have already been discussed), tata njima, relatives of the household head, relatives of the wives of the household head, zogors, chibuna named after the household head, and miscellaneous others. The term yai refers to members of the household who are not part of the nuclear families of the household head. The final column gives the total size for each of the forty-three households in the table. It may be seen that household size ranges from two to nineteen members.

Table XIIb presents a summary of the information in Table XIIa. There are 38 tata njima attached to the present 43 households, but in looking at the mean number of tata njima in the various categories, it is apparent that they are found largely in four categories: those of the aristocracy, the canteen traders, the NA Malams and the craftsmen. Tata njima included in Table XIIa are only those actually living in the compound of the household head. The canteen traders in particular have a number of tata njima who are married and live in their own compounds but return to their "master's" house to eat their meals. These have not been included here. Relatives of the household head are primarily younger siblings (6 YoBr; 3 YoSi) and some even have their wives and children with them. There are three cases of mothers living with mar-
592 ried sons, but no fathers. In no case of the present 44

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592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson.
592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat-
586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away
597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are
565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in
463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named
[553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one
592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that
597

592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that
592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
566 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
554 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table
463 XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of
[162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

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G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [559] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momo? Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

567 munity. Yerima has a great many slaves in Geidam who serve as kabuna and as members of his household. Yerima's slaves, therefore, are important in Geidam. Kaigama, the previous Ajia, also had many slaves and though many went with him when he was transferred to another district, others stayed behind and continued living in Geidam. The fact that they are slaves is not important because since Kaigama is no longer present in Geidam, the master-slave relationship through which they derive the status of slave has become latent. Should Kaigama ever return to Geidam, or should his slaves ever go to Damboa where Kaigama now is, their status as slave might again become active. The case of Lowan Ashek is a good illustration of this. It is less significant that he is a slave of Kaigama, the former Ajia, than that he is a kabuna of Yerima's and swears allegiance to Yerima. This situation may also be seen in the behavior of Alkali Baba Kura to his slaves. In the nineteenth century Geidam was part of the fief granted to the chief Imam, and administered by one of his slaves as a kalyari. Alkali Baba Kura is a direct descendant of the chief Imam so that many people in Geidam are in fact his slaves, slaves of his grandfather whom he in turn inherited. However, Alkali Baba Kura does not recognize these people as slaves and refuses to accept either his obligations as a master or their obligations to him as his slaves. He has no chirs, though he could have many if he chose to realize the potential relationship which exists between him and many people in Geidam. The

567 status of slave therefore does not really exist as an important determinant in defining the place of these people within the Geidam community structure.

565 In terms of the traditional stratification system, most of the people of Geidam are talaka, neither aristocracy nor slaves.

2. Urban Social Structure.

463 The second variable, urban social structure, is much more
369 important in defining social stratification in Geidam. Most
565 Geidamites are specialists of one sort or another. In contrast to the village farming population, most of the people of Geidam make a living by practicing some special skill. They are middlemen in trade, craftsmen, religious specialists and bureaucrats in the political system. It is primarily this differentiation which defines the community as an urban community.

463 One might divide the various specialties found in the
565 community of Geidam in a number of ways. Specialties requiring manual skills might be contrasted with those requiring intellectual abilities; specialties requiring long periods of training might be grouped and compared with those requiring only a little specialized training. The approach adopted here in dividing the various specialists in the Geidam community into groups which might be compared is to look at the sphere of culture with which each of these groups of specialists is concerned. Thus there are several groups of specialists in

463 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere
565 of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. The Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

56 The third variable which must be considered in looking
177 at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of con-
[559] tact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

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56 177 prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.
[554] The direct influence of the British colonial administra-
177 567 tion has removed the legal support behind the master-slave
565 relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold,
648 and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to
their masters by the police. This has radically altered the
relation between master and slave, so that the distinction
between slave and free-born is significant only in special
cases.

64 By and large, the colonial administration, because of
177 its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to
178 remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as
565 previously held power. However, some changes have been made
by the British, so that representatives are elected to a North-
634 ern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam,
177 political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typ-
178 ifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is
565 a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapt-
ed to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the
same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order.
Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held
by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another tra-
ditional group which has continued on into the present in Gei-
[648] dam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another
member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of
Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

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634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178
565 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
[648] previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178
565 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
665 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
648 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

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177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

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177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
554
565

177 prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri
178 culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict
554 with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have
565 brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain groups in the community structure, particularly among the talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one another in the community of Geidam represents the social structure of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a
56 result of the interaction of the three variables discussed
178 here: the traditional system of social stratification, the
369 urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of
177 the Industrial West.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Chapter IV

Conceptual Framework of the Study

A. Theoretical Concepts

121 Since the present study is concerned with the process of acculturation as it occurs within the various groups which make up the social structure of the community of Geidam, it is necessary to describe precisely the theoretical concepts which will be employed.

1. Concepts dealing with social structure.

Some time back Raymond Firth attempted to clarify the problem of dealing analytically with a changing social system. This is precisely the problem of the present study. Firth differentiated between social structure and social organization, noting that, "Continuity is expressed in the social structure, the sets of relations which make for firmness of expectation, for validation of past experience in terms of similar experience in the future. Members of a society look for a reliable guide to action, and the structure of the society gives this--through its family and kinship system, class relations, occupational distribution, and so on. At the same time there must be room for variance and for the explanation of variance. This is found in the social organization, the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision."[1] The basic distinction which Firth makes will be adhered to in the present discussion. In addition, his introduction of the notion of

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1. Raymond Firth, Elements of Social Organization (London: Watts and Co. 1951), p. 40.

121 choices through which social relations are ordered will serve as a focal point in the discussion of acculturation which follows.

The first necessary set of distinctions to be made in analyzing social structure is that which differentiates social groups from social categories. A social group is typified by a high degree of interaction among its members and an internal structuring of its membership. A social category is not internally structured, nor do its members interact frequently. Its definition is dependent on the common response which members of a category will make towards members of another category, and consequently a social category is defined by the interchangeability of its members in contrast to other categories. A family, household, or lineage is an example of a social group; fathers, household heads and aristocrats are examples of social categories. Social categories can shade into social groups since they sometimes take on the defining characteristics of a group to some degree.

The definition of a social category put forth here may be compared with that used by Fortes in the following selection. "Just what we mean by a homogeneous society is still rather vague though we all use the term lavishly. The working definition I make use of is that a homogeneous society is ideally one in which any person in the sense given to this term by Radcliffe-Brown in his recent (1950) essay, can be substituted for any other person of the same category without bringing

121 about changes in the social structure. This implies that any two persons of the same category have the same body of customary usages and beliefs."[1] The qualification "of the same category" used by Fortes is obviously intended to refer only to age and sex categories, for an extension of the idea of social categories beyond this limited notion would allow the substitution of individuals of the same category in any society, even the most complex societies. Since Fortes was defining a homogeneous society, he could not have meant to imply this extension of the concept of "category." It is precisely this extension which is the aim of the definition of social category put forth here.

Social category is merely another way to look at status. Instead of emphasizing position, as the concept of status does, social category emphasizes the similarities between individuals who occupy the same status. Social groups are almost always internally ordered into differing statuses, but social categories (or statuses) can exist without being social groups.

Linton proposed the paired concepts of status and role--the latter term to be used in referring to behavior which is associated with a given status. The concepts of status and of role are most readily seen in paired, or dyadic relationships. The status of ego is clarified when it is contrasted with the status of alter. Ego's role can only be seen when he inter-

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1. Meyer Fortes, Op. cit., p. 36.

121 acts with alter, so that the concept of role is really a reciprocal one which depends on the interaction of two or more people.

Robert Merton has recently proposed extensions of the concepts of role and status.[1] He views each social status as involving not a single role but an array of roles, and he suggests the term "role-set" for this cluster of roles associated with a single status. The particular role which an individual "selects" is dependent on the group of individuals with whom he is interacting at a given time. His role will vary in accordance with the nature of these "alters." In the presence of one set of individuals he plays one role and behaves accordingly; in the presence of a different set of individuals he plays a different role and his behavior toward them is very different from that which he showed in the presence of the previous group. Analogous to Merton's idea of role-set is his term status-set, which refers to the multiple statuses which any individual occupies. In each of the many statuses which make up an individual's status-set, he has an associated role-set. At any given time, his one active status determines his role-set, and the particular role which he enacts or chooses from the role-set is determined by the individual (or group of individuals) with whom he is interacting at the time.

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1. Robert Merton, "The Role-Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," The British Journal of Sociology, VIII, No. 2, (1957), pp. 106-120.

|2| In considering the simplest forms of interaction between two individuals, it is apparent that roles involve behavior which may be appropriate or inappropriate on the part of both individuals. Linton referred to appropriate behavior on the part of the role-player as his duty, and to the appropriate behavior of his alter as his right. "A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties."[1] Goodenough, in a recent paper, focuses his attention on the formal analysis of status-connected rights and duties.[2] Rather than rights and duties, the terms that will be used here are: expectations and obligations. Expectations and obligations are terms introduced by Goffman.[3] They are preferable to Linton's terms because they have less connotation of legal sanctions, and refer rather to every-day behavior. Goffman uses the concepts with great effect, for example, to analyze "good" and "bad" manners. Role behavior therefore refers to reciprocal behavior in which the individ-

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1. Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1936), p. 113.

2. Ward H. Goodenough, "Formal Properties of Status Relationships," paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia, November, 1961. (mimeographed).

3. Erving Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," American Anthropologist, 58, No. 3 (1956), p. 473-503.

121 uals in interacting roles both have their obligations to act in certain ways, as well as their expectations of how the other will act. As Goodenough points out, the terms are complementary: ego's obligations are alter's expectations, ego's expectations are alter's obligations. For an interaction to continue, obligations and expectations must conform with one another.

Choosing a particular role from a role-set automatically determines one's relevant obligations and expectations. What are the factors that lead an individual to choose one role from a number of possible roles in his role-set when he encounters another individual? The two primary factors are: his perception of the "others" whom he meets and with whom he interacts, and his view of himself (or the self which he wishes to present to others). Goffman's writings in this area of social perception are most illuminating, and show a remarkable convergence with the approach of S. F. Nadel. Nadel states, "We can express more sharply the variability of the actor as against the constancy of the contribution expected of him by describing the latter as a part meant to be played. Which is precisely what the role concept is designed to do."[1] This analogy between roles and actors, parts and performances, becomes Goffman's central theme.[2] Goffman is equally interested in actor and

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1. S. F. C. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), p. 21.

2. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959.

12| audience. Both actors and audience perceive one another as members of social categories, and each anticipates appropriate behavior from the other. Each actor guides his own behavior by the "presentation" he seeks to make and in accordance with his judgment of how it is perceived by others. If his judgments are correct, expectations are met and the interaction continues because it is understood by both participants. Goffman is particularly interested in the manner in which the actor initially presents himself, the impression that he conveys to others (the audience, from his point of view--but actors too, in the interaction), and the social categories into which others will place him. An interesting problem is that of the pertinent cues in any culture on the basis of which these judgments are made, for these cues determine the categories into which others are placed and, consequently, one's obligations to those individuals as well as one's expectations of how they will behave.

One may present a paradigm at this point. Given a particular social context which several individuals approach with desired goals, the factors entering into the choice of appropriate behavior for each of the participants would be as follows:

a) the individual's perception of himself (or the self which he wishes to present);

b) his perception of alter in the same social context;

c) his perceptions of sanctions and rewards which can proceed from each of several roles in his role-set that he might choose from;

121 d) his choice of appropriate behavior, in accordance with his perceptions, for achieving the goals with which he approached the situation.

One can choose innumerable examples to illustrate this process. The easiest to imagine is the encounter of adolescent boy and girl, in any culture.

For most encounters and interactions of this sort, the rewards are no more specific than the continuation of the interaction; sanctions of the severest sort may be brought about by abrupt termination of the interaction by alter. Sometimes sanctions of this sort are desired, by either ego or alter, as when one snubs someone or cuts someone dead. At other times sanctions occur because ego (or alter) has not perceived some aspect of the situation appropriately. "Bad" manners may be due to either possibility. The introduction of the notion of sanctions when expectations of what is appropriate are not met is central to the view of social structure presented here. The threat of sanctions is one of the forces which maintains the operation of any social organization.

The central problem of the present study is the delineation of social groups and categories of the community under study, and the identification of some of the distinctive role-sets of each group and category in terms of the obligations and expectations which make up the roles. It is necessary also to know something of how the members of these groups and categories perceive themselves, and those in other categories.

121 Lastly, it is important to know the goals, the rewards, and the sanctions in Kanuri culture. In terms of this set of basic concepts the functioning of certain aspects of Kanuri culture will be viewed through the interactions and relationships between social groups and social categories in the community of Geidam.

2. Concepts dealing with acculturation.

The view of acculturation put forth here hinges upon the idea of choices or alternatives discussed by Firth. In a recent article, Leach has used this as his central concept in analyzing Sinhalese social organization. Leach concludes by saying, "... social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules."[1] In the above quote Leach is using social structure to describe what Firth would term social organization. Murdock, in his introduction to the volume in which Leach's essay appears, comments that "... jural rules themselves are the 'outcome of multiple individual choices' in situations where one kind of choice is likely to be appreciably more strongly or regularly rewarded than possible alternative choices.... Leach's position seems to me to have the enormous advantage of making possible the utilization

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1. E. R. Leach, "The Sinhalese of the Dry Zone of Northern Ceylon," in Social Structure in Southeast Asia, edited by George P. Murdock (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960), pp. 123-124.

(2) of psychological principles and of scientific knowledge concerning the dynamics of cultural change in the interpretations of cultural systems."[1]

Alternatives are probably present in all cultures to some extent, and a degree of variation is implied in Leach's statement that social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices. Indeed, one can view deviants in a culture from this point of view, as individuals who have chosen behavioral alternatives which differ from the cultural norm. In the present study, however, we are concerned with alternatives which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with external sources. It is clear from the picture of Kanuri culture presented above that these alternatives have been introduced as possibilities in certain aspects of Kanuri culture, and to certain groups and categories but not to others. The groups and categories which are most affected are those which are in regular interaction with the sources of outside influence.

New alternatives are presented to these groups and categories, and when members of these groups and categories exercise choices which have become newly available to them, variations in behavior are introduced. When choices and decisions represent variations that are consistently in one direction, away from cultural norms, then culture change is occurring in

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1. George P. Murdock, "Cognatic Forms of Social Organization," ibid., p. 9.

121 that group. If the consistent acceptance of new choices continues for a sufficiently long period, or involves the introduction of radically new alternatives, it will alter the relationship between that group and other groups and categories in the culture. It may even lead to the formation of new social groups or categories. In either case we would say that the social structure itself would then have become altered.

In such a group or category undergoing acculturation, roles are undergoing expansion and change. This implies that the obligations and expectations of its members are also changing. It was noted above that the choice of a particular role in a role-set was dependent on the "others" with whom the individual in question was interacting, that furthermore it depended on the view of the "self" that he wished to present, the view of "others" that he held in relation to himself, and the view of himself that he thought others might see and believe. In an acculturation situation each of these conditions is undergoing change. The individual's view of himself is no longer a stable one, since, as his position in relation to others changes, his view of himself changes. The self that he wishes to present to others may consequently not be clear either to himself or to them, and he will be even less sure of how credible this "self" will be to others, whether they will accept it and act on it.

An acculturation situation therefore is one in which errors in perception of many sorts are possible. The relationship between groups and categories is undergoing change, and

121 members of differing groups are no longer secure in their expectations from others. Though the larger cultural goals may continue to operate, groups may find that previously unattainable goals are now within reach. Though the nature of sanctions may remain the same, individuals are uncertain when they might anticipate sanctions. In choosing a particular path to achieve his goals, an individual may find that his behavior towards others brings about sanctions. He then must determine whether he can achieve his goals despite these sanctions, and whether the goals are worth the difficulties which are thus brought about, or whether he must abandon behavior of that sort.

B. The Nature of the Data.

12 The data on which the present study is based lie along two dimensions, social structure and acculturation. The manner in which data was chosen for study and collected for each of these variables will be discussed in the following section.

1. Delineating community social structure.

124 Eight groups and categories were selected for analysis. These certainly do not exhaust the total number of social groups and categories to be found in the community of Geidam. They merely represent eight clearly definable social units, each operating within a distinctive sphere of Kanuri culture. These eight groups and categories are themselves resultant from the interaction of variables which bring about community social

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[941] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

6. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

124 gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited
565 here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet per-
463 form some non-skilled activity in addition to farming.
Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

[559] 8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

124 The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and cate-
gories who make up the sample for the present study are found
listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to
have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some
randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility
of the selection of informants who are good examples of the
author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions
125 of field work. As will be explained in the following section,
data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four
informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to
administer and which included a number of questions dealing
124 with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close re-
lations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the
present study before he could be used as an informant. This
eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random
way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware
of this problem at the time that the study was done. He con-
sciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as
informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115	1. Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]	2. Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]	3. Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]	4. NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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5. Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mustapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. Talaka: (8)	Adamu-	a taborma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Ferashama-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

113 8. Low-status individuals:

551 (4) Bukar Mandalma- a tanner.

554 Yahuda Gundama- a praise-singer and drummer.

124 Mastapha Mandalma- a tanner.

463 Abdu Gursam- a butcher.

Total: 44 individuals.

124 category which they were to represent. It was required that an informant be a full-time specialist in the activities which characterize any group or category. It is evident that a Koranic Malam, an NA Malam, a Kabuna, a Craftsman, or a member of the Low-status group (tanners, butchers and praise-singers) are members of a clear-cut group or category. Individuals with ambiguous roles were not included in the sample. In the case of the Aristocracy, the Canteen Traders, and the Talaka, judgments were involved in the selection of informants. A decision had to be made as to whether the Aristocrats in Geidam were restricted solely to Yerima Mustapha or whether the group might be enlarged to include others as well who were far below Yerima in social prestige. A decision had to be made which separated the category of Canteen Traders from the many less successful tradesmen in Geidam. A decision also had to be made concerning the defining criteria for the category designated as "Talaka" in the study.

Once individuals were singled out who met the criteria for membership in the eight groups and categories, they were contacted through intervening people, and a relationship with them was established. In time this led to the use of the selected individual as an informant in the study. Every effort was made to avoid choosing acculturated individuals in those categories where it was predicted that greater acculturation would occur, and unacculturated individuals where they would be predicted to occur. Indeed, it will become clear that biased selection on

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant. 125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XIV

Acculturation Measures in the Questionnaire

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1. What languages beside Kanuri do you speak?
2. Can you read? In what script can you read?
3. Do you have: a wrist watch, a bicycle, a radio, photographs of yourself, a horse?
4. Can you ride a bicycle?
5. Can you tell time?
6. What is the use of a wrist watch?
7. Which is more useful, a horse or a bicycle? Why?
8. Which would you rather have, a horse or a bicycle?
9. Do you smoke cigarettes?
10. Do you drink beer?
11. Do you fast during Ashem (Ramadan)?
12. Do you fast during Tsuro Mbulo (a minor fast)?
13. Do you wear charms (laya)?
14. Do you wear European-made shoes?
15. Do you wear European trousers?
16. Would you go to a European doctor if you were ill?
17. Which is more effective in curing disease, European medicine or drinking the ink which was used to write verses of the Koran (alo)?
18. Does a Kanuri doctor know how to set bones better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat jaundice better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat snake bite better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat head ache better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat small-pox better than a European doctor?

Table XIV (continued)

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Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat internal pain better than a European doctor?

19. If you had a complaint against a man, would you take him to court or would you take him before the Lowan or Ajia for sholo (arbitration)?

20. If you became rich and a man came to you and said that he needed a new kulugu (gown), would you give it to him?

21. Would you send your daughter to the European school?

22. What sort of work would you most like to do, if you could do anything you desired?

23. Which would you rather be: a truck driver, a Lowan, a dispenser (or doctor), or a Malam of the Koran?

24. Would you marry a woman who was not Kanuri?

25. Would you marry a Hausa woman? a Fulani woman? a Moslem Babur woman? a Moslem Yoruba woman?

26. Would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English?

27. Would you let your wife go to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher?

28. Would you want your sons to attend the European school?

29. Would you rather have them go to a Koranic Malam or to the European school to study?

30. What would you most want your son to become?

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125 177 sion, use, and knowledge of Western material culture; evaluations of the usefulness of such items; religious behavior; attitudes toward Western medical practices and the effectiveness of such treatment; attitudes toward traditional ways of arbitrating disputes and towards traditional forms of Kanuri generosity; attitudes toward preferred types of occupations for the individual being questioned and for his sons; attitudes toward Western education for both sons and daughters; attitudes toward marriage with women outside Kanuri culture and with acculturated women; attitudes toward behavior which should be permitted one's wife.

125 The forty-five remaining questions in the questionnaire-interview are concerned with various facets of the individual's life history. The initial twenty-five questions deal with the individual's wives and children, family of orientation and fam-
125 ily of procreation, and his household. The information ob-
128 tained from a number of these questions provide the basis for many of the tables in the previous chapter, particularly those on kinship and household, where the sample used is that de-
125 scribed in the present sections. Many of the earlier questions provide important information on the relative positions of the groups and categories. Thus information on number of wives, whether they were kala yaskos or zogors, size of yal, etc. reveal a great deal about each group and category. Fifteen other questions are concerned with friendships, visiting patterns, and eating arrangements, all factors in the position of a group

125 or category within the social structure. There are five miscellaneous questions at the end of the interview.

C. The Relationship between Social Structure and Acculturation.

121 An individual's position as a member of a social group or social category is considered to be the independent variable in the present study. The manner and the rate in which he becomes acculturated is considered to be dependent on his position in the social structure. It is possible to derive several general hypotheses from this basic view. These are:

1. Groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation.
2. Groups and categories in the social structure acculturate in differing areas of culture at different rates. These differences are determined by the relation of the particular group or category to a given aspect of culture (economics, political organization, etc.).

The above hypotheses are straightforward and easily tested by comparing various groups as to their relative degree of acculturation in several areas. They derive directly from the position that new behavioral alternatives are made available to certain groups and categories in the social structure, so that these groups show evidence of acculturation long before others. Furthermore, members of groups and categories become aware of new alternatives in certain areas of culture because their role

12 behavior falls largely in these areas. They may therefore become acculturated in certain behavioral areas but not in others.

3. Groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in others.

A group which has become very acculturated has altered its relationship to other groups within the social structure. As it continues to deviate further and further, it ceases to meet the expectations of others who begin to exert sanctions against the deviant group. Unless that group leaves the culture, which is always a possibility, it must respond to the sanctions. The predicted method of response will be to reaffirm their acceptance of group opinion by adhering even more strictly to the cultural norms in some other behavioral area.

The nature of the sanctions which operate in the above situation depend on the acculturating group and its relationship to other groups. Sanctions arise as this group interacts with others in the social structure. The principles which govern the relationships between groups and categories continue to operate in a situation of rapid culture change, preventing any single group from changing radically so long as it continues to remain part of the same social structure, by the exercise of various forms of sanctions, which may be extremely subtle in character.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[p 248-A]

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Chapter V

Analysis of the Data

[BEIDAN]

128 The data elicited by the questionnaire-interview form the basis of the present chapter. They will be presented in the form of tables, each of which is discussed in the text. The tables are grouped according to areas of information with which they deal. They will be presented in the following order:

Table XV.	Age distribution of the sample.
Table XVI.	Knowledge of other languages.
Table XVII.	Ability to read.
Table XVIII.	Western Material Goods: possession.
Table XIX.	Western Material Goods: knowledge about material items.
Table XX.	Western Material Goods: ideas about usefulness.
Table XXI.	Western Material Goods: comparison of horse and bicycle.
Table XXII.	Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer.
Table XXIII.	Western Material Goods: wearing shoes and trousers.
Table XXIV.	Religious Behavior: fasting during a minor fast.
Table XXV.	Religious Behavior: wearing charms.
Table XXVI.	Western Medicine: going to a doctor; effectiveness of medicine.
Table XXVII.	Western Medicine: treatment of six diseases.
Table XXVIII.	Arbitration of disputes: before the Lowan or in court.
Table XXIX.	Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger.
Table XXX.	Education: sending son or daughter to school.
Table XXXI.	Education: sending son to Koranic Malam or to school.
Table XXXII.	Desired Occupation: for self.
Table XXXIII.	Desired Occupation: choice of four occupations.
Table XXXIV.	Desired Occupation: aspirations for son.
Table XXXV.	Marriage: willingness to marry out.
Table XXXVI.	Marriage: willingness to marry an educated woman.
Table XXXVII.	Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work.

124 The entire sample of 44 individuals has a mean age of 39.55 (see Table XV), and a range from 22 to 60 years. The mean ages

[GEIDAN]

Table XV.

124 Age distribution of the sample and of each of the eight groups

	Mean age	Range
NA Malams	32.67	25-44
Talaka	36.5	22-51
Low-status Individuals	37.75	25-47
Aristocracy	39.4	24-56
Entire sample median = 40	39.55	22-60
Craftsmen	40.0	30-57
Koranic Malams	43.67	30-56
Canteen Operators	43.67	40-47
Kabuna	45.67	35-60

for each of the eight groups which are compared in this chapter are also given in Table XV. The means of six of the eight groups are within four years of the mean age of the entire sample. The two extreme groups, the NA Malams (mean age = 32.67) and the kabuna (mean age = 45.67) are in one case somewhat younger and in the other case somewhat older than the en-
[121] tire group. This age difference might be expected to have some effect on the hypotheses advanced earlier, since one might expect younger individuals to be more acculturated than older
[632] individuals. Unfortunately, the NA Malams as a group tend to be young, so that the head-master of the school is only twenty-five years old. Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, is forty-four years old and has been included in the sample. He is
124 probably the oldest NA Malam in the town. Conversely, the Ka-
*634 buna tend to be an older group, and the thirty-five and thirty-

124 seven year old Kabuna are probably among the youngest members
*634 of the entire group. This is because Yerima Mustapha will keep potential Kabuna in minor positions for some years before he feels that they are ready for the responsibility of performing
[121] a Kabuna's role and gives them a horse. Although age is probably a variable in determining an individual's degree of acculturation, it is secondary to his position within a given group or category as will be demonstrated in the succeeding
*634 pages of this section. Though the Kabuna are older as a
*177 group, they nevertheless tend to be acculturated in specific areas. Though the NA Malams are younger as a group, they tend to be acculturated in certain areas and not in others. Age as a variable will be examined in detail in a later section.

A. Analysis of Responses to the Thirty Acculturation Measures.

*177 The first acculturation measure to be discussed is knowl-
191 edge of languages other than Kanuri, presented as Table XVI. Twenty-seven members of the sample speak some Hausa; 18 speak Hausa well; 9 speak a little Hausa. Sixteen speakers of Hausa
*[365] are found in three groups: Aristocracy (4), Canteen Operators
*[463] (6), NA Malams (6). This is clearly related to the importance of the Hausa language in two spheres of activity: trade and
*177 administration. All of the traders speak some Hausa; this is
191 because Hausa is widespread as the trade language throughout
441 Northern Nigeria. Europeans in trade learn to speak Hausa rather

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

[GEIDAN]

Table XVI

1. Knowledge of other Languages aside from Kanuri

	Hausa: yes	little	no	English: yes	little	no	Other
#177 191 Aristocracy	4	-	1	-	1	4	Little Shuwa - 1 Kanembu - 1
#463 #565 #554 Koranic Malams	1	-	2	-	-	3	Arabic - 1
Canteen Operators	3	3	-	-	-	6	Little Shuwa - 1
NA Malams	6	-	-	6	-	-	Shuwa - 2; little Shuwa - 1; Fulani - 1; little Fulani-1; Mandara - 1
Kabuna	-	3	3	-	-	6	Little Fulani - 1
Craftsmen	1	-	5	-	-	6	Fulani - 1
Talaka	3	3	2	-	-	8	Fulani - 1 Tubo - 1
Low-status individuals	-	-	4	-	-	4	Little Shuwa - 1
Totals:	18	9	17	6	1	37	Shuwa - 6 Fulani - 5 Arabic - 1 Kanembu - 1 Mandara - 1 Tubo - 1 15

*177 than Kanuri, and communication with the managers of the various
191 trading companies in Geidam is in Hausa. Knowledge of Hausa
441 among the Kanuri canteen operators is reflected in their atti-
[582] tudes towards the Hausa generally. This can be seen in the
willingness of the Canteen Operators to marry Hausa women (see
*177 Table XXXV). Hausa is also the language of the colonial
648 bureaucracy in Northern Nigeria, and all Europeans in adminis-
191 tration have learned to speak Hausa. The number of Kanuri
*565 speakers among the European administrative personnel in Bornu
+634 Province is negligible. Therefore most of the Aristocracy
*177 and all of the NA Malams speak Hausa. In the remaining five
*565 groups, 11 individuals speak Hausa and 16 do not. Most of
191 the lower class groups do not have much contact with Hausas
and consequently do not speak their language.

*177 With respect to knowledge of English, the picture is even
191 more clear-cut. Only seven people in the sample speak English.
*[565] One aristocrat (Yerima Mustapha) speaks a little English, and
+[634] the entire group of NA Malams, all having been educated in Euro-
pean-style schools, speak English. No one else has any knowl-
edge of the language.

It is interesting to note that knowledge of other languages is a common occurrence in this area. Fifteen cases of speakers of six additional languages are found in this small sample. Of course a few individuals speak several languages, while others speak only Kanuri. There are six speakers of Shuwa Arabic, and five speakers of Fulani represented. There are almost as many

*177 191 [563] *[634] speakers of these languages as of English. It has been noted that both Shuwa and Fulani pastoralists are found in considerable numbers in Bornu Province. The members of the group of NA Malams seem to be outstanding in their knowledge of other languages. Not only do they all speak Hausa and English, but three in addition speak Shuwa Arabic, two speak Fulani, and one speaks Mandara.

*177 212 Turning to reading ability (Table XVII), it can be seen that 15 of the sample (34 per cent) are able to read in English script, while 24 of the sample (54.5 per cent) are capable of reading in Arabic script. Writing the Kanuri language in Arabic script preceded the entry of the British into the area by several centuries; the British introduced writing in Latin (English) script and have taught this form of writing in the schools. It is clear that many more individuals are capable of writing in Arabic script today than in English script. It is also apparent that almost half of the sample are illiterate in any script.

*[565] *[634] Of those who can write well in English script, 10 of the 11 fall into two groups: the Aristocracy and the NA Malams. Most of the individuals in the six other groups are unable to write in English script. The pattern of those who are capable *[634] of writing in Arabic script is quite different. Once again the NA Malams are an outstanding group. Not only can they all write [792] in English script, but all can also write in Arabic script. Of course the Koranic Malams can also all write in Arabic script.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256 1

BEIDAN

Table XVII

2. Ability to Read in either English or in Arabic script

*177
212
*565
*554
*463

	English script			Arabic script		
	yes	little	no	yes	little	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	1	3	1
Koranic Malams	1	-	2	3	-	-
Canteen operators	-	-	6	2	1	3
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	1	-
Kabuna	-	2	4	1	1	4
Craftsmen	-	-	6	-	1	5
Talaka	-	1	7	1	3	4
Low-status Individuals	-	-	4	-	1	3
Totals:	11	4	29	13	11	20

[GEIDAN]

*177 212 *[462] *[554] *[565] But in every one of the eight groups there is at least one individual who can write a little in Arabic script. Most of the Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Low-status Individuals can neither write in Arabic script nor in English script. However, several of the Talaka can write a little at least in Arabic script.

*177 871 212 565 *634 The two types of script divide the two educational systems which operate side by side among the Kanuri. English script is taught in the schools; Arabic script is taught by the Malams. Those who have had some extended contact with the Western schools (the NA Malams and the Aristocracy) can write in English script. Those who have studied with a Malam can write in Arabic script. Individuals who fail in this latter category are found in all of the eight groups, and several are among the Talaka. It is noteworthy that the NA Malams, who all write in English script, can also write in Arabic script.

*177 405 *568 *634 Table XVIII presents data on the possession of Western material goods. The first column compares those who own, or have owned a wrist watch. All six NA Malams and 4 of the Aristocrats owned a wrist watch at the time that they were asked. Though a number of individuals in the lower class groups, particularly in the Talaka group, have at one time owned a wrist watch, none owns one at present. This of course reflects the wealth differences among the groups. An individual Talaka may own a wrist watch for a short time, until he finds that he needs cash and sells it to some one else. Members of the NA Malam group and the Aristocracy are sufficiently wealthy to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 258]

GEIDAM

#177
405
493
207
215
492
#565
#554
#463

Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2*a	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5*b	1	5*c	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4*d	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

*a one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

*b four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

*c one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

*d two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

*177 radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost
207 unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English
191 (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from
*[634] possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

*177 Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once
215 again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and
441 radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case
[188] of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photo-
[192] graphs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams,
[634] the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photo-
*[554] graphs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight
*[565] has had his photograph taken.

*177 The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previ-
492 ous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of
[125] Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found
*[565] individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka
*[634] owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

[GEIDAM]

*177 128 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use *177 493 is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen *565 Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them, [441] *[634] many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one-half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two *177 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the 805 sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread *[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two *[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather me- 805 chanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the *829 hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

[GEIDAN]

Table XIX

*177
493
805
*565
*554
*463

4,5. Knowledge about Western Material Items.

	4. Can you ride a bicycle? yes	4. no	5. Can you tell time? yes	5. no
Aristocracy	4*a	1	5	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	1	2
Canteen Operators	4*b	2	4	2
NA Malams	5	1	6	-
Kabuna	2	4	3	3
Craftsmen	2	4	4	2
Talaka	4	4	5	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	2	2
Totals:	23	21	30	14

[576] *a one of the aristocracy (Yerima) stated that he doesn't ride a bicycle though he knows how to, because it isn't dignified.

*b one of the canteen traders stated that though he knows how to ride a bicycle, he doesn't ride, but travels on horse.

GEIDAN

Table XX

*177
*205
*565
*554
*463
*829

6. Ideas about the usefulness of Western material Items:

What is the use of a wrist watch?

	A. doesn't know its use*a	B. know when to pray*b	C. important for one's work*c	D. complex ideas about usefulness*
Aristocracy	-	5	1	4
Koranic Malams	1	1	1	-
Canteen Operators	1	5	2	-
NA Malams	-	6	5	1
Kabuna	2	5	-	1
Craftsmen	3	3	-	1
Talaka	2	7	3	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	1	1
Totals:	10	35	13	11

*a Answers indicating lack of knowledge:

Koranic Malam: "I don't know. It has no use."

Canteen Operator: "I don't know. A man knows when to stop work. It has no other use."

Kabuna: "You know what to do at different times of the day. You know the time- its pleasant. At 9 o'clock you eat."

Craftsman: "A man knows the time. I don't know what use that is. If you tell me, then I'll know its use."
"You know the prayer times; it has no other use. Talaka don't know its use. I'll know only if you tell it to me."

Talaka: "I don't know. If I get one I'll learn its use."

GEIDAM

Table XX (continued)

*177 *b Knowing when to pray:
805
*565
*463
*829

Canteen Operator: "You know the prayer times. That's its only use for a Moslem."

"You know when to pray; you know the hours. It has no other uses."

NA Malam: "You know when to pray when its cloudy. When you wake up at night, you know the time."

Kabuna: "You know the prayer times; when to eat; and when to go to sleep."

Talaka: "If you go to the bush, at Duar (2 P.M.) you know it's time to pray.... At night, when there is no sun, you know when to pray."

In addition to stating that one knows the prayer times from one's wrist watch, individuals added the following:

You know when to rise in the early morning to count prayer beads - 3

You know when to wake up to break the fast during the month of Ramadan - 4

You know when to eat - 6

You know when to go to sleep - 2

*c A wrist watch is important for one's work:

Aristocrat: "When you go to work, you know when to stop in order to pray. You start work at a certain time and stop at a certain time..."

Koranic Malam: "If a man does European work, he knows when to go and when to leave for lunch."

Canteen Operator: "You know when to open your canteen, and when to close it. You know when to pray."

NA Malams: "A worker won't come late to work. You know the prayer times."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to stop work to eat; when to close for the day...."

"...If someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab wound, for example, you write down the time he was brought in."

[GEIDAM]

Table XX (continued)

*177
805
*565
*554
*463
*829

Talaka: "You know when to pray. You know when to stop work, go to eat, and be back at work, without being late...."

"You know when to pray. When you go to sleep, you know the time when you awake. At 3 A.M. you wake up if ypu want to go to bush markets."

Low-status Individual: "People who work for the government know when to go to work. You know when to pray."

*d <u>More complex ideas about the usefulness of a wrist watch</u>:

Aristocracy: "...If you leave for another town, you know when to leave, and when to return."

"...If you're going on a trip, you know what time you ought to start, because you know how fast you travel in an hour, and how many miles you have to go, so you can figure out what time you should start in order to reach there on time."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to leave for a journey and what time you will reach your destination...."

"You can tell someone when you are going someplace and when you will return."

NA Malam: "You can tell a man to come to see you at a certain time - 4 o'clock - and you know when to expect him."

Kabuna: "...A person may tell you to meet him at a certain time to start on a trip, and you know when to go."

Craftsman: "If a friend tells you to go someplace at 9 o'clock, you lie down and then, when it's 9 o'clock, you get up and go there."

Talaka: "...If you go someplace, you know how long it took to travel there...."

"...If you go to another town, you know when you started out and what time you arrived there."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to leave on a trip."

Low-status Individual: "You know the prayer times. A person can tell you what time he came to a particular place."

[BEIDAN]

*177 one individual offered several reasons as to why a wrist watch
805 was useful, and his answers may have fallen into several cate-
*829 gories. The total number of responses in Table XX is therefore greater than the number of individuals in the sample.

Column A includes responses which indicate that the individual has no knowledge as to the usefulness of a wrist watch.
[126] In superscript*a following the table itself, a number of verbatim responses are presented to indicate the nature and some of the variety in this category of responses. These include definite statements that a wrist watch has no use, and vague statements that it's nice to know the times of the day. Several individuals indicated that they understood that there was some use to a wrist watch, and that if the anthropologist would impart this knowledge to them they would then know. Implicit in the statements by the two Craftsmen is that though they realize that a wrist watch has some use, they have not been sufficiently interested to find out its use from someone who knows. The last statement by a Talaka is interesting in that it inverts the relationship between owning a thing and knowing about its usefulness. The order of events which he presents is not likely to occur; he would hardly get a wrist watch before knowing what
*[634] its use was. Of the ten responses in column A indicating a
*[463] lack of knowledge of the usefulness of a wrist watch, seven oc-
*[565] cur in three groups: Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. This response did not occur at all in two categories: Aristocracy and NA Malams.

*177 *829 805 788 Column B represents the most common response to this question. Thirty-five individuals said that a watch was useful because one then knew when to pray. Ritual prayer takes place five times each day, at set times of the day (see Chapter II). These are usually determined by the position of the sun in the sky; the benefit of a watch in helping one to know when to pray is therefore obvious. Some individuals added that a watch was particularly helpful in knowing when to pray when it is cloudy; others noted that in the bush, when no one else was about, it was helpful to have a watch to know when to pray. In connection with prayer, three individuals noted that by having a watch one knew when to arise in the early morning before the sun was up in order to count one's prayer beads (tajimi). Similarly, four people noted that you knew when to wake before the sun was up to eat something in the month of Ramadan. Since prayer times regulate the divisions of the day, six people added that by having a watch one knew when to eat (in relation to prayer), and two said that one knew when to go to sleep (a non sequitur). Several people specifically noted that knowing the times for ritual prayer was the only use of a watch. All the individuals in two groups put forth this reason, among others, for *[565] having a watch. These groups are: Aristocracy and NA Malams. *[634] Seven of the eight Talaka offered this reason. On the other [792] hand, only one of the three Koranic Malams offered this as an example of the usefulness of a watch. Apparently the other Koranic Malams do not feel that a watch is of any assistance in

[GEIDAN]

*177 805 +829 788 helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

[792] The four types of response to the question concerning the *177 805 +829 128 usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of acculturation. Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave *[634] work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have [792] offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting *[554] that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a Low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (*c) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

*177 805 *829 128 Dispenser--if someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab wound, you write down the time he was brought in. This answer indicates that the respondent sees the use of a wrist watch solely in terms of its use in helping one to perform various bureaucratic tasks. Responses of this sort do not reveal a deeper understanding of the uses of a watch, though they do reveal an understanding of the relation between watches and aspects of Western culture and are therefore acculturated responses.

Complex ideas about the usefulness of telling the time have been noted in column D. In all there were eleven such responses, only one more than the responses in column A. Seven of these responses concern travel, and the advantages of being able to calculate rates of travel in order to determine when to leave a particular place and when to arrive at one's destination. The remaining four concern the use of synchronized time by two individuals to coordinate their activities. These responses reveal a deeper understanding of the advantages of possessing a watch. Four of the five Aristocrats offered responses of this sort, as did three of the eight Talaka; only one NA Malam answered in this fashion, and none of the Canteen Operators offered this reason.

*565 *634 [441]

*177 *829 805 *565 *554 *463 *634 In comparing the eight groups with respect to the answers presented in Table XX, several points emerge. The Aristocracy offer a number of complex responses (D). The Koranic Malams are divided, but low in the number of responses referring to prayer time (B) when compared to the sample in general. The

*177 *829 805 *565 *554 *463 *634 Canteen Operators tend to offer prayer times (B) as their typical response. The NA Malams offer reasons connected with their work (C) more often than do other groups. The Kabuna offer prayer times (B) largely. A higher proportion of the Craftsman group state that they do not know (A) than does any other group. The Talaka and the Low-status Individuals offer a variety of responses of which the most common by far is knowing of prayer times (B). Rating the four categories of response as to degree of acculturation by assigning a value of 1 to responses in column A, a value to 2 to responses in column B, a value of 3 to responses in column C, and a value of 4 to the responses in column D, one can arrive at a score for the average responses in each of the eight groups, and can thus compare their degree of acculturation with respect to this particular measure. The average ranks for the groups fall in the following order, beginning with the least acculturated:

*177 *829 805 *565 *554 *463 *634 128

1. Craftsmen - average response value = 1.86
2. Koranic Malams - = 2.0
3. Kabuna - = 2.0
4. Canteen Operators - = 2.13
5. Low-status Individuals - = 2.33
6. Talaka - = 2.47
7. NA Malams - = 2.58
8. Aristocracy - = 2.9

*177 *829 805 *463 *565 The Craftsmen, with their high proportion of "don't know" (A) responses thus are revealed as the least acculturated group in

#177 *829 805 *463 *565 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

#177 825 *829 492 493 [125]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

Table XXI

#77
#325
#329
492
493
#565
#463
#554

7, 8. Comparison of horse and bicycle: which is more useful; which would you rather have.

	Which is more useful?			Rather have	
	horse	bicycle	different	horse	bicycle
Aristocracy	3	1	1	2	3
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	2	1	3	3
NA Malams	3	1	2	3	3
Kabuna	5	-	1	5	1
Craftsmen	6	-	-	6	-
Talaka	4	2	2	5	3
Low-status Individuals	3	1	-	3	1
Totals:	28	9	7	29	15

*177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were men-
825 tioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bi-
*829 cycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." An-
492 other Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages
493 and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kaji)."

*177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the
825 answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle?
*829 Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew
492 how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not digni-
493 fied (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would
*554 rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Crafts-
*[634] men) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and over-
*[663] whelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their
*[565] reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

*177 Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western
276 items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and
273 drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-
[784]

*177 European-
276 pean-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cig-
273 arettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally
[784] avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found
[792] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and
[441] the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 The last items involving Western material goods concern
291 the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers,
*829 presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-
[792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams,
*[634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against
*[463] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger.
*[565]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

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Table XXII

*177
276
273
*565
*463
*554

9, 10. Smoking cigarettes; drinking beer.

	9. Do you smoke cigarettes?			10. Do you drink beer?		
	yes	used to	no	yes	used to	no
Aristocracy	2	-	3	1	-	4
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-	-	3
Canteen Operators	-	-	6	-	-	6
NA Malams	1	1	4	-	1	5
Kabuna	-	-	6	1	-	5
Craftsmen	-	1	5	-	1	5
Talaka	3	-	5	1	1	6
Low-status Individuals	2	-	2	-	-	4
Totals:	8	2	34	3	3	38

Table XXIII

*177 14, 15. Wearing European Items of Clothing: shoes, trousers.
291
*829
*565
*554
*463

	European shoes: has them	doesn't have but would wear	wouldn't wear	European trousers: has them	would wear	wouldn't wear
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2*a
Koranic Malams	1	1	1	-	-	3*b
Canteen Operators	5	1	-	-	-	6
NA Malams	6	-	-	4*c	-	2
Kabuna	2	2	2	-	3	3
Craftsmen	3	1	2	1	-	5
Talaka	5	1	2	3	1	4
Low-status individuals	4	-	-	1	1	2
Totals:	30	7	7	11	6	27

*a Malam Jalo said that he wore European trousers long ago when he was a school-teacher but that he wouldn't wear them now.

*b Liman Habib, the young Liman, said that he wouldn't wear them because they don't go with a Kanuri gown (kulugu).

*c Malam Kasam, the veterinary, stated that he occasionally wears them but doesn't like them; prefers Kanuri trousers (yangai).

Malam Ali Malami, the dispenser, wears European trousers as his work pants.

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#177 Those who object to the trousers make up 61 per cent of the
291 sample, while those who objected to wearing shoes are only 16
#829 per cent of the sample. A majority of the NA Malams state that
#634
#565 they wear European-style trousers, but several of their re-
#463 sponses indicate that wearing trousers is related to the nature
441 of their work, and one, the Veterinary, states that he wears them though he dislikes them. One Aristocrat notes that he wore trousers in the past when he worked as a school-teacher but does not wear them now that he no longer does that sort of work. The Craftsmen, the Koranic Malams, and the Canteen Operators give a very high proportion of responses indicating refusal to wear trousers. The first two of these, the Craftsmen and the Koranic Malams, also included individuals who were unwilling to wear shoes, so that their responses to the two questions are rather consistent. However, the Canteen Operators show a complete reversal. All of them said that they either had or would wear European-made shoes, but not a single member of that group would wear European-style trousers. There is clearly a difference in the attitude of the sample towards wearing European-made shoes and European-style trousers. The majority have no objection to wearing shoes but do object to wearing trousers; the group which is most sensitive to the difference between the two items of clothing is the Canteen Operators. They choose with the majority with respect to both shoes and trousers, but in both cases they do so to a man, as if to indicate that they as a group exemplify the norms of correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 Turning from the area of Western material goods, several
183 questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads af-
178 fecting religious practices can be seen among some very accul-
[369] turated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were
[792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These
[441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely
[554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

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Table XXIV

12. Religious Behavior: fasting during Tsure Mbulo.

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183
*565
*554
*463

	Yes	1 day	2 days	3 days	more	No	too young
Aristocracy	3	-	3	-	-	2*a	-
Koranic Malams	3	1	1	-	1-10 days	-	-
Canteen Operators	6*b	2	3	-	-	-	-
NA Malams	5	2	3	-	-	1	(lazy)
Kabuna	5	-	2	3	-	1	1-age 37
Craftsmen	4	-	1	3	-	2	1-age 37
Talaka	4	-	4	-	-	4	2-age 24; age 25
Low-status Individuals	4	-	1	3	-	-	-
Totals:	34	5	18	9	1	10	4

*a Yerima Mustapha answered that it was too difficult.

*b one of the canteen operators said that he fasted for one or two days.

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differ- 301 ences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seem to indeate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

Table XXV

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*565
*463
*58A
*634
441

13. Religious Behavior: wearing charms (laya).

	wears many	wears a few	wears only when traveling	has them at home	has none
Aristocracy	1	1	2	1	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	-	-
Canteen Operators	-	2	4	-	-
NA Malams	4	1	1	-	-
Kabuna	3	-	3	-	-
Craftsmen	2	3	1	-	-
Talaka	2	1	2	2	1*
Low-status Individuals	1	1	1	-	1**
Totals:	14	11	14	3	2

* has never had any

** doesn't like laya; drinks Koranic ink (alo).

441 78 others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Alhaji henceforth), fasting, etc.

*177 75 *829 Still another area which was used as a measure of acculturation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: mus-[792] cular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called <u>alo</u>. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVII), most people replied that they would go. Only [792] seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of *[554] these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are mem-[123] bers of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 2931

[GEIDAM]

Table XXVI

*177 75 *565 *463 *554 *829

Western Medicine: 16. Would you go to a European Doctor?
17. Which is more effective, Western medicine or drinking the ink in which verses of the Koran were written (alo)?

	Europ. Dr.: yes	no	Western medicine	Koran	different purposes	W.medicine cures more rapidly
Aristocracy	5	-	3	1	1	2
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1	-
Canteen Operators	6	-	3*a	1*b	2	2
NA Malams	6	-	3*c	-	3	1
Kabuna	5*d	1	3	-	3	-
Craftsmen	6	-	3	2*e	1*f	1
Talaka	7*g	1	3	[illegible]	3	2
Low-status Individuals	1	3	-	[illegible]	-	-
Totals:	37	7	18	12	14	8

*a one canteen operator said that long ago alo was the more useful, but that now doctors were here and Western medicine is more useful.

*b another trader said, "Alo is our cure. This is the era of Western medicine, but alo is more useful."

*c one NA Malam (of agriculture) said flatly, "Alo is no medicine; only Western medicine is real medicine."

*d a kabuna said that he would go for medicine since the author had come to Geidam, but had never gone before and would otherwise not have gone.

*e a young leather-worker said, "Alo is more useful for Moslems."

*f an older leather-worker refused to answer; said that he did not know.

*g an elderly talaka said that he had twice gone to the local dispensary, but that he would not go to a White doctor.

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#177 75 #829 When directly confronted by the question of which is the more effective, drinking alo or Western medicine, 18 (41 per cent) said Western medicine, 12 (27 per cent) said alo, 14 (32 per cent) said that they each served a different purpose. Of those who chose Western medicine, eight individuals specifically stated that Western medicine is the more effective because it cures more rapidly. One Canteen Operator noted the changing times, saying that alo had been effective in the past but that Western medicine is more useful today; an NA Malam stated that alo was not medicine. Several of those who chose alo as the more effective added that, "Alo is our cure," and "Alo is more useful for Moslems." The latter responses indicate an adherence to that which is Kanuri for its own sake, as a means to retain cultural identity. Those who indicated that they would not go to a European doctor in answering the previous question were consistent in maintaining that alo is a more effective cure than Western medicine. The Koranic Malams and the Low-status Individuals refused to acknowledge the effectiveness of Western medicine. The NA Malams and the Kabuna, on the other hand, either chose Western medicine or claimed that the two have different purposes.

[792] [554] [634]

The area of treatment of various diseases is followed up in the next question dealing with six specific types of disease or injury (Table XXVII). The six types of illness or injury were chosen because the author had previously ascertained that for three of these the Kanuri considered that they had effective

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 285]

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Table XXVII

18. Western Medicine: relative effectiveness of Kanuri specialists and Western doctors in treating six diseases.

	1. Bone-setting			2. Jaundice			3. Snake bite			4. Head ache			5. Small pox			6. Internal pains		
	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both
Aristocracy	5	-	-	5	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	1	4	-
Koranic Malams	3	-	-	2	-	1	3	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	2*b	3	--	-
Canteen Operators	6	-	-	4	1	1	6	-	-	-	6	-	2	4	-	3	3	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	4	2	-	4	2	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	1	5	-
Kabuna	3	3	-	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	4	1	-	6	-	2	4	-
Craftsmen*c	4	1	-	3	1	1	5	-	-	1	4	-	-	4	1	2	3	-
Talaka	8	-	-	5	3	-	8	-	-	1	7	-	-	8	-	3	5	-
Low-status Individuals	2	1	1	-	3	1	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	3	1	1	3	-
Totals:	37	5	1	26	12	5	38	4	1	5	36	2	8	31	4	16	27	-

*a the category of "both" includes responses indicating that both cultures have equally good cures, that neither has a good cure, or that the individual has indicated that he has no idea as to whose cure is more effective.

*b The youngest Koranic malam stated that beforehand European medicine (vaccination) was more effective, but after contracting the disease, Kanuri medicine was more effective.

*c an older leather-worker stated that he did not know the answers for the entire question. After being urged to answer, he said "European" to all six diseases. His answers have been omitted from the above table; the category of craftsmen has only five respondents.

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*177 means of treatment while for three others Kanuri treatment was
75 not particularly successful when compared with Western types
*829 of treatment. The Kanuri feel that their traditional means of treating broken bones, bites by poisonous snakes, and jaundice (called "yellow-eye") are effective, and this is reflected in their answers in columns 1, 2 and 3 of Table XXVII. 86 per cent stated that the Kanuri specialist was more effective in setting bones; 60 per cent said that he was more effective in treating jaundice; 89 per cent said he was more effective with snake-bite wounds. With respect to headaches, to smallpox (baru), and to a general complaint of internal pains (tuno), Kanuri treatment is not as effective. As can be seen in columns 4, 5, and 6, belief in the effectiveness of Kanuri treatment for these ailments is low: 12 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for headaches is the more effective; 19 per cent state that they believe the Kanuri cure for smallpox to be more effective; 37 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for tuno is the more effective. The expectation that for the first three ailments the Kanuri respondents would claim that Kanuri cures are more effective while for the latter three ailments they would indicate a greater reliance in the effectiveness of Western medicine was upheld.

[792] Several groups stand out. The Koranic Malams, for example, do not offer a single response indicating that European treatment is more effective than Kanuri treatment, for any of the
*[634] six ailments. The Kabuna and the NA Malams tend to respond in

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#177 75 #829 #634 favor of European treatment in larger proportions than do any of the other groups--though their responses favoring European treatment are not as extreme as the responses of the Koranic Malams in consistently avoiding European treatment.

Looking now at each of the diseases in turn (the columns), and concentrating our attention on the deviant responses, 3 of the 5 who preferred European treatment for broken bones (column 1) are in the Kabuna group; the four individuals who chose European treatment for snake bite fall into two groups--the NA Malams and the Kabuna. Thus these two groups reveal a tendency towards preferring European treatment for diseases where the great majority have selected Kanuri treatment as the more effective. With respect to headaches (column 4), only 5 indicate a preference for Kanuri treatment, and 2 of these are in the Koranic Malam group which has already been noted as conservative in this area. But it is in the treatment of smallpox (column 5) that the most interesting finding emerges. Only 8 individuals thought that Kanuri treatment for smallpox was more effective than European treatment, and 5 of the 8 are to be found in the Aristocracy. Only 19 per cent of the sample thought that the Kanuri cure for smallpox was more effective, yet the Aristocracy unanimously thought so. Is the Aristocracy as a group conservative in their approach to treatment of disease? It would not appear so from their responses to the treatment of the five other ailments about which they were questioned. True --they unanimously chose Kanuri treatment for the first three

#177 75 #829 #565

*177 ailments, but most other individuals chose as did the Aristocracy.
75 With respect to treatment of headache (column 4) and internal
*829 pains (column 5) the Aristocracy selected European treatment
*565 as preferable, again going with the majority of the sample. It is only in the attitudes towards the treatment of smallpox that they differ strikingly from the rest of the sample. Their unanimous deviation from the majority must therefore be related to the particular disease--smallpox, rather than to general attitudes of the Aristocracy towards European treatment of diseases.

*177 Smallpox differs from the other five ailments listed in
75 Table XXVII in one significant way. It is the only disease
*829 the treatment for which is dispensed by governmental authority.
*565 Vaccination campaigns against smallpox are under the authority
744 of the Regional and Provincial governments. This is one of the areas in which super-ordinate authority operates, and Lowans and Ajias alike are under its control. Ultimately, the medical officers in charge of vaccination are European doctors, though the vaccinators themselves may be Kanuri. When there is an outbreak of smallpox, teams of vaccinators are sent in and their authority supercedes that of the local officials--the Lowan and the Ajia, who are forced to cooperate with the vaccinators whatever their own feelings. In the light of this knowledge, the unanimous response of the Aristocracy in preferring Kanuri treatment to European treatment is perfectly clear. Their objection to super-ordinate authority takes the form of denying

*177 the usefulness of the activities in which the agents of this
75 authority engage. Taken at face value, the response of the
*829 Aristocracy in column 5 seems to make little sense. Its mean-
*565 ing becomes apparent when the role of this group within the
744 social structure is understood in relation to the behavioral area being investigated.

691 Arbitration of disputes between individuals has been dis-
627 cussed in some detail in the sections dealing with political
*177 organization. The traditional Kanuri way of dealing with inter-
648 personal disputes is for the complainant to bring his dispute before an authority figure for arbitration. For the bulk of the populace this means that disputes are brought before the Lowan or the Ajia. The Alkali is also a part of traditional Kanuri society but his authority now derives from external sources. British colonial government has set up the judiciary as an arm of government, and the Kanuri Alkali is part of this larger system. The decisions of the Alkali given in court are backed up by this external source of power. The judgments of the Lowan or the Ajia when he hears cases in sholo receive their support solely from the power vested in positions within Kanuri society. Willingness to take disputes to court, therefore, represents a tendency to seek for sanctions outside of
*177 traditional Kanuri society. The data on this question are pre-
691 sented in Table XXVIII. Responses in column 1 state simply
627 that the individual would bring his complaint before the Ajia
*829 (or Lowan). The attitude of the Talaka whose response is re-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 291]

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*829
*565
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*463

Table XXVIII

19. Arbitration of disputes: before Lowan (or Ajia) or in court.

	1. Ajia	2. 1st Ajia then to Court	3. varies with circumstances	4. Court	5. Neither
Aristocracy	1	1	2*a	1	
Koranic Malams			1*b	1	1*c
Canteen Operators		2	1	3*d	
NA Malams		3	1	2*ef	
Kabuna		5*g		1*h	
Craftsmen	1	5*i			
Talaka	2*j	2	1	3*k	
Low-status Individuals	1	2			1
Totals:	5	20	6	11	2

*a Lowan Kagu, the former Lowan states, "If you go to the Ajia, everybody talks it over and cools down. At court they punish the wrong doer. If you are right, you go to court. If you are not right, you go to the Ajia."

*b Koranic Malam: "No one ever did anything to me. If it is a light matter I would go straight to the court. If it is a weighty matter I would go first to the Ajia."

Others in this column stated that they would take a weighty matter to court and a light matter to the Ajia.

*c One malam stated that he would go to neither the Ajia or to court. "I would pray for Allah to take care of it." When asked what he would do if a man stole his goat he said that he would go first to the Ajia. If nothing happened he would sit still and would not go to court.

*d Several of the canteen operators give the following reasons for going to court: 1) "Court is more honest." 2) "The court is the proper judge for Moslems to go to." 3) "Long ago I would have gone to the Ajia. Now only to court. If you go to the Ajia, it's a drawn out affair."

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Table XXVIII (continued)

*177 *e An NA Malan said, "Court. Court knows right and wrong; knows who is speaking the truth or not. Going to the Lowan only works if your complainant agrees."

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*829 *f Another said, "First to court. If you go to Sholo, the person giving sholo takes money and doesn't punish the person who has committed a wrong. The court is just and punishes."

*565

*554 *g A typical kabuna response was, "Go to the Ajia. He sends you to court. He is our superior."

*463

*h An atypical kabuna: "Court. Both parties are forced to speak the truth."

*i A young leather worker: "Everyone has his Mai (king). The Lowan helps you; he fixes it. Ajia does the same. In court all are the same before the law. It doesn't help you; only when you are right. I would go to the Wakil of the Ajia with a complaint."

*j A talaka: "Go to the Lowan. The Lowan is my superior. A man who goes to court is stupid. If you go over your Lowan's head, it's no good. He collects your taxes."

*k Another talaka: "Only court. Only the court can enforce anything. If the other party doesn't agree, the Lowan is no use."

[BEIDAM]

*177 corded in *j is typical. Taking a dispute to court means
691 short-cutting the traditional means of settling disputes and
627 is likely to be interpreted by the Lowan as an attempt to go
*829 over his head. This would be a foolish thing to do, since the Lowan is one's immediate superior ("He collects your taxes."). Responses in column 2 indicate that one should go first to Ajia, and that the dispute should be taken to court only if the Ajia advises it. The Kabuna's response (*g) states that this should be the procedure because the Ajia is one's superior. The leather-worker (*i) phrases it so that everyone has his superior to whom he must first go with his complaints; these are then smoothed over. The responses in columns 1 and 2 represent traditional responses; 25 individuals (57 per cent) answered in this way.

Some individuals indicated that their course of action would depend on the circumstances. Thus one of the Aristocrats (*a) indicates a perfect understanding of the differences between taking a dispute to the Ajia for sholo and taking it before the Alkali in court. The purpose of sholo is to placate both sides; the court enforces its decisions by punishing the wrong-doer. Therefore, if you are in the right, you can witness the punishment of the individual who has wronged you by taking him to court. If you are not in the right, you are better off before the Ajia, whose aim is to settle the dispute. Several others (*b, *c) indicate that they would do little or nothing in assuming an active role in order to bring those

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*177 against whom they have a complaint before either authority.
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*829 Those who would take their disputes directly to court (column 4) offer a variety of reasons for so doing, but the basis of their reasoning is that: the court can determine the truth (and frequently people are required to swear on the Koran in court); the court can enforce its decisions; and sholo requires both parties to accept and be bound by the decision of the
*177 arbitrator (see *e and *k) while the court does not. The 11
627 individuals whose answers fall in column 4 represent members
691 of 6 groups, but the highest proportion of respondents giving
*829 this answer is to be found among the Canteen Operators. Three
44 of this group said "court"; only two said "Ajia first and then court." Furthermore, their reasons for taking a dispute to court are not as convincing as those of other individuals who would also take their disputes to court. In *d are to be found the responses of the three Canteen Operators who would take their disputes directly to court. Neither the first nor the second answer are reasonable explanations. Bribery is possible in cases brought for sholo and equally possible in cases brought before an Alkali; it is no more proper for a Moslem to go to court than it is for him to bring his dispute for arbitration. The third answer is more convincing, though it says only a portion
[178] of what might be said. It seems clear that the Canteen Operators as a group would be more likely to take cases before the Alkali rather than before the Lowan or Ajia because of their own changing status in the social structure. Because they are

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*177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
*829 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
441 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that
178 of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

735 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generos-
577 ity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
[554] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

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Table XXIX

431 735 *829 *565 *554 *463 *634 441 20. Charity and generosity: If you were rich, would you give a new kulugu (gown) to a man who asked you for one?

	Unqualified yes	Qualifications
Aristocracy	4	1 would give to one man who asked; not to many.
Koranic Malams	2*a	1 doesn't know. If Allah gives, he would give. If Allah forbade, he wouldn't give.
Canteen Operators	3	3 1: "To someone close to you, like your family, who doesn't have anything--you give. If you know him you give; if not you don't give." 2: "A man would farm for me and I would give him a kulugu. I wouldn't give just like that." 3: "A man who has nothing, a Malam, an old man with no strength--you give."
NA Malams	5	1 "If the man already had one, I would not give him one."
Kabuna	6	-
Craftsmen	6	-
Talaka	6	2 1: "If you know him, you give. If he already has one, you don't." 2: If I have many kulugus, I'd give. If the other man is brought to me by want, I'd give."
Low-status Individuals	4	-
Totals:	36	8

*a The youngest malam said that he would give, but his explanation for giving was that, "If you give to him, perhaps you may need it later and he will give to you."

[BEIDAW]

431 577 735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

431 735 441 178 565 Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

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735 178 441 *565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

*177 871 *829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXX

*177 871 *829 562 *565 *463 *554 21, 28. **Education:** Would send your son to school? Would you send your daughter to school?

	Son: Yes	Son: No	Daughter: Yes	Daughter: No
Aristocracy	5	-	5	-
Koranic Malams	-	3*a	-	3
Canteen Operators	5	1*b	4	2
NA Malams	6	-	5	1
Kabuna	6*c	-	5	1*g
Craftsmen	4	2	4	2
Talaka	5*d	3	3*h	5
Low-status Individuals	1	3*e	2	2
Totals:	32	12*f	28*i	16*j

Son:

*a Koranic Malam: "No. I want my son to become Liman after me."

*b Canteen Operator: "No. I will do according to our custom. I will do what my father and father's father did."

*c Kabuna: "I would send my son to school. I wish that I had been sent to school, but my father forbid it."

*d Talaka: "Yes. It's useful. But a girl won't stay in her husband's house if she goes to school."

*e One low-status individual has a son in school, but if the Lowan had said nothing he would not have sent him to school himself.

*f 8 of the 12 who answered "no" specifically stated that they would not send their son to school unless forced to do so by their Lowan.

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Table XXX (continued)

Daughter:

*177 *g One kabuna sent his daughter to school, but only because the Ajia told him to send her. He would not otherwise have sent her to school.

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562 *h Talaka: "I would send her. If you have no money you can't do anything for your daughter. If she goes to school, she later will earn a salary and will give you food when you're old."

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*i Four respondents said: "School is more useful," or "School opens the mind."

*j 8 of the 15 who answered "no" specifically stated that they would not send their daughter to school unless forced to do so by the Lowan.

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*177 daughter to the Western school. Most (73 per cent) would send
871 their sons to school, and the reasons for doing so (*c, *d)
*829 stress the usefulness of Western schooling and the benefits to
562 be gained. 27 per cent said that they would not send their sons to school, a number adding "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *f). Four groups would overwhelmingly send their sons
*[565] to school. These are: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, NA
[441] Malams, Kabuna. The remaining four are divided, although none
*[634] of the Koranic Malams and only one Low-status Individual would
[792] send a son to the Western school.
*[554]

Fewer would send a daughter to school, though once again
*[565] a majority (64 per cent) state that they would. The Aristoc-
*[634] racy, NA Malams and Kabuna would overwhelmingly send a daughter to school (though one individual in each of the latter groups has shifted from a "yes" for a son to a "no" for a daughter).
[792] The Koranic Malams remain adamant and would no sooner send a daughter than they would a son. Whereas a majority of Talaka would send a son to school, most would not send a daughter to school. The reasons given for sending a daughter to school appear in *h and *i. Of the 15 who answered "no", 8 added "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *j). One Talaka noted (*d) that school was useful for a boy, but not for a girl because marriage difficulties arise for educated women. This issue will be discussed more fully in Table XXXVI which concerns marriage with an educated woman.

*177 In following up the choice involved in educating one's son,
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[GEIDAM]

*[77] members of the sample were asked: would you send your son to
*829 a Koranic Malam or to the European school (Table XXXI)? Twenty-
871 two (50 per cent) chose the European school; 14 (32 per cent) chose the Koranic Malam; 8 (18 per cent) chose some combination of the two. Among the reasons advanced for sending one's son to school are the following: he can learn to pray, learn Arabic, and read the Koran in school (*a- half of those who chose school specifically added this, indicating that they considered these things to be important but that they thought they could also be accomplished in the European school); students have to work in the school - *c (a questionable assumption); school opens the mind, one learns the ways of the world there; it is a way to earn money, many trades become possible through schooling (*d); if he goes to school, "Everything will come to him" (*e). The last response may be compared with that of a craftsman (*f) explaining why he would rather send his son to a Koranic Malam: "He would learn to pray, and learn to count prayer beads, and will get whatever he wants." Six people offered a compromise, stating that they would first send their son to a Koranic Malam, and after he had learned to pray they would then send him to the European school. One Aristocrat (*b) chose a different compromise solution, and a Low-status drummer offered a very individualistic answer (*h).

*[565] In answering this question, three groups (Aristocracy, NA
*[634] Malams, and Kabuna) remained consistent with their answers to the two previous questions. They would all send their son to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 303]

[BEIDAM]

Table XXXI

#1729. #871 #829 #565 #554 #443 **Education:** would you send your son to a Koranic Malam or to the European school?

	European school	first to Malam then to school	Koranic Malam	Neither (or both)
Aristocracy	4*a	-	-	1*b
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	1*c	3	2	-
NA Malams	5*d	1	-	-
Kabuna	5*e	1	-	-
Craftsmen	3	-	3*f	-
Talaka	3	1	4*g	-
Low-status Individuals	1	-	2	1*h
Totals:	22	6	14	2

*a Aristocrat: "When I was young I was sent to a Malam, and then sent to school. I would send my son straight to school. He would learn prayer and everything there."

11 of the 22 who would send their son to school specifically added that he could learn the Koran, Arabic, and prayer in school.

*b Aristocrat: "Both. I would send one son to school, and one to the Malam."

*c Canteen Operator: "The Koran is better, but they don't really read there (at the Malam's). In school they have to read, so I would send him to school."

*d NA Malams: "School. He would learn everything there, Koran and Arabic. It would open his mind."

"To school. He would learn Arabic in school; he would learn the ways of the world."

"School. If he studies the Koran, he won't have any money, and he'll become a thief."

"School. He'll grow up and have many possible trades when he leaves school."

[BEIDAN]

Table XXXI (continued)

*177 *e Kabuna: "School. This is the era for European knowledge."
871 "School is better. When I grow old my children will earn a salary and support me if they go to school. A Malam of the Koran has nothing."
*829
*565 "School. European knowledge is more useful these days."
*554
*463 "School is very useful. Everything will come to him."

*f Craftsman: "Koranic Malam. He would learn to pray, and learn to count prayer beads, and will get whatever he wants."

*g Talaka: "Malam of the Koran. If a son reads the Koran, his father's sins will disappear."

*h Low-status Individual: "Neither. I want my son to be a drummer."

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177 871 829 [565] [634] [554] school, or work out a compromise; none would send a son solely to the Malam. The Koranic Malams also remained consistent with their previous answers. None would send a son to any one but a Koranic Malam. The Low-status group would tend to send their sons to the Koranic Malam, as they indicated in their answers to the previous question. The remaining three groups (Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka) are fairly evenly divided between the two choices. All three groups appear to have shifted somewhat from their answers in Table XXX, and lean more in the direction of the Koranic Malam than they indicated earlier. The Canteen Operators in particular appear to have shifted in the direction of a compromise solution, and three of the six individuals who answered in this way are to be found among the Canteen Operators.

829 554 441 Another revealing area is that of the various occupations which individuals would like. Some are realistic aspirations, while others, particularly in the case of older people, border on fantasy. Eight categories have been distinguished in Table XXXII. Of these, the category of Trader (column 2) is the most popular by far. This is listed separately from "trading in the market-place" (column 3) because in the latter case individuals specifically indicated that they saw themselves as petty traders who operated in the market-place. The two categories might, however, be considered as one, since both are involved in the same general sort of activity--trade. Considered together, 42 per cent of the sample selected trade as the desired occupa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307].

[BEIDAM]

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Table XXXII

22. Desired Occupation: what sort of work would you most like to do?

	1. Ajia or Lowan	2. Trader	3. trade in market	4. Koranic Malam	5. NA work	6. retainer (walidi)	7. craftsman	8. other	9. same as present	percent
Aristocracy	1	2*a	-	1*b	-	-	-	1*c	1	20
Koranic Malams	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	100
Canteen operators	-	6*d	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	100
NA Malams	1*e	1	-	-	3	-	-	1*f	3	50
Kabuna	1*g	1	-	-	-	3*h	-	1*i	3	50
Craftsmen*j	-	2	1*k	-	-	-	2	-	2	40
Talaka	-	3*l	1	-	1	-	1	2*m	3	38
Low-status Individuals	-	-	1	-	-	1*n	2*o	-	2	50
Totals:	3	15	3	4	4	4	5	5	23	

*a Aristocracy: "I would rather be a trader than an Ajia. I would trade in anything."

*b Aristocracy: Yerima Mustapha - "I would like to be a Malam of Arabic; but European knowledge is more useful today."

*c Aristocracy: "To be Yalema - the Wakil (assistant) of the Shehu, who goes about with Europeans, with District Officers."

GEIDAM

*179 *554 *829 441 *634 *565 *463

Table XXXII (continued)

*d Canteen Operators: "Do the work of a Talaka; farm during the rainy season, and sell goods."

3 of the canteen operators specifically mentioned farming during the rainy season in addition to trading.

*e NA Malam: "Ajia - the work of my father."

*f NA Malam: "Retire on a salary and live in a house in Maiduguri."

*g Kabuna: "Be a Lowan - the work of my grand-fathers, and my ancestors who were all from Birni Ngazargamo (capital of the empire of Bornu)."

*h Kabuna: "Be a retainer (walidi); do the Ajia's work."

"I'm old now. Whatever the Mai (king) tells me to do, or sends me, I will do, and earn a little money each month."

*i Kabuna: "Be a scribe, like Malam Ali Mandara (Chief Scribe of Geidam). The work of a kabuna in the bush is hard. It is better to sit in town and be the Wakil (assistant) in charge of tax collection."

*j Craftsman: one leather-worker refused to answer this question, and is not included in this table.

*k Craftsman: "I would buy and sell in the market. I don't like any other work; the market is in my blood."

*l Talaka: "I would be a seller of perfume (his present trade). First you start with a small table in the market, then you become a big trader with a canteen."

"If I had money I would buy cloth from the canteen, make clothes, and sell them at a profit. I would then buy millet for myself and more cloth."

*m Talaka: "Be like Musa Jakona (a clerk in the Ajia's office in charge of tax tallying) - make money and do nothing."

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Table XXXII (continued)

"Farming is the best work."

*n Low-status Individual: "I wanted to be a Kabuna when I was young. Now I want to be a butcher (his present trade)."

*o Low-status Individual: "A drummer. There is nothing better than to be a drummer."

[GEIDAM] 4

*554 *829 tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight
441 groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka.
*177 Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the cate-
178 gories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less
441 acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within
*463 Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new
556 *554 innovation brought about by contact with the West, has under-
gone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (*k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

*554 *829 Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is interesting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (*a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly *c who has selected a time-honored
[792] ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table
[44] XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

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*829 *554 [441] *[634] cifically mention farming in addition to trade (*d) as if to accentuate their Talaka origins and their tie to the soil as the ultimate provider of sustenance. Three of the NA Malams prefer to do NA work, and one (*e) specifically states that he would like to be an Ajia (see Table XXXIII). Three Kabuna indicate a preference for the work of retainer, while one would *[463] like to be a Lowan (*g)--see Table XXXIII. Three Craftsmen chose the general category of trade, while two preferred to *[565] be craftsmen. Four Talaka chose trade, while the remaining four chose a variety of occupations (*m). The Low-status individuals divide into several categories, though two prefer to remain in the same low-status crafts which they now perform.

128 *554 *829 *463 Column 9 lists the number of individuals in each group who chose as their desired occupation the same occupation in which they are presently engaged. This number is then expressed as the percentage of the total group. The groups may then be ranked to indicate the satisfaction of each group with its present occupation. They are ranked in the following order:

Koranic Malams - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

Canteen Operators - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

NA Malams - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Kabuna - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Low-status Individuals - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Craftsmen - 40 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Talaka - 38 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Aristocracy - 20 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

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*554 Five of the eight groups range very closely (from 38 to 50 per
*829 cent) and indicate neither very great satisfaction with their
*463 present work, nor great disapproval. The Low-status individu-
als are included among them. They apparently do not find their
[792] low status a source of discontent. The Koranic Malams all
[441] seem very secure in their occupations, as do the Canteen Trad-
*565 ers who all seem to find their work rewarding. It is strik-
ing to note that the Aristocracy are the most dissatisfied
group in the sample. A number of possible reasons can be ad-
vanced to explain this (there are many hidden strains in
their roles; they are in a better position to fantasy than the
others, etc.), though none really seems to provide an adequate
explanation.

*177 The next table (Table XXXIII) deals with the same general
*829 area of desired occupations, but treats the problem differently.
*463 Instead of asking the open-ended question "What sort of work
*554 would you most like to do?", this question required the members
of the sample to select that occupation which they found most
appealing to them from among four which were offered. The four
choices included two acculturated occupations (truck driver and
doctor or dispenser), and two traditional Kanuri occupations
(Lawan and Koranic Malam). As indicated by the table, only five
individuals selected the acculturated occupations; the overwhelm-
ing choice of the sample was for Koranic Malam (70 per cent).
This contrasts sharply with the choices made in Table XXXII,
where only 4 (9 per cent) chose Koranic Malam. Unfortunately,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

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Table XXXIII

23. Choice of Occupation.

Which would you rather be:

	lorry driver	Lowan	doctor or dispenser	Koranic Malam
*177 *829 *463 Aristocracy	1*a	1	2*b	1*c
*554 Koranic Malams	-	-	-	3
*565 Canteen Operators	-	-	-	6
NA Malams	-	4*d	1	1
Kabuna	-	3	-	3
Craftsmen*e	1*f	-	-	4
Talaka	-	-	-	8
Low-status Individuals	-	-	-	4
Totals:	2	8	3	30

*a Aristocrat: "I don't really like any of them. Malam of Koran is no good; don't like Lowan; dispenser has to clean smelly wounds. Driver of a truck is pleasant; he collects lots of money."

*b Aristocrat: "Doctor is the most important today."

*c Aristocrat: "Malam of the Koran - if I had a little money."

*d NA Malams' reasons for wishing to be Lowans:
"Lowan - no problems. You're head of the town and tell people what to do."

"Lowan, because I grew up in the house of a Lowan."

"I'll tell you the truth - Lowan."

"My father's father was the Lowan of Damboa."

*e One craftsman refused to state a preference, and is not included in the table.

*f Craftsman: "I'd like to be the driver of a lorry - but I don't know how."

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*177 as "trader" was not offered as a choice in this question, it
*829 is impossible to ascertain whether Koranic Malam is the second
*463 best choice to trader, or whether, when reminded that Koranic
*554 Malam is a possible choice, people feel obliged to choose it.

[792] Considering each of the four occupations individually,
[441] four of the groups were unanimous in choosing Koranic Malam as
*[565] the desired occupation. These are: the Koranic Malams, Canteen Operators, Talaka, and Low-status Individuals. In the group of Craftsmen the choice of Koranic Malam is almost unanimous, but for one individual who chose truck driver. The category of truck driver is the least popular and was selected by only two people; one of these (*a) indicated that he chose it because it was the best of four unattractive choices. Three groups remain who did not overwhelmingly choose Koranic Malam.
*[565] These are: Aristocracy, NA Malams and Kabuna. The Aristocracy include two of the three individuals who selected doctor (*b); the others in the Aristocracy are divided among the remaining
*177 choices. The category of Lowan is the final occupation to be
*829 discussed and was selected as the preference of 8 individuals.
*463 Seven of these 8 individuals are found in two groups: the NA
*554 Malams and the Kabuna. The eighth is an Aristocrat who is presently a Lowan. Three of the Kabuna would like to be Lowans (compare with Table XXXII where only one Kabuna selected Lowan). This desire is expectable in a group whose activities are entirely within the political structure and whose rewards would probably come through promotion to higher position within the

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political hierarchy. It is a reasonable ambition for faithful Kabuna to hope to be appointed Lowans, and in the past Yerima has chosen Lowans from among his Kabuna. An even higher percentage of NA Malams chose the category of Lowan than did Kabuna. This is an interesting choice for the youngest and best educated group in the sample, all of whom speak English. It is a particularly traditional response for a group whose members are all engaged in occupations which derive entirely from Western culture. Their answers (ed) are also revealing. One states, "I'll tell you the truth--Lowan," as if to indicate that he realizes that this is likely to be an unexpected answer on his part. Two others give an important clue as to the reason for their response when they point to their kin ties to other Lowans in whose houses they were raised. Though the NA Malams are extremely acculturated in many respects, their own aspirations are largely traditional. Furthermore, their choices are realistic since it is very possible that they may be appointed Lowan from their present position as head-master of the primary school or dispenser. Their acculturation in certain behavioral areas may assist them, in fact, in attaining these goals--traditional goals which would be expected in an unacculturated individual.

Another aspect of this general area is explored in Table XXXIV, which is concerned with the aspirations which members of the sample have for their sons. A group of adult men, whose average age is forty, might be expected to have limited aspirations for themselves since many of them cannot realistically

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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Table XXXIV

30. Aspirations for son: What would you want your son to become?

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
	become teacher	an NA Malam: doctor	other	Koranic Malam	trader	Crafts-man	farmer	same as his father
Aristocracy	2	-	3*a	-	-	-	-	0
Koranic Malams	-	-	-	3*b	-	-	-	3
Canteen operators	-	-	-	1	5*c	-	-	5
NA Malams	-	2*d	3*e	-	1	-	-	4
Kabuna	1	1	2*f	1*g	-	-	1*h	0
Craftsmen*i	-	-	-	3*j	1	1	-	1
Talaka	1	2*k	1	3*l	-	-	1	0
Low-status Individuals	-	-	-	-	2*m	2*n	-	2
Totals:	4	5	9	11	9	3	2	15

NA work: 18

a* Aristocracy: Yerima Mastapha - "Clerk in a bank, or a canteen manager." When asked if he wanted his son to become Waziri of Bornu, he replied, "Waziri? I turned down the position of Waziri. Why should I want my son to become Waziri?"

"European Malam. An accountant; Senior Service. If I had money I would send my son to England."

"I would want him to read a lot, to become Senior Service and do any sort of work. Become a Black European (Nasara kam salimbe), buy an automobile."

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Table XXXIV (continued)

*b Koranic Malam: "I want my son to do the same work as his father, and to become the Liman."

*c Canteen Operators: "If I have some money, my son will sell cows and trade like his father. If I have no money, he will farm."

Two other canteen operators said "trade and farm."

"He will do the work of his father. Go to school, learn, and come back to work with his father."

"Sell cloth; become a school-teacher or a veterinary."

*d NA Malam : "Doctor. European type of doctor."

*e NA Malam: "Work in an office, as a clerk; in the Waziri's office, or the Treasurer's Office in Maiduguri."

*f Kabuna: "Work in an office; become a big European Malam in Kaduna, Zaria or Lagos. Be the same as a European - a Black European (Nasara kam salimbe)."

*g Kabuna: "Become an Alkali."

*h Kabuna: "Farm and keep cows. If that isn't possible, I would want him to become a school-teacher."

*i Craftsmen: one craftsman, a leather-worker, refused to answer this question, and is not included in this table.

*j Craftsmen: "Read the Koran and become a Gonyi. Many people will come to his house." "Farm and read the Koran."

"Read the Koran and become a big Malam."

GEIDAM

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Table XXXIV (continued)

*k Talaka: "Go to school and become a European Malam; like a doctor. If he doesn't go to school, sell kola nuts or be a fetkema (like his father)."

*l Talaka: "Work in a bank, if he went to school. Read Arabic, if he were not sent to school. If he doesn't know the Koran, the bank is good. But studying the Koran is better."

*m Low-status Individual (butcher): "I don't want him to become a butcher. A seller in the market is good. I'm a butcher; that's enough.

*n Low-status Individual (drummer): "I only want him to become a drummer."

[GEIDAN]

*177 hope to radically change their occupations. In their aspira-
*463 tions for their sons, however, they might be expected to express
*829 hopes and desires more freely. Their responses have been
*554 grouped into 7 categories. The first three columns include all types of NA (or European) work, with special listings for teacher (column 1) and doctor (column 2). The responses in the first three columns account for 42 per cent of the total. This is interesting in comparison with the previous two questions. In Table XXXII, NA work (column 5) accounted for only 9 per cent of the responses, and in Table XXXIII truck driver and doctor together accounted for only 12 per cent of the responses. The high proportion of responses indicating a desire for sons to hold NA jobs and to do European work compared to the infrequency of this response with reference to themselves would indicate that while the members of the sample are incapable of seeing themselves in ~~those~~ positions, it is realistic and desired that their sons some day engage in such work. While only 21 per cent indicated a wish for their sons to be in trade (column 5), this was the preferred category in which they themselves would like to work (Table XXXII), selected by 42 per cent of the sample. Koranic Malam was chosen by 26 per cent of the sample as the desired life's work for their son, considerably less than the percentage of those who chose NA work. Lastly, 5 individuals chose crafts (column 6) or farming (column 7) as the occupation for their son and these represent 12 per cent of the sample.

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*177 *463 *829 *554 The aspirations of those who would like their sons to hold NA or European jobs become apparent as one looks at their verbatim responses (*a, *d, *e, *f, *k). They would like their sons to be bank clerks, accountants, doctors and Senior Service government employees, working in the large cities. Two fathers specifically add that they want their sons to become "black Europeans" (*a, *f), an ambivalent comment since it implies that their sons will have the advantages of a European and in the process will become estranged from their Kanuri fathers. Those who wish that their sons might become Koranic Malams (*b, *g, *j, *l) see the advantages in terms of the respect which they would gain in becoming a Liman, an Alkali, or a Gonyi--"Many people will come to his house" (*j). The advantages of success in trade have already been discussed (*c).

*[565] Taking each group in turn, the Aristocracy all wish their sons to do NA or European work, though a glance at column 8 indicates that none wishes his son to do precisely the same type of work as his father is presently engaged in. This once again would appear to indicate the same dissatisfaction noted [792] for the Aristocracy in Table XXXII. The Koranic Malams continue to demonstrate the same consistent behavior which they have shown all along. All wish their sons to become Koranic Malams [941] (*b), like their fathers. The Canteen Traders would also like their sons to engage in trade; 5 of the group chose trade for their sons and they make up the bulk of those who gave this *[634] response. The NA Malams follow the same pattern; 5 of the 6

*177 NA Malams would like their sons to do NA work like their fathers.
*463 Four of the Kabuna would like their sons to do NA work, and none
*829 want their sons to be Kabuna like their fathers (column 8). The
*554 Craftsmen exhibit a preference for their sons to become Koranic
*[634] Malams. The Talaka are divided between NA work and becoming
*[565] Koranic Malams, and none in this group wants his son to do what he himself is doing. In contrast, 2 of the 4 Low-status Individuals would like their sons to engage in the same occupation as that of their fathers, despite the low status which individuals in those occupations enjoy. The butcher (*m) does not wish his son to become a butcher. He says, "I'm a butcher; that's enough." But the drummer (*n) shows a love for his work which only another creative artist can truly appreciate, whatever his culture.

*177 The final behavioral area to be investigated is that of
582 marriage. Table XXXV is concerned with willingness to marry someone from another culture. Willingness to involve one's self with members of another culture would tend to foster close contacts with that culture. Resistance to such involvement would inhibit contact. Marriage, or willingness to marry out, may be used as a measure of interpersonal and intercultural contacts.

Column 1 records answers to the question: would you marry a non-Kanuri woman? Twenty-five individuals (56 per cent) said that they would be willing; nineteen (43 per cent) said that they
*[565] would not. Two groups show great tolerance in their attitude:
*[634]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

Table XXXV

24, 25. Willingness to marry out: willingness to marry a non-Kanuri; willingness to marry a Hausa, a Fulani, a Moslem Babur, a Moslem Yoruba.

	1. Non-Kanuri		2. Hausa		3. Fulani		4. Babur		5. Yoruba		
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	
Aristocracy	4	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	1	177*
Koranic Malams	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	582
Canteen Operators	3	3	4*	2	-	6	1	5	-	6	565*
NA Malams	6	-	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	4	463*
Kabuna	3	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	1	5	554*
Craftsmen	2	4	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	186
Talaka	3	5	3	5	1	7	4	4	2	6	
Low-status Individuals	2	2	-	4	-	4	-	4	-	4	
Totals	25	19	19	25	13	31	17	27	12	32	

* a canteen operator stated that he would marry a Hausa woman, but only if she wore her hair in the Kanuri fashion.

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*177 the Aristocracy (80 per cent would) and the NA Malams (100 per
582 cent would). In contrast, among the Craftsmen only 33 per cent
*565 would marry out and among the Talaka only 38 per cent would
*234 marry out. The four remaining groups do not show clear-cut
*[463] preferences.

*177 The remainder of the table is concerned with the atti-
582 tudes of the sample towards marriage with women of four tribes.
186 Since it was anticipated that few, if any, individuals would indicate willingness to marry a white woman, or a non-Moslem, the choices which were offered were limited to tribes who are all present in the area and who are known to the people of the community of Geidam. The Fulani are all Moslem and the Hausa almost all Moslem; in the case of the Babur and the Yoruba who are partly Moslem, the question was specifically phrased: would you marry a Moslem Yoruba, or a Moslem Babur woman?

It may be seen from the table that willingness to marry women of the four tribes which were selected varies, though in no case do the members of the sample appear to be as willing to marry from the tribes offered them in the question as the answers to the previous question (column 1) would indicate. The most popular tribe was the Hausa, and 43 per cent said they would marry a Hausa woman. The next in order of popularity was the Babur tribe, a part-Moslem, part-pagan people living in Bornu Province and strongly acculturated to the Kanuri; 38 per cent indicated willingness to marry a Babur woman. Fewer people are willing to marry a Fulani woman; though the Fulani

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*177 582 186 are Moslems like the Kanuri, they are pastoralists who live in the bush and differ greatly from the urban Geidamites; 30 per cent would marry a Fulani woman. The least popular choice was the Yoruba woman, selected by only 27 per cent of the sample. Though the Yoruba who live in Northern Nigeria are all urban people, and the question referred specifically to Moslem Yoruba who are numerous, the Yoruba are generally identified as a southern tribe of very different background.

*[565] Considering each group in turn, the Aristocracy are noteworthy in their willingness to marry Yoruba women, whom they seem to prefer above the other three choices. This might be attributed to their wider orientation as a group. The Koranic Malams show no difference in their preferences among the four [441] tribes. The Canteen Operators are almost unanimous in rejecting three of the four tribes, yet a majority of them (67 per cent) would marry a Hausa woman. This curious and striking result can be explained quite simply by looking at the role of the Canteen Operators. Their normal activities in trade bring them into contact with Hausas and they all speak Hausa. Because of the frequency of their interaction with members of that culture they show a willingness to marry Hausa women. This does not extend to women of other tribes in the form of a general willingness to marry out, as can readily be seen by their *[634] responses in columns 3, 4, and 5. The NA Malams are willing to marry with women of three of the tribes, including the unpopular Fulani, but unlike the Aristocracy they are not willing to marry

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177 a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and
582 show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen
186 are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with wom-
[65] en of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the
[46] other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards
[565] the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half
[368] would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural factors and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor
[554] the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status Individuals are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered to them.

177 Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an edu-
581 cated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a
629 Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marrying such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of English and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an educated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

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Table XXXVI

*177 581 *829 *565 *554 *463

26. Marrying an educated woman: would you marry a woman who had gone to school and who spoke English?

	Yes	No
Aristocracy	3	2
Koranic Malams	2	1
Canteen operators	6	-
NA Malams	4	2
Kabuna	4	2
Craftsmen	4	2
Talaka	6	2
Low-status Individuals	3	1
Totals:	32	12

Reasons given in support of marrying such a wife:

NA Malam: "Better than anything else. She can help me in writing."

Talaka: "A woman who speaks English can bring money."

Talaka: "I would learn English from my wife."

Qualifications:

Two said that they would marry such a wife, but only if she prays.

Reasons given in opposing such a marriage:

Aristocrat: "No. She would write letters to other people."

Kabuna: "She would be better than me. She would send letters elsewhere."

Talaka: "No. If you marry her she'll speak badly to you, curse you. My power is slight."

Low-status individual: "No. I'm afraid to."

her husband (the respondent) and this would subvert his authority within the family. This is expressed as a fear that through her superior knowledge she would be able to commit adultery, while her ignorant husband would be powerless to stop her. The groups hardly differ among themselves at all in their answers to this question, except that the Canteen Operators are the sole group which unanimously indicated a willingness to marry an educated woman.

A related question asks if a wife would be permitted to work as a school-teacher or a dispenser (Table XXXVII). The question implies, of course, that one is married to an educated woman, Approximately the same number of people responded that they would permit their wives to work (70 per cent) as had said that they would marry an educated woman (Table XXXVI). Several mentioned the wife's salary as an advantage in having a working wife (*f, *g); one brought up the issue of adultery again (*d) implying that an educated woman who worked would be less under her husband's control. Eleven individuals (25 per cent) said that they would refuse to allow their wives to go out and work. Some stated simply that they would not allow it (*e), while others claimed that she would not be as good a wife if she went to work (*c). Two others noted that they would allow their wife to work under certain circumstances and would forbid it under other circumstances (*a, *b).

In discussing this matter, the idea of keeping one's wife secluded (kule) must be taken into account. Though only a rel-

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Table XXXVII

*177 27. Would you let your wife work as a school-teacher or dispenser?
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*829
*565
*554
*463

	a. yes	no	depends on circumstances	b. (see Table IX) Are present wives secluded? yes	no
Aristocracy	3	1	1*a	4	1
Koranic Malams	1	1	1*b	2	1
Canteen Operators	1	5*c		6	-
NA Malams	4*d	2*e		6	-
Kabuna	5*f	1		1	4
Craftsmen	5	1		-	6
Talaka	8*g	-		1	6
Low-status Individuals	4*h	-		-	3
Totals:	31	11	2	20	21

*a Aristocracy: "If I had the money, I would keep my wife in the house. If I had no money, she could go to work."

*b Koranic Malam: "If she doesn't understand English, I would allow it. If she understands English, I would forbid it." (He had previously said that he would not marry a woman who had gone to school and spoke English.)

*c Canteen Operator: "Wouldn't permit it. If she goes to work, she won't cook food."

*d NA Malam: "It's alright with me, so long as she didn't commit adultery."

*e NA Malam: "I would forbid it, if I had the money."

*f Kabuna: "I would allow her. We would have two salaries."

*g Talaka: "I would allow it. She would bring home her salary, and I could eat."

*h Low-status Individual: "I would allow her. I would say, 'Go, I can't stop you. I'll drum my drum.'"

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Though only a rel-
*177 atively small part of Kanuri society keeps its wives secluded,
593 there is a strong tendency for upper class individuals to do
*565 so. It can be seen from column b (Table IX) that almost all individuals in the 4 upper groups do keep their wives secluded, while very few in the 4 lower groups do so. It might be predicted that members of a group which had but recently risen into the upper strata of Kanuri social structure would be especially strict in keeping their wives secluded, thereby indicating to all the manner in which they fulfilled the expecta-
*177 tions of someone of high status. In examining the responses
593 of each of the groups to the question of allowing one's wife
*565 to work, several groups appear particularly permissive. Not
*829 one individual in either the Talaka group or the Low-status
[554] group would object to his wife working. This is undoubtedly because husbands in these groups do not keep as tight control over their wives as do husbands who keep their wives secluded.
[441] Among the four groups who do keep their wives secluded, only one has serious objection to allowing their wives to work, and that is the group of Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators stand out in comparison to the other groups in this respect.
*[634] Most of the Aristocracy and the NA Malams would allow their wives to work, even though they keep their present wives se-
*177 cluded. The Canteen Operators differ radically from the other
593 groups in their response to this question, and furthermore their
*829 attitude seems strikingly inconsistent with that expressed in
441 the previous question (Table XXXVI). There it was noted that
*554 they were the only group who were unanimously in favor of marry-

#177 593 #829 441 #554 ing an educated woman, whereas they are almost equally unanimous in not being willing to allow her to work. The explanation for this inconsistency is to be sought in the poor definition of their roles. It has been noted that they are a rising group, emerging as a wealthy and powerful segment of community social structure. They actively seek means to increase their prestige, and one way of doing this would be through marriage with an educated woman (particularly since many well educated young women come from aristocratic families). Still another way of increasing their prestige is to be strict about religious observance, and keeping wives secluded falls into this category of behavior. They therefore indicate that they would all be willing to marry an educated woman, but would not permit her to work as a school-teacher. What appears as an inconsistency in their behavior is explainable in terms of the nature of their roles in the social structure. In fact, it becomes possible to characterise the roles of this particular group in terms of the inconsistencies which they exhibit.

B. Age as a Variable in Acculturation.

128 #177 The introductory paragraphs to the present chapter presented the mean age of the sample of individuals on which the study is based, and compared the means of the ages of the eight groups in the sample.[1] Two of the groups were found to vary somewhat from the sample as a whole, and the effect of relative age was considered briefly in that context. We may now return

[1] [For the age distribution of the sample, see category 116, page 250. - Analyst]

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128 *177 to a consideration of age as a variable in acculturation. The acculturation measures have all been discussed so that it is now possible to examine them in relation to the ages of responding individuals.

121 *177 In terms of the theoretical orientation presented in Chapter IV, relative age of individuals would be expected to effect their degree of acculturation and the behavioral areas in which they exhibited acculturation in a general way. Age categories in any culture represent one of the universal forms of status differentiation, and age differences may be equated with status differences in Kanuri culture. Roles therefore also differ with age--younger individuals within a larger status category have different roles from older individuals within that same status category. Thus expectations and obligations of younger people differ from those of older people, and a younger person might be expected to seek to present a different "self" from an older person merely because of the difference in their ages. Much of the difference in role behavior between young and old people may be attributed to the time required to adequately learn complex roles, so that young people may be allowed much leeway in their behavior and this may be explained as due to their not yet having learned behavior appropriate to mature roles.

In the light of the differences in role between younger and older individuals postulated above, one might expect differences in acculturation. Since a basic assumption throughout has been that acculturation proceeds more rapidly in segments of

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121 the acculturating society which interact with agents of contact
#177 in the course of the performance of their normal roles, it can be predicted that the freedom of behavior permitted to younger people would result in more exploratory behavior on their part and greater interaction with agents of Western culture. This increased contact in turn would result in a greater degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas. However, an interesting question arises here. Does the acculturated behavior of younger people persist as they grow older, or does their increasing age require them to give up acculturated sorts of behavior in favor of traditional behavior which is more appropriate to older status? Some of the indices of acculturation noted in younger people may become sources of acculturation throughout the culture, while others may represent temporary phases in the life-cycle which drop out in later years.

128 In order to examine the effect of age on acculturation,
#177 the individuals making up the sample were divided into two groups. The younger group is made up of individuals below the median age for the entire sample. There are 23 individuals in this group, and their ages range from 22 to 40. The older group is made up of individuals above the median age, and their ages range from 41 to 60. There are only 21 individuals in the older group (compared with 23 in the younger), because the frequency at the median did not permit an even split. These two groups were then compared as to degree of acculturation for the thirty acculturation measures which have already been described in order

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128 to determine in which behavioral areas the younger group proved
*177 to be the more acculturated.

*177 Table XXXVIII presents 15 items in which the younger group
561 was more acculturated than the older. The responses of members
128 of the older group may be compared with those of the younger group by examining columns a and b. Table XXXIX lists 8 items in which little or no difference was detected between the two groups. Examining each of the items in Table XXXVIII, it is
*177 apparent that one half involve Western material goods. Item
561 1: more young men own watches and bicycles; more older men own horses. Item 2: more young men can ride a bicycle and can tell time. Item 3: both young and old say that a horse is more useful than a bicycle, but of those who say "bicycle" there are more young than old. Item 4: more young men would rather own a bicycle than a horse, while the older group would rather own a horse. This is a response which well might shift with age. When this same group of young men grows older, might they not then prefer to own a horse? Item 5: more young men smoke cigarettes and drink beer than do the older men. This type of behavior might also drop out with increasing age. Item 6: more young men have European shoes; more old men state that they would not wear them. Item 7: only members of the young group have European-style trousers; most of the older group state that they would refuse to wear them. It is clear that in the area of behavior involving Western material goods, and attitudes towards these things, the younger group appears to be the more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 334]

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Table XXXVIII

Comparison of old and young individuals with respect to acculturation measures.

			a. old	b. young
*77 561 1.	Western Material Goods: possession - (Table XVIII)	watch	7	17
		bicycle	3	13
		horse	20	15
2.	Western Material Goods: knowledge about items - (Table XIX)	bicycle	6	17
		time	12	18
3.	Western Material Goods: relative usefulness - (Table XXI)	bicycle	3	6
		horse	17	11
		different	1	6
4.	Western Material Goods: rather have- (Table XXI)	bicycle	3	12
		horse	18	11
5.	Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer - (Table XXII)	do smoke	3	7
		do drink	1	5
6.	Western Material Goods: wearing European shoes - (Table XXIII)	has shoes	10	20
		would wear	5	2
		wouldn't wear	6	1
7.	Western Material Goods: wearing trousers - (Table XXIII)	has them	0	11
		would wear	4	2
		wouldn't wear	17	10
8.	Religious Behavior: wearing charms - (Table XXV)	wearing now	10	15
		rarely wears	11	8
9.	Western Medicine: would go to a doctor -	yes	16	21
	effectiveness of medicine- (Table XXVI)	European	7	11
		Koran	7	5
		different	7	7
10.	Western Medicine: number of diseases of the six for which European medicine is better (Table XXVII)-	median	2.1	3.1
11.	Western Medicine: treatment of small pox -	Kanuri	6	2
		European	12	19
		different	3	2

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Table XXXVIII (continued)

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		old	young
12. Aspirations for son: (Table XXXIV)-	European type	7	11
	Kanuri "	13	12
13. Marriage: marry a non-Kanuri- (Table XXXV)	yes	9	16
	no	12	7
median number chosen of the four choices-		.4	1.2
14. Marriage: marry an educated wife - (Table XXXVI)	yes	12	20
	no	9	3

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XXXIX

*177 561

Acculturation measures in which little or no difference was shown between the old and the young members in the sample.

1. Knowledge of other languages (Table XVI) - slight superiority of young in English, not in others.
2. Ability to read (Table XVII) - slight superiority of young in English script, not in Arabic script.
3. Religious behavior: fasting during the minor fast of Tsuro Mbulo (Table XXIV).
4. Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger (Table XXIX).
5. Education: sending son to school (Table XXX).
6. Education: sending daughter to school (Table XXX).
7. Arbitration of Disputes: going for sholo or going to court (Table XXVIII).
8. Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work (Table XXXVII).

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#177 36 acculturated.

The greater acculturation of the younger group also emerges from their responses in the area of attitudes towards Western medicine (Items 9, 10, 11). Item 9: more young men would go to a European doctor; the young men believe that Western medicine is the more effective, while the old men are evenly divided between Western medicine and the Koran. Item 10: the members of the young group tend to prefer Western medicine for a greater number of diseases than do the members of the older group. Item 11: with respect to the treatment of smallpox, more members of the older group prefer Kanuri treatment than do members of the younger group. In this area the responses of the younger group are like their responses with respect to Western material goods.

In examining the remaining items in Table XXXVIII in which the young and the old group differ (Items 8, 12, 13, 14) it is revealing to turn to Table XXXIX to compare these items with similar items in which the two groups do not differ. The two groups do not show much difference in their knowledge of other languages (except that the younger group shows a slight advantage in their knowledge of English), or in their ability to write (except that again the younger group has an advantage in writing in English script). With respect to religious behavior, there is no difference between the groups among those who fast at Tsuro Mbulo (Item 3, Table XXXIX), but there is a difference between the groups in the wearing of charms (Item 8, Table

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*177 561 XXXVIII). Both of these findings are of interest because several of those who did not fast at Tsuro Mbulo gave as their reason the explanation that they were young, implying that the young are not expected to keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo while the old are. On examining the ages of those who do fast on that occasion it becomes apparent that there is no difference in age--equal proportions of young and old observe the fast. With respect to the wearing of charms, it is found that a greater number of young men actually wear charms than do old men. In this case, the younger group exemplifies traditional religious norms more avidly than does the older group. The value of charity and generosity is upheld among the young to the same extent that it is upheld among the old (Item 4, Table XXXIX). The young do not appear more eager to send either son or daughter to the European school than do the old (Items 5 and 6, Table XXXIX). On the other hand, they favor European sorts of occupations in their aspirations for their sons (Item 12, Table XXXVIII), more so than does the older group. It would appear that members of the younger group are freer and wider ranging in the hopes which they express for their sons, but are not really prepared to implement these hopes by sending their sons to receive a Western education which would make some of their hopes possible. Perhaps this is once again a case of wider aspirations among the young men, which change and become more conservative with age. As they grow older, their aspirations may change and they may wish their sons to engage in traditional Kanuri activities rather than in Western activities.

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The final items that remain to be discussed are the arbitration of disputes (Item 7, Table XXXIX), in which the two groups do not appear to differ, and marriage. Attitudes towards marriage again reveal an interesting inconsistency in the younger group. It can be seen in Item 13 (Table XXXVIII) that most of the younger group are willing to marry a woman who is not Kanuri, while most of the older group would not; furthermore, they would marry a higher percentage of the four tribes mentioned than would the older group. The overwhelming majority of the younger group would also marry an educated woman (Item 14, Table XXXVIII); many more of the older men would refuse to marry an educated woman compared to the younger group. However, when it comes to allowing one's wife to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher the younger group is no more permissive than is the older group. The two groups do not differ with respect to this question (Item 8, Table XXXIX). It would appear that greater tolerance in accepting a woman as one's wife is a function of youth, but that this is not necessarily accompanied by greater permissiveness in the treatment of wives. The younger group would uphold traditional Kanuri norms as strictly as would the older group in the matter of allowing one's wife to work as a school-teacher.

It is evident that relative age is a factor influencing degree of acculturation in specific behavioral areas. The areas most affected are material culture, treatment of diseases, aspirations for children, and permissiveness in selecting a mar-

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*177 561 riage partner. On the other hand, no differences were detected in areas involving important traditional Kanuri values: religious behavior, charity, arbitration of disputes, education of children, and willingness to permit a wife to work.

C. Degree of Acculturation of the Eight Groups and Categories.

128 *177 Having considered each of the acculturation measures in turn, and having discussed the relative acculturation of each group with respect to that measure, it is appropriate now to consider each of the eight groups and categories in turn, examining the behavioral areas in which that group demonstrated a high degree of acculturation when compared to the other groups as well as the behavioral areas in which that group proved to be less acculturated than the others.

The method adopted for the presentation of each group so that it might be compared with the other seven groups, was to take all the measures of acculturation used in the study, of which there were forty-three (that is, forty-three distinct questions), and to give the proportion of acculturated responses on all forty-three questions for each group in turn. However, in order to judge how each group compared with the total sample, it was necessary to compare the proportion of acculturated responses in each individual group with the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample for each question. Thus the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample was considered as a baseline, from which each of the eight

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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*177 128 groups deviated--some in the direction of greater acculturation (i.e., a higher proportion of acculturated responses), others in the direction of conservatism (i.e., a smaller proportion of acculturated responses).

These deviations have been presented in the form of graphs, one for each of the eight groups, so that one can readily see the "acculturation profile" of each group, as it were. The zero point on the graph represents the baseline, the proportion of acculturated responses for the entire sample for each question. A higher percentage of acculturated responses for a given group is indicated by a black bar extending to the right from the base line; a lower percentage of acculturated responses for a given group (compared to the entire sample) is indicated by a black bar extending to the left. For example: question 1 measures the percentage of individuals in each group who speak Hausa (Table XVI, above). We note that 18 individuals in the sample speak Hausa; 17 do not; 9 individuals state that they speak a little Hausa. Individuals who said that they speak a little Hausa were not included entirely with either acculturated or unacculturated responses, but were divided equally into both (this was the procedure adopted throughout for intermediary responses). Thus, according to this method of calculation, 51 per cent of the sample speak Hausa. Turning now to the eight groups individually, 4 of the 5 members of the Aristocracy (80 per cent) speak Hausa. The difference between 51 per cent and 80 per cent represents the deviation between this group and the

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*177 entire sample, and is indicated in question 1, Table XL by
128 a black bar extending to the value of 29. The direction is towards greater acculturation as the percentage in the group of Aristocracy exceeds that of the entire sample. Only one of 3 Koranic Malams (33 per cent) speaks Hausa, therefore the black bar extends to 18 (51-33) in the direction of unacculturated responses in the first item of their acculturation profile (Table XLI). And so on for each of the eight groups.

The forth-three questions used to construct the profile have been grouped to present behavioral areas. Several of these questions are not acculturation measures at all, but have been included nevertheless for comparative purposes. Thus, knowledge of other languages (3), ability to write in Arabic script (5), and possession of a horse (10) are not to be considered as indices of acculturation when it appears that a high proportion of individuals in any group exhibit these responses. However, such responses (possession of a horse, for example) do shed light on other responses (possession of a bicycle).

One item, ideas about the usefulness of a wrist watch (Table XX), required a different scoring of responses since each type of response had to be given a score as to degree of acculturation--responses in column A were scored 0; those in column B were scored 1; those in column c were scored 2; and those in column D were ecored 3. Item 21, concerning the wearing of charms, was broken in three categories: those who wore many charms, those who wore a few, and those who wore charms only

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*177 when traveling. One item discussed in the text, occupations
128 in which individuals wish to be engaged (Table XXXII), could not be included in the acculturation profiles as the answers to that question did not permit expression as simple percentages.

121 Several points emerge clearly from a consideration of the
*177 acculturation profiles. First of all, it is apparent that some groups are generally more acculturated than other groups--most of their responses fall within the acculturated column. Others are generally unacculturated and their responses cluster in the unacculturated column. Secondly, in no group do we find that all responses, in every behavioral area, are acculturated or unacculturated. Each group has behavioral areas in which it appears most acculturated, others in which it is close to the entire sample, and still others in which it appears unacculturated. Finally, from a comparison of the eight acculturation profiles, one can derive a measure of the relative stability of
[128] each group. A stable group is determined by the consistency of responses. A group would be said to be stable when (a) the items within any one behavioral area are consistently in one direction, and (b) the size of the differences between acculturated and unacculturated responses is not very great.

*177 1. Aristocracy. The acculturation profile of the Aris-
565 tocracy is presented in Table XL. The Aristocracy are obviously an acculturated group on the whole, as almost all of their responses fall on the acculturated side of the baseline. In

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*177 565 only one area do they clearly reveal themselves as conservative, and that is in the area of treatment of specific diseases (items 24-29). Inconsistencies are revealed within this behavioral area as the responses of the group are acculturated for four items (22, 23, 27, 29) and unacculturated for four others. Most striking is the response of this group to the question of the treatment of smallpox (28), which was discussed earlier. At several other points the Aristocracy appear unacculturated, but the degree is very slight in the case of items 2 and 43. Item 42 may be slightly more significant.

On the whole, the pattern of acculturation of the Aristocracy is that of a relatively stable group. In their one area of marked unacculturation, the explanation would seem to lie in the political implications of the treatment for smallpox. The resistance which the Aristocracy has for Western treatment of smallpox seems to extend to other diseases as well, though in not so severe a form. Yet they are not totally unacculturated in this behavioral area, and thus give inconsistent responses.

*177 792 2. Koranic Malams. A note of caution must be introduced in discussing this group. Only three individuals are represented here, and conclusions based on this group are less sure than in other cases. Their acculturation profile is presented in Table XLI. Generally, they are a very unacculturated group. Their conservative responses in certain behavioral areas, those of religious behavior, education, and treatment of disease, are predictable considering the areas with which a Koranic Malam is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 344]

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Table II

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE ARISTOCRATS

*177
565

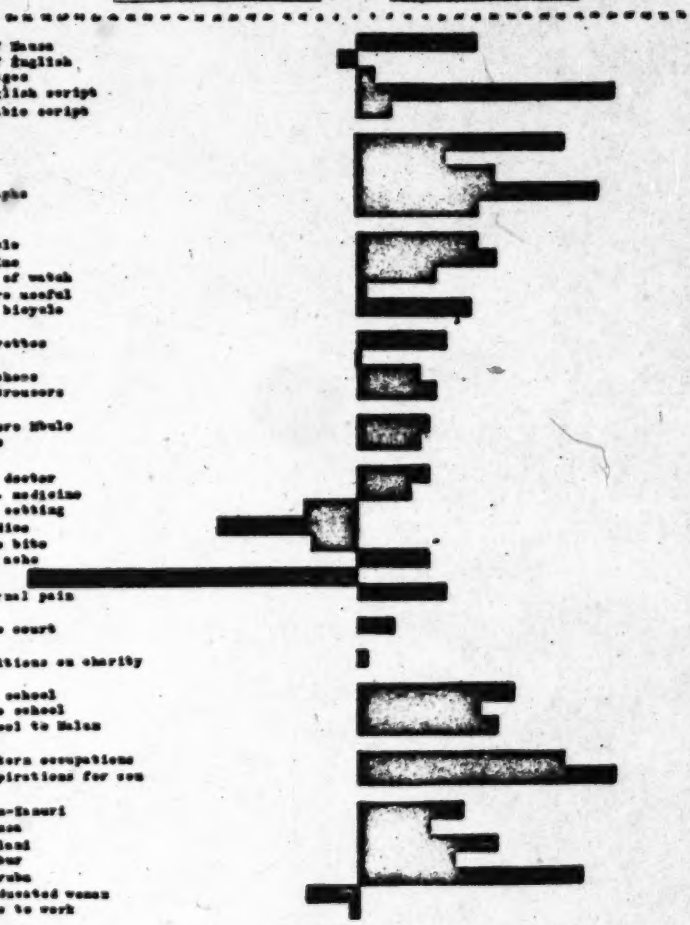

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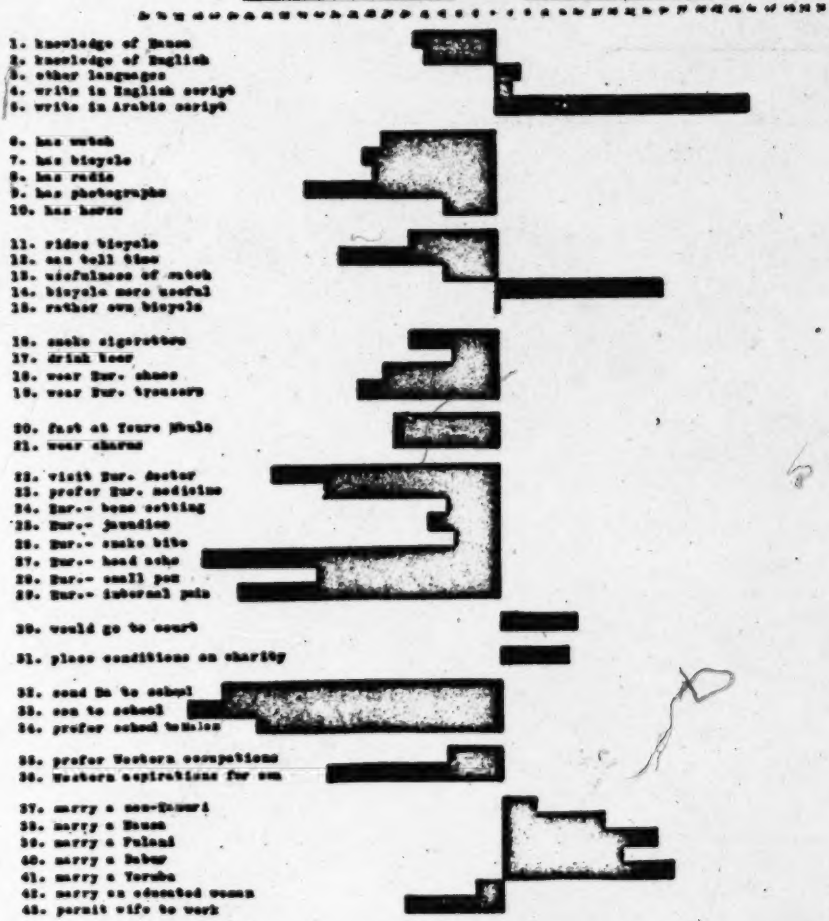
Table XII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE BURAMIC MALAMS

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses



*177
792

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*177 992 concerned. Item 5 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation; the Koranic Malams naturally write in Arabic script.

In certain areas, however, they respond in acculturated fashion. They are willing to marry a non-Kanuri and distinctly more willing to marry each of the four tribes noted in items 38-41. When the condition that the woman be a Moslem is added, the Koranic Malams show themselves to be a tolerant group. This is probably because their primary allegiance is to Islam rather than to Kanuri culture. Thus as long as behavior does not conflict with Islamic behavioral expectations, they would have no real objection, and in the case of marriage, state that they would be willing to marry a wide range of women so long as they were Moslem. Similarly, Allah is their guide in the case of settlement of disputes, so that they appear acculturated in Item 30, and in Item 31 the conditions placed on charity are that the individual would behave as Allah told him to. I have no explanation, frankly, for their response to Item 14. On the whole, the relative consistency of the answers of the Koranic Malams would indicate that they are a stable group.

*177 441 3. Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators epitomize an unstable group. Omitting the three items not dealing with acculturation measures, 18 of their responses are on the acculturated side, 20 are on the unacculturated side, and 2 are precisely at the mid-point. They are consistent in only two behavioral areas: they are acculturated in the possession of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 346]

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Table XLII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE CASTERS OPERATORS

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

*177
441

1. knowledge of Hausa
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in english script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. own tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Tsure Hbule
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Hulan

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Hausa
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Babur
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

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*177 441 Western material goods (Items 6-9) and unacculturated in their choice of occupations and in the aspirations for their sons (Items 35, 36). They speak Hausa, but not other languages, and they cannot write in English script. They possess material goods, and their responses concerning the bicycle (Items 11, 14, 15) are acculturated, but they are at the mid-point when it comes to telling time. Furthermore, their statements concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch are in the unacculturated direction. They would wear shoes (acculturated) but would not wear trousers (unacculturated). They fast, but do not wear charms. They would visit the doctor and prefer European medicine to drinking the ink of the Koran, yet respond that Kanuri treatment is better for 5 of the 6 diseases. They would send their son to school, yet prefer the Koranic Malam to the school. They would marry a Hausa woman, but not any of the other three tribes. Lastly, they would marry an educated woman, but are extremely conservative and would not let her work.

All of their responses are intelligible when one looks at their roles. Yet the pattern of their responses is indicative of an unstable group, more so than any of the other seven groups.

*177 634 4. NA Malams. The NA Malams come closest to being a group all of whose responses fall in the acculturated category. Their responses are heavily in the acculturated direction in the areas of language and writing and in the area of possession

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 348]

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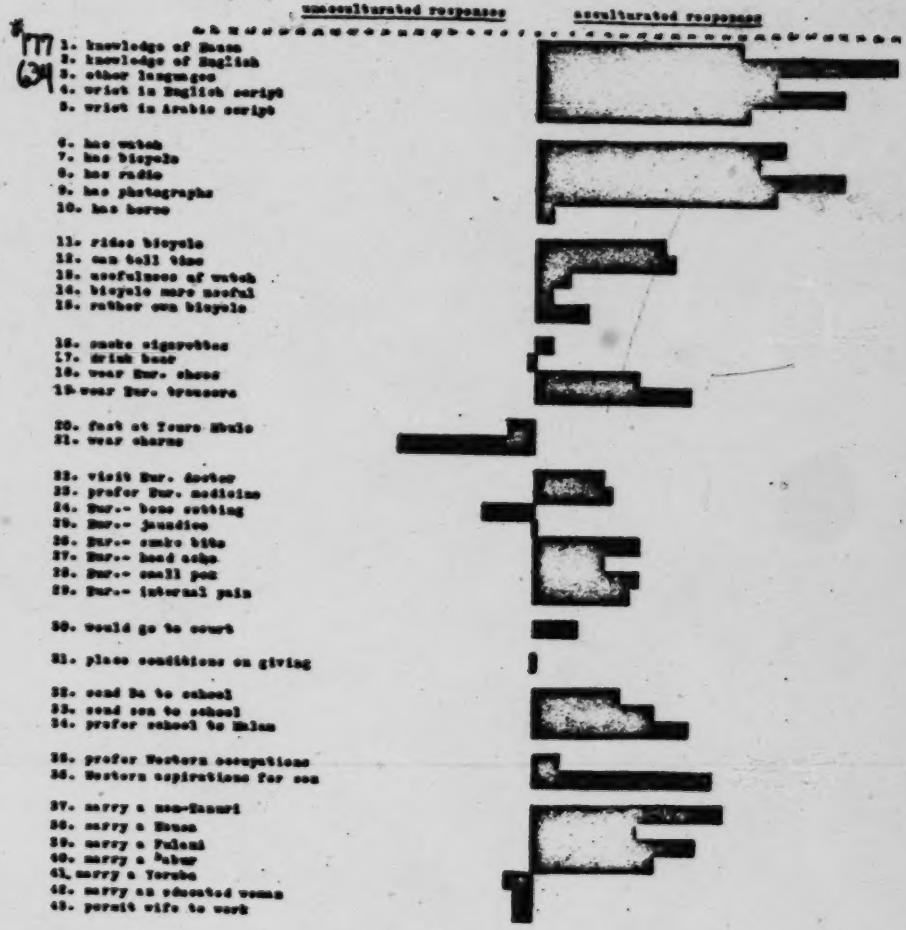
Table XLIII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE BA MALAM



[BEIDAM]

*177 634 of Western material goods. But even the group of NA Malams reveals certain behavioral areas in which it is not very acculturated, in which in fact it is slightly unacculturated. These are the areas of religious behavior generally, drinking beer (17), fasting (20), and wearing charms (21). With respect to the latter item they are quite unacculturated. They are also somewhat more hesitant about marrying an educated woman (42) and permitting her to work.(43). The tendency is not very pronounced for these two items, but the direction is interesting for such an acculturated group. On the whole they are a consistent and a stable group.

5. Kabuna. The Kabuna are generally an unacculturated group. Their responses are predominantly in the unacculturated direction, though none (except perhaps Item 9) are extreme. Once again, Item 10 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation. In two behavioral areas their answers are in the acculturated direction, but within these areas they are on the whole consistent in their responses. For five of the six diseases presented (Items 24-29) they favor European treatment, though they do state a preference for drinking the ink of Koranic verses to European medicine (Item 23). The other area in which they show themselves to be acculturated is that of education, and here they are entirely consistent. They prefer Western schools for both son and daughter (Items 32, 33) and prefer school to the Koranic Malam (Item 34). Furthermore, their aspirations for their sons (36) are also acculturated,

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Table XLIV

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE KANURI

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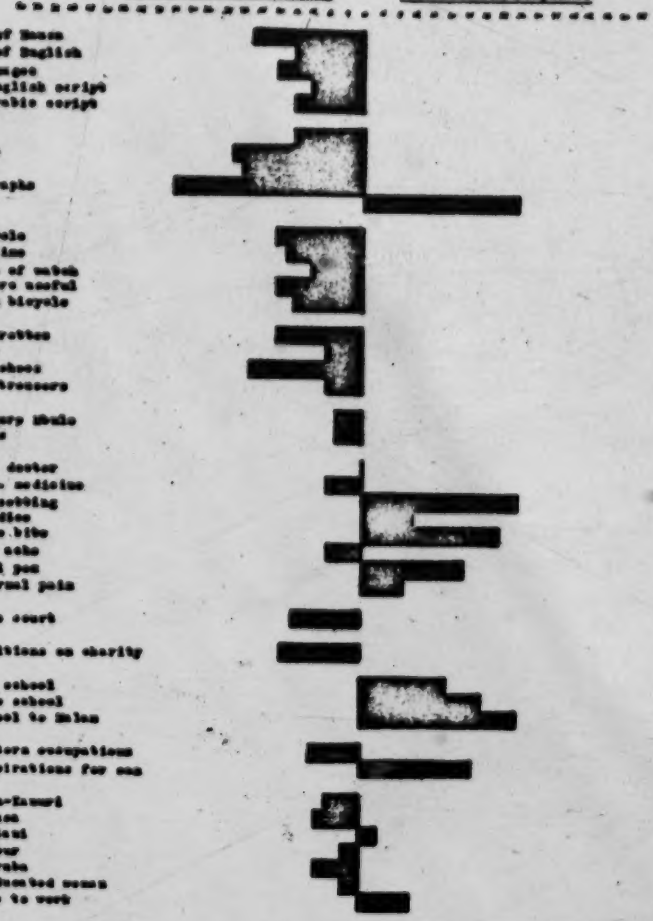

[GEIDAM]

177 consistent with their desire to educate their children in West-
634 ern schools.

Since the group of Kabuna are a part of the political organization, they are able to realize the advantages of certain behavioral alternatives introduced by contact. Though they themselves do not interact with agents of Western culture, and are consequently not a very acculturated group, they show a degree of acculturation in their attitudes towards Western medicine and education. Their own aspirations are traditional but they favor Western education for their children, presumably because Western education is a factor in present day political advancement, and they favor Western aspirations for their sons. They appear to be a stable group according to the proposed criteria.

177 6. Craftsmen. The Craftsmen are the most consistently un-
463 acculturated group of the eight. Though their responses do not indicate extreme degrees of conservatism, they are remarkably consistent in their choice of unacculturated responses. They are less likely to fast than other groups (Item 20), and they state that they would visit a European doctor (Item 22), though they prefer Kanuri treatment to European treatment for 4 of the 6 diseases. They are close to the mid-point for all three items dealing with education (Items 32-34), and themselves show a very slight preference for Western occupations (35) though their aspirations for their sons are strongly in the direction of traditional Kanuri occupations (36). They are slightly more per-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 352]

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Table XLV

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE CHAPTERS

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

* 177
463

1. knowledge of Bwana
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Tsure Kbale
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Mslam

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Bwana
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Babur
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

*177 missive about allowing their wives to work (43).
463 Not only do the Craftsmen present the fewest number of acculturated responses (6 in all), but in items where they do show themselves to be acculturated the response is not marked. One might therefore say that they are the most stably unacculturated group of all.

*177 7. Talaka. The most striking feature about the Talaka
565 profile is the way in which it remains close to the baseline. The most extreme response is that concerning possession of a horse (10) which is not diagnostic of degree of acculturation. No other response exceeds a value of 32. This is true of no other profile. Excluding the three items that are not indicative of degree of acculturation, 20 items fall on the unacculturated side, and 19 fall on the acculturated side (one is at the mid-point). But for no less than 12 items the response is within a value of 4 from the mid-point--in other words the degree of deviation from the mid-point is of no significance for those items.

The group of Talaka cannot be characterized as generally acculturated or generally unacculturated. They are like the Canteen Operators in this respect, but unlike the canteen operators they are not an inconsistent group. Their responses do not swing wildly from acculturated to unacculturated and within each behavioral area they tend to be consistent. They are unacculturated with respect to language and to the possession of material goods. They are slightly acculturated in their attitudes towards these items, though at no point do they show ex-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

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Table XLVI

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE TALAKA

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

*177
565

1. knowledge of Bura
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Bur. shoes
19. wear Bur. trousers

20. feast at Yoro Khule
21. wear charms

22. visit Bur. doctor
23. prefer Bur. medicine
24. Bur.- bone setting
25. Bur.- jaundice
26. Bur.- snake bite
27. Bur.- head ache
28. Bur.- small pox
29. Bur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Malam

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Buum
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Bahar
41. marry a Yorubu
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

12

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*177 565 tremes of response. They are acculturated in the area of religious behavior. In the area of medicine, they stay close to the baseline for the entire group, though they do show a preference for Western treatment of smallpox. They are consistently conservative with respect to education, and are generally conservative in their attitudes towards marriage. The Talaka are a stable group that is neither very acculturated nor very conservative.

*177 554 8. Low-status Individuals. The group of Low-status individuals is small and is therefore less reliable than other groups. On the whole they appear to be a generally unacculturated group. The extremity of their responses give them the appearance of an unstable group, though this might have been brought about by their few numbers. Within individual behavioral areas they appear fairly consistent. They appear acculturated in certain items of Western material goods: smoking cigarettes (Item 16), wearing shoes (Item 18). With respect to the treatment of diseases they show a preference for European treatment of 5 of the 6 diseases, though here they seem most inconsistent since they are distinctly unacculturated in their hesitancy to visit a European doctor (Item 22). They also appear quite acculturated in their willingness to allow their wives to work.

Much of their inconsistency and consequently their apparent instability can be explained in terms of their low status in Kanuri society. It is surely this which accounts for their readiness to allow their wives to go out and work as a school-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 356]

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Table XLVII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE GROUP OF LOW-STATUS INDIVIDUALS

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

*177
554

1. knowledge of Hausa
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Tsure Mbule
21. wear kharma

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

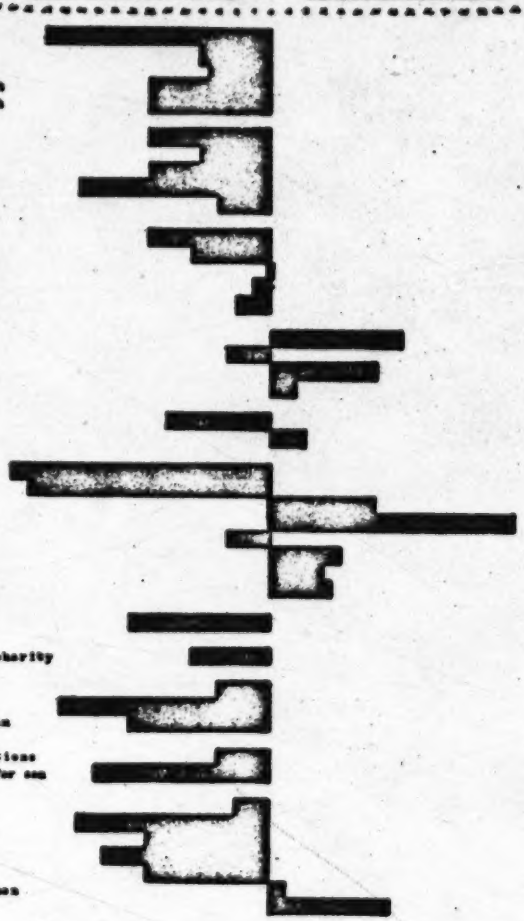
30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Malam

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Hausa
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Babur
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work



[GEIDAN]

*177 554 teacher. They smoke cigarettes and are willing to wear European shoes and trousers because they do not threaten their status within Kanuri society by doing so. They are not in a position to be directly influenced by contact with Western industrial society, and are thus little acculturated, but in certain areas of material culture about which they have some familiarity they are willing to behave in an acculturated fashion. One might even argue that they feel that Western medicine is generally the more effective, though they actually know very little in this area, but their contact with Western culture is so slight that they cannot imagine themselves visiting a European doctor for treatment.

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[p. 356-A]

Chapter VI

Interpretations and Conclusions

[GEIDAM]

121 The present study approached the problem of acculturation in the Kanuri community of Geidam through community social structure. From the theoretical position put forth in Chapter IV several hypotheses were derived. Data were then offered through which these hypotheses might be examined. While one could not claim that these hypotheses were "proved" by the data presented here, they were nevertheless upheld throughout.

121 *177 The first hypothesis stated that groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation. The general degree of acculturation of each of the eight groups and categories can be readily ascertained from the acculturation profiles presented in Chapter V, and the groups can be ranked in the following manner:

1.	Acculturated groups:	NA Malams Aristocracy
2.	Intermediary groups:	Canteen Operators Talaka
3.	Unacculturated groups:	Kabuna Low-status Individuals Koranic Malams Craftsmen

The extent of difference between the acculturated and the unacculturated groups above would tend to verify hypothesis 1.

The second hypothesis stated that groups and categories in the social structure would acculturate in different behavioral areas at different rates. An examination of the acculturation profiles reveals that this is generally the case. The most acculturated groups (NA Malams and Aristocracy) re-

121 *177 veal areas in which they are unacculturated; the most unacculturated groups similarly reveal areas of behavior in which they are acculturated. That these differences in degree of acculturation are determined by the relation of a given group or category to that area of behavior, as is stated in the second sentence of hypothesis 2, is readily apparent from the data. Explanations of these differences in the above discussion have repeatedly sought to relate them to the roles of the group concerned. If these explanations have been convincing, then hypothesis 2 may be said to have been upheld.

It is somewhat more difficult to discuss the implications of the data which have been presented above for hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 states that groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in other areas. The position of a group within the existing social structure plays an important part not only in determining the areas in which acculturation is likely to occur but also in determining those behavioral areas in which acculturation would not be expected to occur--i.e., those areas in which the group reaffirms traditional behavioral norms.

This may be illustrated by selecting three of the groups whose profiles have been presented in the previous chapter for comparison. The three groups are the following:

a) NA Malams - acculturated and stable.
b) Canteen Operators - intermediary in acculturation and unstable.
c) Craftsmen - unacculturated and stable.

*177 634 156 The NA Malams are the most acculturated group of the eight which have been described. How would one account for the fact that

*177 634 156 554

they are such a stable group then? The role of the NA Malam is clearly defined. His Western education is generally acknowledged as a useful thing and he is accorded prestige by being called "Malam". The goals of the NA Malams are traditional Kanuri goals. This is brought home most strikingly in their choice of occupations (Table XXXIII) where four of the six NA Malams chose "Lowan." Their education, their knowledge of the English language, their general high degree of acculturation have not hindered them from attaining positions of political power, a very traditional goal in Kanuri society. On the contrary, these things have become assets. The acculturated individual is at an advantage over the unacculturated individual in rapidly rising within the political system. This state of things will remain at its present level only so long as: (a) the number of NA Malams does not rapidly increase so that many individuals are competing for a limited number of political positions, which would mean that a group of disgruntled and disappointed individuals would be created, and, (b) their degree of acculturation does not reach the point where their goals, too, will change. At present, in the community of Geidam, neither of the latter conditions have arisen. It can also be seen from their acculturation profile that the NA Malams adhere to important Kanuri values in other areas. They do not smoke or drink beer; they fast and wear many charms; they are not reluctant to give gifts of charity; and they would tend to avoid marrying an educated woman or let her work. All

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*177 of these indicate that the NA Malams have not rejected important Kanuri values in the course of their acculturation. Though they are a very acculturated group, they are in no danger of drifting away from Kanuri culture and becoming deviants. Consequently they are a stable group, with clearly defined roles and mutually understood expectations and obligations. Other Kanuri can understand the NA Malam, and the NA Malam himself realizes the "self" that he wishes to convey without having to affirm his Kanuri identity through exaggerated behavior.

*177 The Craftsmen represent the opposite extreme of an unacculturated and stable group. Their primary role requires highly skilled and specialized behavior of them and their status is respected in the community. Although their activities are primarily within the economic area, the range of individuals with whom they interact is narrow and they have little or no direct contact with agents of Western society. Their knowledge of languages and of writing is slight. They have few Western goods, nor do they know much about these items. They are not very strict about fasting and drinking beer, but in other areas they adhere strongly to Kanuri values, such as taking disputes for arbitration and giving gifts of charity. They show a slight inclination to favor European doctors, and they favor Western occupations though their aspirations for their sons are strongly traditional. They are not very conservative about education generally. The overall picture of the Craftsmen is of a group that is obviously not very acculturated, but their responses,

*177 463 though consistently in the unacculturated direction, are not strongly conservative. They are a consistent, though not an exaggeratedly, conservative group, and in some areas (medical treatment, education) they appear receptive to change. The Craftsmen are a group whose position within Kanuri society has led to a minimum of interaction with agents of Western culture, so that they have remained an unacculturated and stable group. This situation, too, may change if: (a) Western technology is introduced and alters traditional Kanuri craft techniques while retaining the craftsmen themselves, or, (b) imported Western goods begin to compete more directly with the goods and services produced by the Craftsmen. In either instance, one would predict that the Craftsmen would begin to show a higher degree of acculturation and a loss in stability as a group.

*177 441 The Canteen Operators are an intermediary group in their degree of acculturation and the most unstable group which was studied. Many of the inconsistencies in the behavior of the Canteen Operators seem to be explained in terms of hypothesis 3. Unlike the NA Malams who themselves derive from the Aristocracy, or from households of traditional political leaders, the Canteen Operators as a group derive from the Talaka. They have risen most rapidly in the accumulation of wealth, and through their newly acquired wealth they have sought to achieve power and prestige. Because of the rapid changes in their status, their roles are not as clearly defined as the roles of

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*177 441 the NA Malam--yet the NA Malams are the more acculturated group overall. Trade was present in Kanuri society long before the coming of the British, but with increased Western contact new alternatives were introduced in the network of external trade. Some of the individuals who accepted these new alternatives had success in their trading ventures, and their abilities to rapidly master the new techniques involved led to even greater successes. Their very acceptance of these new alternatives represented a measure of acculturation, for they now interacted regularly with non-Kanuri managers of the trading companies, some of them Europeans. In the course of these new activities the successful Kanuri traders, who later became the operators of their own canteens, learned new trading skills and learned about the intricacies of the credit system through which so much buying and selling takes place. In addition, they learned to speak Hausa and became accustomed to dealing frequently with Hausas. As they became wealthier, their contacts with Western culture led them to acquire many of the new material possessions available in Geidam--in particular bicycles and radios. Only two Kanuri in Geidam, both members of [493] the Aristocracy, possessed automobiles at the time that this study was done. Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, had both a Chrysler sedan and a Land Rover, and the Alkali acquired a GM pick-up truck during that year. It can be predicted that the next member of the Geidam community to buy a car would be a member of the trading group, because of their wealth and because of their

[GEIDAM]

177 accepting attitude towards Western material goods.
441

Having accepted these new behavioral alternatives and having achieved great success in their new activities, the status of the group of canteen operators began to change. Their roles were new and strange to them; they were unclear of their obligations in the changing situation. Though they now had important statuses in the community, there was no title to accompany these statuses. A pious Moslem who becomes wealthy is able to fulfill his obligation to carry out the pilgrimage to Mecca, and this the Canteen Operators did at the first opportunity. Five of the six members of that group in the present study became Alhajis, a title by which the pilgrim is henceforth addressed. This is a means to acquire prestige in the community, but it also serves another purpose --it demonstrates that the individual concerned is a pillar of faith in the community and may be expected to uphold traditional ways.

177 The "self" which the Canteen Operators seek to communi-
441 cate to others is of an individual who is conservative, an up-
156 holder of tradition. This is in contrast to their acceptance of new sorts of behavior and to the recent changes to which they have been party within the social structure. Indeed, it is because of these things that the Canteen Operators present such a conservative "self" and in so doing they exhibit be-
[60] havior which is predicted in hypothesis 3. In the case of the Canteen Operators the sanctions involved would be the rejection

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*177 441 156 [681] by others of the right of the Canteen Operators to occupy important positions in the community. This would be brought about by a denial of power and prestige on the part of other community members. In order to prevent this from happening, the Canteen Operators assert their identity as part of the Kanuri community by stressing traditional Kanuri values. It is their considerable degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas, taken with their extreme conservatism, frequently in the same area of behavior, which leads to the characterization of the group as an unstable group.

Their inconsistencies, as exhibited in Table XLII, occur in almost every area of behavior. They would wear European shoes, but decidedly would not wear European trousers, thus indicating their extreme sensitivity to the difference between these two items of clothing. They fast at Tsuro Mbulo, though they rarely wear charms. They would visit a European doctor and prefer European medicine, though they prefer the Kanuri method of treatment for five of the six diseases. They would take their disputes to court and tend to place conditions on the giving of charitable gifts, and both of these have been discussed in terms of the ambiguity of expectations in their roles. They would send their son to school though they state a preference for the Koranic Malam over the Western school. They would marry a Hausa woman, though not a woman of any of the other tribes. Their most pronounced inconsistency is in the final two items of their profile. They are strongly in favor

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of marrying an educated woman, but extremely conservative about permitting her to work as a school-teacher. In fact, their response to this question seems to be exaggerated in its adherence to upper class traditional Kanuri norms.

The behavior of the group of Canteen Operators, compared to that of the NA Malams and the Craftsmen, is entirely consistent with the predictions made in hypothesis 3. They have become acculturated in certain behavioral areas as a result of the interactions brought about by their roles in trade. Their new status in the community has resulted in further acculturation in still other areas (attitudes towards arbitration of disputes, attitudes towards generosity and charity). But their need to reaffirm their Kanuri identity and to validate their new positions in Kanuri society has led them to underline their affirmation of traditional Kanuri values, frequently by assuming exaggerated poses. Their behavior lends support to the third hypothesis advanced earlier.

****

The theoretical significance of the present study is in the view of acculturation which has been put forth. Heretofore, acculturation studies have relied heavily on two types of approach: (1) the relationship between acculturation and personality variables (as exemplified by the writings of Hallowell, Wallace, Caudill, Vogt and Mead), and (2) the attempt to delineate which areas of culture change most rapidly as a result of contact and which areas of culture remain resistant to change.

121 The view adopted in the present study is that culture contact does not occur through the meeting of two amorphous and cloud-like masses, which is the underlying assumption of the approaches indicated above. To assume that certain personality types are receptive to culture change while other personality types are resistant to change is to imagine the contact situation in entirely unstructured terms, in which individuals of one personality type gravitate towards agents of contact while individuals of still a different personality type shrink from the agents of contact and thus remain unacculturated. Similarly, an approach which attempts to isolate those aspects of culture which change most rapidly (technology, for example) from still other aspects of culture (religion, social organization) which are most resistant to change, also assumes an unstructured contact situation in which two amorphous entities come into contact and bring about changes in areas most susceptible to change.

These simplistic views of acculturation overlook an elementary anthropological lesson. Culture and society are equally present, and society implies structure. Every ongoing society functions through a system of social organization, and in every case of culture contact two social structures are to be found in interaction. In recent years several anthropologists have realized the weaknesses in the common approach to acculturation problems, and have advocated an emphasis on so-

12 cial structure.[1] However, only Raymond Firth has put forth a systematic view of social structure which is inclusive enough to be useful in analyzing situations of culture change.[2]

The approach suggested by Firth in several of his works has provided the basis for the conceptual framework of the present study. This has been elaborated somewhat by borrowing from other writers (notably Linton, Nadel, Merton, Goffman, and Leach) in order to construct what might be called a rudimentary role theory. The theoretical approach put forth here is sufficiently broad to be able to handle problems in several fields, among them: social structure, deviance and social control, and socialization. In the present study it was applied to a problem of acculturation.

It is hoped that the analysis of Kanuri acculturation which has been presented here has succeeded in shedding light on the general process of culture change. If this has been the case, then the theoretical approach will have been validated.

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1. Edward H. Spicer, Edward P. Dozier, and George C. Barker, "Social Structure and the Acculturation Process," American Anthropologist, 60, No. 3 (1958), 433-455.

   Robert F. Maher, "Social Structure and Cultural Change in Papua," American Anthropologist, 62, No. 4 (1960), 593-602.

2. Raymond Firth, "Social Organization and Social Change," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 84 (1954), 1-20.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Glossary of Kanuri words cited in the text

aba - father

abagana - father's younger brother

abakura - father's older brother

adim (Ar.) - eunuch

ajari - dwelling place of the District Head (Ajia).

Ajia - District Head; Appointed Kanuri official governing a district of Bornu Province.

alewa - candy

algator - traditional Kanuri reed instrument

Alhaji (Ar.) - one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca

Alkali (Ar.) - judge

"Allah Ngubero" (in full: Allah nyiro ngubero gonanzə - "May Allah keep you for a long time!") - traditional deferential phrase said to someone of higher status

alo (Ar.) - wooden writing board on which Koranic verses are written. The term is also used for medicine made of the ink in which Koranic verses were written.

Ardo - Fulani lineage head

ashem (Ar.) - fast

bakama - retail seller of kola nuts

balɔsma - tradesman who buys goods on credit in one place, sells his goods elsewhere, and then pays back his debt

baru - smallpox

bati - spoiled; deflowered; no longer a virgin

bawa - farher's sister

104 baji - finely woven reed mat for sitting and sleeping purposes

bəlam - porridge made of millet and soured milk

bari - porridge, usually made of millet flour; the standard Kanuri food

barzam - respect

"Bismillahi" (Ar.) - "In the name of Allah"; uttered before any undertaking

boye - jealousy towards a former spouse

Bulama - hamlet head

bur - black wooden bowl from which one eats; made by Shuwa Arabs

chibuna - namesake; the individual for whom a child is named is his chibuna, a reciprocal term

Chima - the feudal fief-holder in pre-British times. The chima lived in the capital.

Chima Gana - representative of the Chima who actually lives on the land and sees to its affairs

chinna - door or gateway to a compound

chir - concubine; female slave taken into the household of her master

dandal - central plaza in a Kanuri town on which the compound of the village or district head faces

dareja (Ar.) - respect (also - barzam)

dəla - a final state of divorce where reconciliation is no longer possible

dilel - commission

dilelma - one who arranges a sale and takes a share of the sale price

104 Duar (Ar.) - the second prayer time; about 2 PM

dur - family; relatives

dur bube - family through blood; kin related through one's father

dur chambe - family through milk; kin related through one's mother

fatorongabe - levirate

fato - house

fatoma - a tradesman who arranges sales while the prospective seller remains lodged at the house of the fatoma

fale - blossom of the tobacco plant, used by women for staining teeth

farak - open communal area of the compound

fatkema - seller of traditional sundries in the market-place

fugu - hymen

fugurum - payment at marriage for loss of virginity

gawi - slave without a master

Gonyi - a Malam who has learned the Koran by heart

goro - kola nut

goroma - wholesaler of kola nuts

gursu (Ar.) - Maria Theresa Thaler

haj (Ar.) - pilgrimage to Mecca

haraji - property tax

haram (Ar.) - forbidden by Islamic law

jangəli - tax on cattle

jili - kind, sort; nation, people, or kin group

jinn (Ar.) - spirit

joku - stingy, miserly

104 kabuna - mounted retainer of the Shehu or of an Ajia; "knights"

kafelo - present to a person of higher rank

kagala - title conferred by the Shehu

kalə yaskə - young girl who wears her hair as an adolexcent; a virgin

kalya - a slave

kalyari - a fief which is administered by the slave of a chima

kambe - free-born

kasugu (Ar.) - market

kəji - pleasant, agreeable, sweet

kəmanzə fatobe - owner of the house; master of the household

"kəmanyi" - "My lord", phrase said by a slave to his master

kəntuo - power, influence

kəntuoma - one having power- member of the nobility

kərami - younger brother; younger sister

kərdi - pagan; neither Moslem nor Christian

komadugu - river

kugui - chicken

kulle - keeping wives secluded

kulugu - man's long outer gown

kunjo - gift

kususu - a woman's closest friend

Ladan (Ar.) - muezzin, calls Moslems to prayer

laya (Ar.) - charm or amulet inscribed with verses from the Koran

Liman (Ar.) - Imam, one who leads prayers in the mosque

Liman Nguməribe - prayer leader on religious holidays

Liman Zəmabe - prayer leader at the Friday afternoon communal prayer

104 Lowan (Ar.) - village head

luwali (Ar.) - protector; the bride or bridegroom's representative

luwaliram - initial marriage payment

Mai - king in the days when the capital of the empire of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo

Malam (Ar.) - scholar of the Koran

mari - third payment in the bride-price

modulas - Shehu's council

murshe - a chir (concubine) who has been given her own house

nasara - European; white man

nasha - gift

nangantam - one's lover, paramour

nangima - one with whom one has a joking relationship

ngalwo - royalty

ngumari - religious festival

nguro - ward; quarter of a town

nogena - formal respect paid to a superior in status

nungu - shame

nungu ba - shameless, provocative, rude

rawa - mother's brother

riba - profit

ribama - tradesman who buys goods on credit, sells, and then pays his debt (same as balasma)

risa (Ar.) - bribe

ro (Ar.) - soul

ro kura - false pride, arrogance

sabar - trade

104 sabərma - tradesman who buys in one place and sells elsewhere at a profit

sadaka (Ar.) - voluntary alms

sadak (Ar.) - The Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife

sallah (Ar.) - ritual prayer

səbdə - Saturday

sədagu - the Kanuri bride-price (see Sadak above), paid in addition to luwaliram

səgdi - coarse grass mat used for fencing a compound

sənasən - pancakes

Shahada (Ar.) - the confession of faith for all Moslems

Shehu (Ar.) - title for the ruler of the empire of Bornu, after the Sef dynasty of Mais was deposed; derived from "Sheikh"

Shehuri - palace of the Shehu

Shetima Kanuribe - title granted to the head of all Kanuri within the empire after the ascent of the Shehus.

sholo (Ar.) - arbitration of disputes

sugurumma - house slave in a position of trust; "keeper of the keys"

susana - a house slave

tabərma - seller of imported sundry goods in the market-place

talaka - commoner; poor man

tajimi - prayer beads (Ar. - madua)

tata - son; boy

104 tata njima - "son of a household"; fictive kin term used for young men who are part of a large household

tuno - internal pain

Wakil (Ar.) - literally: representative; assistant to the Ajia and head of all his Kabuna

walidi (Ar.) - servant

wujira - commission

wushira (Ar.) - fee paid to the court by the winner of a case

ya chinta - father's wife (in the case of plural wives)

ya kura - mother's elder sister

yaga (or yagana) - elder brother; elder sister

yal - members of a household who are not part of the nuclear family of the household head

yangai - Kanuri trousers

yigana - mother's younger sister

zakat (Ar.) - tithe to support the church

zəgəsə - literally: narrow; the house area of each wife within the larger compound

Zəma - Friday, the Moslem Sabbath

zogor - divorced woman, eligible for remarriage

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[For responses of Koranic malams, canteen operators, NA malams and kabunas to questionnaires on acculturation, see charts in category 116, pp. 249-327.]

2: Rosman

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829

[For information on Kanuri ideas about Western society and items of Western culture, as well as their attitudes toward native practices and norms, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

2: Rosman MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational and social groups of Kanuri and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-367.]

2: Rosman

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[For information on adherence to Kanuri norms and institutionalized practices, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

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[For Kanuri attitudes toward various occupations see categories 829, 554, and also category 116, pp. 303-318.]

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[For information on occupational specialization associated with particular ethnic minorities and non-Kanuri groups, see category 563.]

622

[For information on appointment of the headman of the Fulani living among the Kanuri, see category 563.]

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THE STRUCTURE OF KANURI SOCIETY

BY

RONALD COHEN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(Anthropology)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

[Title Page]

1960

[i]

000 "... and if either here or in any foregoing part of this journal it may be thought that I have spoken too favourably of the natives we were thrown amongst, I can only answer, that I have described them as I found them, hospitable, kind-hearted, honest, and liberal: to the latest hours of my life I shall remember them with affectionate regard; and many are the untutored children of nature in Central Africa, who possess feelings and principles that would do honour to the most civilised Christian. A determination to be pleased, if possible, is the wisest preparatory resolution that a traveller can make on quitting his native shores, and the closer he adheres to it the better: few are the situations from which some consolation cannot be derived with this determination: and savage, indeed, must be that race of human beings from whom interesting information cannot be collected."

Major Denham *

* Denham D, and Clapperton H., Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, (Boston), 1826, p. 237

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Preface

101 Field work for this study was carried out in Bornu Province,
122 Nigeria, from January 1956 to August 1957. The author is grateful to the Ford Foundation Area Training Program under whose financial support the field work was carried out. Through a grant from the Knapp Fellowship Fund of the University of Wisconsin, the writer was allowed an unencumbered year following the field work in which to analyse and write up the material.

114 Although the author takes full responsibility for the following pages, they could not have reached their present form without the generous help of a number of people. Prof. C. W. M. Hart helped plan and guide the field work as well as reading and advising on earlier drafts of the present study. His intellectual stimulus has served as a major impetus in the development of the writer's approach to the study of society. Professors D. A. Baerreis and M. L. Barnett have given encouragement and advice throughout the course of the project and helped the writer in innumerable ways both administratively and in matters of scholarship.

114 Periodic conversations in the field with Mr. and Mrs. A.
122 Bosman, graduate students at Yale University, helped clarify many points about the Kanuri as well as indicating areas of uncertainty and ignorance which required further work. To Mallam Abdullah Yajuwa of the Bornu Department of Agriculture I owe a sincere debt of gratitude for his interest in the project and his well run surveys. His patience and forbearance with the insatiable curiosity of an anthropologist deserve special mention. The Waziri, the Yerima and the Digma of Bornu also deserve special acknowledgement as men of affairs who spared us their

114
122 valuable time and used their influence on our behalf. Many others deserve some mention for the generous contributions they made not only to our work but to our well being. Amont these were the Provincial Education Officer, Mr. H. O. H. Vernon-Jackson, Mr. Tony May, of the United Africa Company, Mallam Alhaji Damboa, headmaster of the Kagumeri Junior Primary School and his colleagues, Lawan Mina, the Village Head of Kagumeri, the Bornu Provincial Government for their cooperation in putting the public records of the Emirate at our disposal, and many others whose friendships and cooperation made our stay in Bornu not just the operationalizing of a research project, but a rich personal experience.

114 My wife has contributed so much in the form of criticism, encouragement, editing, and information, both in the field and during the write-up, that there is no specific help for which she can be acknowledged, for she shared it all.

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Introduction

121 In studying a significant theoretical problem in a previously unstudied society, the anthropologist finds himself trying to cope with several problems at the same time. As a scientist he must focus his attention on those phenomena which deal specifically with his own sphere of study. As a field anthropologist he must also record data on the society and culture of a hitherto unrecorded, and often unique, segment of mankind using the skills of his discipline to ensure the reliability of this information. Difficulties may emerge because his theoretical problem often calls for a narrowing of observation, while the recording of new cultural and social data spreads the focus across the entire gamut of soci-cultural phenomena.

The present study is the writer's attempt at a compromise between these conflicting interests. The specific area of research upon which attention has been narrowed is that of change. The study as a whole seeks to describe and explain the trends of social change which have operated and are operating at present in the Kanuri society of Northern Nigeria. The general ethnographic problem arises from the fact that Kanuri culture and society have not been documented in the anthropological literature. In the pages to follow the reader is given a sufficiently wide view of the society in question so that the specific problem of change can be intelligibly linked to an understandable framework of social life as it is practised among the Kanuri.

To accomplish this rather broad objective, some limitations of scope are necessary which means that criteria of selection have to be imposed on the data. Put another way, any scientific enquiry is based upon assumptions. These direct the study along certain channels while

12.1 setting boundaries for the omission of what are hoped to be irrelevant materials. In the present work we have assumed the analytical separability of cultural and social phenomena and focused the enquiry on the latter. Culture is here defined as "transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour and the artifacts produced by behaviour".(1) Society or the social system designates "the specifically relational system of interaction among individuals and collectivities".(2) Parsons and Kroeber regard these distinctions as necessary and claim that neither should be directly reduced to terms of the other.(3) This means that the order of relationships within each can be treated as analytically independent from that in the other. Applied to the material at hand, it has been decided to remain within the level of the social system relating and describing phenomena at this level while for the most part omitting the cultural. The one important exception to this rule occurs in Chapter IX where patterns of consumption and distribution pertaining to such cultural materials as clothing, implements, and house types are systematically described and related to the social system. This has been deemed necessary because of the important relation which production and consumption bear to change in the society.

Using these self-imposed limits what emerges in the pages to follow is in no sense the "holistic" approach often attributed to anthropology. Thus very little is said of religion, witchcraft, techniques of pottery making, folk-lore, or the content of ceremonialism. Although the writer has gathered data on all these subjects they fall outside the limited scope of the present work.

(1) Kroeber, A.L. and Parsons, Talcott, The Concepts of Culture and Social System, ASR, 23, 5, 1958, p. 583
(2) Ibid: p. 583
(3) Ibid: p. 582

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Kanuri society is a social system whose boundaries are herein defined by the extent of the political boundaries of the Kanuri state known as Bornu Emirate. As a language and a culture, Kanuri transcends these borders but for present purposes the social system is defined by its political limits. Social relations within this system are hierarchically arranged for many of the most important functions of social life and it can be seen in the pages to follow that within the framework of the superior/subordinate relationship there is a high degree of opportunism which characterises these social relations. Superior/subordinate relations are governed strongly by factors of power and authority. These variables make up a type of human action called governmental and Smith's view is adopted here that such behaviour is possible at all levels of human social organization.(1) Since it is relationships which are being described a two-sided definition is useful for analytical purposes. Looking at the relationship from the superior's point of view, power is the ability to order action and make decisions about the kind of action to be taken, and authority in the same direction is the ability of the superior to secure performance of the action ordered. On the other side of the relationship, power and authority refer to the subordinate's sensitivity and response to the power and authority of superior(s).

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Whether or not a particular theory of society is espoused by a writer, his work very often tends to support some contemporary conceptions while contradicting others. It should be emphasised that the writer had no pre-conceived notions about Kanuri social relations, nor was he attempting to support, refine, or negate one social system theory

(1) Smith, M. G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, JRAI, 86, 1957, p. 50.

121 as against another. The data have been described as they were observed rather than as test data for any theory of society. Nevertheless the material to follow suggests that there may be more to the so-called "market model view"[1] of the social system than its recent discreditors have led us to believe. This view emphasizes social relationships and roles as objects of choice in terms of the net satisfactions expected. The market model has been criticized because it tends to portray social interaction as overly contractual and overly rational. Furthermore it is claimed that social relations must be analysed in relation to the values defining current role obligations or those internalized in personality, while economic relations are independent of such references.[2] However the data to follow indicate that in Kanuri society many non-economic as well as economic relations are governed by what is most aptly described as "investment" and "return". Individuals perform certain roles for socially defined returns. When the performance of obligations is judged as insufficient then dissatisfaction arises which may result in a shift in social relations or a change in the performance within the relationship. The reader must judge for himself whether or not this is merely a "metaphorical construction",[3] or an adequate description of Kanuri social life.

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The methods used in gathering data in the field fall into three categories: qualitative, quantitative and documentary. Qualitative methods of participant observation were used exclusively during the first eight months of field work. The writer and his wife lived in

(1) Hopkins, Terence K. Sociology and the Substantive View of the Economy in Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Polanyi, K., Arensburg, C.M. and Pearson, H. W. (eds.) p. 283.
(2) Ibid: p. 284
(3) Ibid: p. 284

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123 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language (1) and making contacts among the local residents.

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantitative techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires
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125 were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Geidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Dematuru districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small
[184] hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

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124 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then departed leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local
191 school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

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184 of another anthropologist, Mr. A. Roseman, who spent a large part of his field work time in the town of Geidam. Periodic conversations with Mr. Roseman, plus the exchange of visists and information contributed enormously to our understanding of the generality of some Kanuri traits as against the local peculiarities of others.

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[127] During the final three months of field work, the writer and his wife moved into the capital and devoted part of the time to an analysis of all available government records covering the colonial period in the area. Ethnographic work at the court of the Shehu and in Maiduguri as a whole was carried on at the same time. However, it is painfully evident that much more work in the capital, using the methods of urban sociology as well as anthropology, is needed to complete a study which the present work has only begun.

128 The work is in three parts. The first part introduces the people and the locality giving pertinent information of population, geography and ecology. Also included in this section is an historical sketch of the pre-British period as well as an account of the significant changes introduced by the colonial era.

The second part deals with interpersonal relations. Here kinship behaviour norms are related to social interaction in the community at large, and these are described as they operate in the local residence groups. Marriage relations illustrate how the norms of behaviour operate between groups and individuals in the husband-wife relationship. The life cycle material then documents the manner in which individuals are recruited into and live within the small and large scale social structures of the society.

The third part deals with the wider scaled forms of social life. Stratification by various status dimensions is discussed and it

128 is shown how these link together to form the segmentation of society into a two class system. Along with this description, changes and potential changes in the status system are pointed out. Political organization is then discussed from the point of view of the distribution of power and authority throughout the society as a whole. Changes produced by colonialism and Western contact in general are described and the adjustments to these are analyzed.

Finally, the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services in a changing culture are discussed and analyzed in order to show how the standard of living is related to the operation of Kanuri social structure. In addition, the distributive system is shown to be intimately related to other forms of social organization in the society as a whole.

The last chapter summarizes the findings and gives an analysis of the changes occurring in the Bornu today. This allows for a tentative statement concerning the future of the present social structure.

104 In the typed text, the letter ʊ is the phonetic ʊ and is pronounced as the oo in look or cook.

113 References to anthropological journals are as follows:

AA - American Anthropologist

SWJ - Southwest Journal of Anthropology

JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

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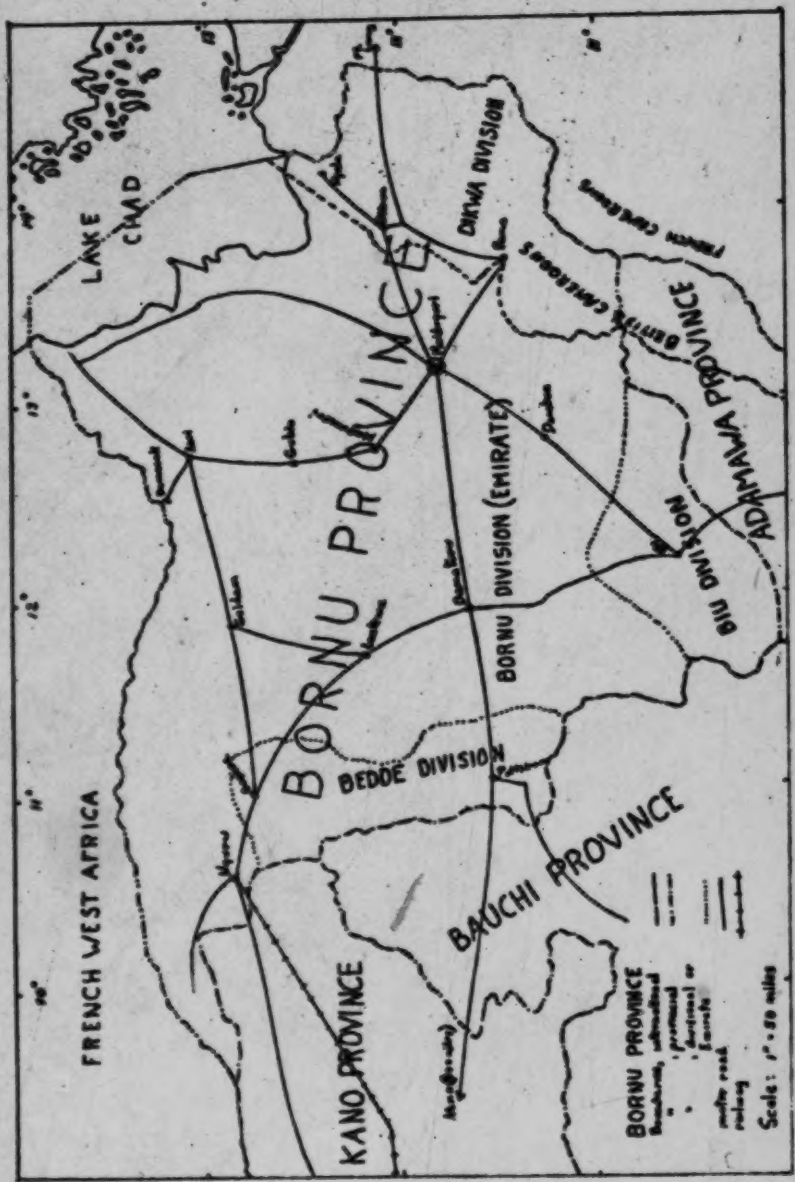

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PART 1

The Setting and its Background

Chapter I

[1]

The Setting

101 For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. [178] Borno is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an [631] ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Borno 162 Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has [131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of [161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are Fulani and Shuwa nomads.(1) The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

132 The Emirate lies within latitudes 11 to 13 N. and longitudes [131] 11 to 13½ E. and has a typical sub-Saharan savannah climate. There is a mean daily maximum temperature of 94° F. from March to June and a mean daily minimum of 66° F. from July to February. The rainfall varies from north to south, being somewhat heavier in the south. Mean rainfall figures in inches per month at Maiduguri for the last thirty-six years are as follows:

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.01	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

13 Vegetation is open orchard bush with fine-leaved thorny trees predominating over an occasional broad-leaved variety. The terrain although very gently undulating here and there is for the most part flat and low lying (elevation 1,000 feet) with a more or less continuous short feathery grass cover. The loose, deep, easily worked sandy soil is excellent for cultivation while the lack of a thick vegetation cover makes the clearing of new farmland a relatively easy task.

241 The main cereal crop is millet and a considerable amount of guinea corn (sorghum) is grown, especially in the southern portions of the Emirate. In addition to the grain staples, beans, maize, cassava, cucumber, tomatoes, and squashes are also cultivated, while groundnuts
242 are used as the cash crop. In recent years, the agricultural department has been introducing fruit trees into the southern portions of the Emirate and scattering small orchards here and there through the northern bush with the idea of developing a local fruit industry.

101 [197] The people we are concerned with refer to themselves as Kanuri and speak a language of the same name. They call their territory Bornu and sometimes refer to themselves as kam Bornube (the people of Bornu). Among Hausa speakers in Nigeria the Kanuri and their language are known as Beri-Beri, but the Kanuri rarely use this term unless they are away from Bornu.

144 [142] Racially the Kanuri are difficult to place. Like other people at the southern rim of the Sahara they vary from negroid to caucasoid in appearance and in skin colour from coppery brown to very
143 dark. Studies by Chalmers on blood group characteristics have shown
144 that when lumped with other northern Muslim peoples the Kanuri indicate considerable similarity in ABO, MNS, and Rhesus blood groups, to

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144 southern Nigerians. The comparatively high frequency of Rho (cDe) chromosome, characteristic of other African populations south of the Sahara, is also present among the Kanuri.(1)

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162 The Kanuri are sedentary agriculturalists and live in various sized settlements scattered homogeneously throughout the Emirate. In their language they distinguish three kinds of settlements primarily on the basis of size. The largest category, birni (city) refers to centers of population containing 12,000 to 15,000 and over. Besides Maiguguri, the capital, there are only two or three other centers of such large proportion. Villages (bàla) form the most numerous category and vary in population from a few hundred to about ten thousand. The last category, hamlets (bàladea), contain from fifteen to twenty up to several hundred. For political purposes and the gathering of national census data hamlets are lumped in with villages and called village areas. This makes it difficult to tell from census data what proportion of the population of these village areas live in the village itself as compared with the number living in the surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. Village area tax rolls from one district (Magumeri) indicate that about one-half the population listed for any village area actually live in hamlets around the village included in its jurisdictional area.

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[361] At first sight the Bornu countryside appears to be quite thickly populated. When travelling through the bush on horseback or truck, settlements and their encircling farms follow one another after intervals of bushland with unending regularity. This first impression is misleading however for most of the area is uncultivated, unpopulated bushland and the population density is only forty to sixty per square mile. This conclusion

(1) Chalmers J.N.M. and others; THE ABO, MNS and Rh Blood Groups of the Nigerians, Eugenics (London) 17, 3, 168-176, 1953.

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311 is also supported by estimates made by officials of the Bornu agricultural department whose records indicate that only seven per cent of the total Emirate land area is under cultivation while another eight to nine per cent is resting land. Since the agricultural potential of the area is relatively homogeneous this means that there is no land pressure and no problem of over-population.

631 Bornu Emirate is a political unit, among others, within Bornu Province and the latter is in turn one of the provinces making up the Northern Region, the largest of the three regions, of Nigeria. The Emirate is under the nominal rule of the Shehu of Bornu and his council, with this latter body under the executive direction of the Wazirí of Bornu. These leaders all reside at the Emirate capital, Maiduguri, which is also the capital of Bornu Province. The entire area of the Emirate is divided into twenty-one districts each under a District Head who resides in the district capital. In its turn, each district is sub-divided into village areas under the headship of a Lawan (village area head). Finally under the Lawan are the wards of his village and the hamlets surrounding his village within the village area boundaries. These wards and hamlets are headed by men called Bolama.

648 The colonial government cuts across this semi-traditional structure. Its center is at Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region of Nigeria, and its representatives reside throughout the region, with their headquarters at each provincial capital. The Resident Officer of Bornu Province is the senior colonial official in the province and is responsible to Kaduna for the administration of several Emirates and divisions of the province of which Bornu Emirate is only one, albeit the largest. Government departments of education, forestry, agriculture, and the like are responsible for their programs throughout the entire province and work through local native authority departments in each Emirate.

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103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road, Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

361 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a
621 U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
000 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

634 Like other district capitals,
[621] Nagumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
[368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an infrequently used District Council House, and a district office in which the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in the diagram below.

361 Diagram Map of Nagumeri Village
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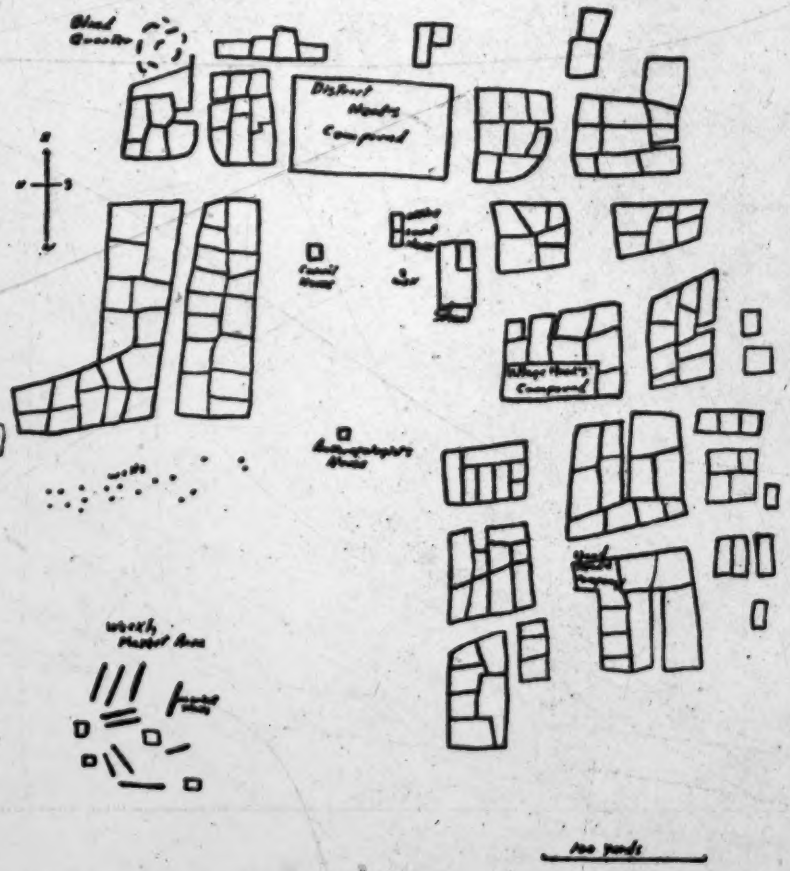

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Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Magumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Magumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

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In Magumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

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This then is Magumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu.

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After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

Chapter II

[p. 8]

Ancient Roots to 1900

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The existence since earliest historic times of Empires and petty states, along the southern ridge of the Sahara, from Lake Chad over to the Sene-Gambia region of the Atlantic Ocean, that is to say roughly along the line of 12 degrees north latitude has appealed to writers for centuries. There is quite a body of early Arabic literature on the subject, and from the 19th century forward, an ever increasing group of European writers have become interested in Sudanic history. Although this material makes fascinating reading to anyone interested in the region as a whole, it is not within the purposes of the present work to summarize the historical events of the Sudan, the rise of Songhai, Mali, Ghana and their respective declines. Such an account would take the present discussion far off its limited scope of interest in the area of the Chad basin. However, two main points must be kept in mind which stem from this large body of literature, Firstly, there were to the west of Bornu throughout its entire history large states and empires which were rising, falling and expanding, and with whom Bornu was always in contact. Secondly, that all these empires and petty states maintained constant contacts, not only with one another, but with the great Muslim powers of North Africa and Spain through the medium of the ancient caravan routes of the Sahara.

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The possibilities of contact of peoples across the Sudan to the east of Chad is a much thornier question, and very little has ever been done by competent scholars to relate the eastern Sudan to the central and western portions.(1)

The contacts of the Sudanic peoples with the south have either

(1) See Arkell, A.J. History of Darfur, Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 32, 1951, pp.33-38, in which he discusses the influence of Bornu on Darfur.

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177 been left out of the historical accounts of the area or have been played down so considerably that the reader finds it easy to forget that the Sudan is geographically adjacent to the Guinea coast. Lady Lugard[1] set the style for this kind of thinking when she described the Sudan as "facing north". Yet the gold, the slaves, and the lowly kola-nut, which became popular as an article of consumption from Kano to Tripoli, all required well established relationships and contacts between the peoples of the Sudan and those to the south of them from very early times.

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197 Evidence on the early beginning of the Kanuri people is scant. Linguistically they belong to the central Saharan group of languages which extends like a boot into modern northeastern Nigeria, but for the most part takes up the area of the central Sahara, reaching north to include a good portion of Fezzan, all of Tibesti, and stretching eastward in the desert until it meets the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, the so-called Hamito-Semitic group.[2] Greenberg comments on the distinctiveness of the central Saharan group of tongues, and we may safely attribute to them a
174 respectable time depth. Gautier[3] has shown that Lake Chad delivered water
133 into the Bornu region in past times. According to another writer[4] the whole territory northeast of Lake Chad was a great swampy shallow area until the early centuries of the Christian era. This was maintained by the overflow through a river valley (the Bahr el Ghazal) which is now only a dry depression. The surplus Chad water still flows along this passage today beneath the soil. Less than a century ago, Nachtigal[5] saw the first

(1) Shaw, F.L. (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency (London), 1905, p.3.
(2) Greenberg, J.H., Studies in African Linguistic Classification: IV Hamito-Semetics, SWJ, 6, 1950.
(3) Gautier, E.F., Sahara the Great Desert, (London) 1935, pp.68-69.
(4) Tilho, J. in Geographic Journal LVI, 1920, quoted in Carpenter, Rhys, A Trans-Saharan Caravan route in Herodotus, Americal Journal of Archeology, Vol. 60, 1956, p. 240.
(5) Nachtigal, G., Sahara und Sudan, p. 77ff

174 133 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal swamps. Carpenter[1] feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fezzan rather than the Niger that Ptearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems reasonable to suppose that these enormous wet lands dried up central Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated more densely in this geographically favourable area.

175 Until more historical and archeological research has been carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanciful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings".[2]

175 797 Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D. speaks of the people of Kanem as idolators.[3] However it is most likely that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older [173] texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king) Hume (1085-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu.[4]

[177] Urvoy feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributaries.[5] Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies

175 642 already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Rhys, op.cit. p. 239.
(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857, p. 643.
(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.
(4) Urvoy, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.
(5) Urvoy, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IFAN, 7, 1949, p.36

175 642 [131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli.(1) Friendship was contracted with 175 648 the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli [779] as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time.(2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo.(3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Ishah al Kanemi".(4)

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travellers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones.(5)

173 669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

(1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 641.)
(2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
(3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
(4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
(5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

173 669 ing fashion. The legend claims[1] that Dunama, the great 17th Mai of Kanem (1221-1259 A.D.) "laid the foundation for the ensuing disaster of the Empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu", for it (the talisman) called forth and provoked every powerful man to ambition and intrigues, and there followed after this reign a period of civil wars, and rapid changes in the monarchy, often involving regicide. It was at this time that the vassal state of the Bulala on the eastern boundary of Kanem grew towards an ever stronger independence, and finally toppled the Kanuri kingdom. We are told in the Chronicle translated by Barth that during the reign of the 27th Mai, Daud (1377-1386 A.D.) the Kanuri were decisively [131] beaten by the Bulala.[2] By 1394 A.D., the 31st Mai, Omar (1394-1398 A.D.) finally gave up Kanem and came to Bornu proper to set up a kingdom in retreat somewhere between the present city of Maiduguri and the town of Gujba.

There followed a period of unrest and internal strife for about 75 years, during which many kings took the throne and were in turn overthrown or murdered. The kingdom was in a constant state of civil war 175 648 within and set upon by enemies from without. Palmer[3] in his researches has found references to a letter sent at this time to Cairo from the Kanuri monarch, asking the Caliph to order the Arabs of Wadai to stop helping the Bulala raid amongst the Kanuri for slaves, since they (the Kanuri) were all good Muslims, and not infidels to be treated as potential slaves for the taking. More evidence of the "Sturm und Drang" quality of the period is indicated by the fact that a Mai of this time lived away from Bornu in the Hausa city of Kano which had been in the past a vassal state of the Kanuri empire.

(1) Barth, H., op. cit. Vol. II; King list, pp 633-671.
(2) Ibid; p. 634.
(3) Palmer, R. The Bornu Sahara and Sudan, (London) 1936, p. 218

175 642 However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly [103] in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Ye [361] (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damasak and Geidam, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province. [648] His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north- [721] east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire 175 of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portugese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe sometime around the beginning of the 17th century.(1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of Timbuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.(2)

[721] When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have 174 fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.
(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara. London, 1933, p. 73

174 area before the arrival of the Kanuri. French workers claim that the Kotoko tribe who live today around the area of Fort Lamy are the contemporary descendants of the ancient So peoples, and French archeologists have been digging up "So" sites for some years.(1) Kanuri traditions speak of the So as "giants" whom they finally vanquished after suffering great tribulations. Many of the monarchs in the Bornu King lists are described as dying in battle against the So. The stories of these "giants" are not however confined to Kanuri traditions, but can be found all over the Chad area, and well up into the desert, especially around Bilma.(2) This last point suggests a hypothesis that the So were really not any one group of people but a linguistic category in the Central Sahara, referring to aboriginal inhabitants who opposed the incoming group, or, against whom "our" group had to fight in times gone by. To support this argument, there is the evidence that the word So is an Arab usage from the Maghreb, which refers generally to all dark skinned peoples of Tibesti and the Sudan.(3) When it is realized that the first writers of Kanuri history must have been able to speak Arabic, as well as having a knowledge of its script, it is not surprising that this North African word for the indigenous people of the Sudan should be carried down to the present day. This leads to the conclusion that any search for <u>the</u> So culture, using the traditions of the present day inhabitants, is doomed to disappointment, for it is most likely that there was not one, but many So cultures and peoples.

175 648 Soon after the founding of the city of Birni Gasargamo, Bornu achieved a florescence in its history. During this second zenith of the Kanuri empire, Bornu vied with Songhai as the most powerful of the great Sudanic states. Embassies were maintained at Tripoli and the Hausa states

(1) Seliquer Capitaine; <u>Elements d'une Etude Archeologique du Pays du Tchad</u>, Bull. IFAN, Vol. 7, 1945, pp.191-209.
(2) Buchanan, Angus; <u>Sahara</u>, quoted in Palmer, R. op. cit., p. 126.
(3) Bovill, W.E., op. cit. p.23.

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648 paid tribute to imperial Bornu, although very often the Songhai would extend themselves and the Hausa would face around for a short while to bow to the suzerainty of Timbuctu.(1) Kanuri power also extended up into the Fezzan taking in the important salt works of Bilma. In the east, Bornu hegemony probably reached into the Darfur region and in the south to the present town of Biu in south Bornu.(2)

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178 From this pinnacle of majesty at the beginning of the 17th century a slow decline ensued which continued from the time of the 55th Mai, Muhammed (1602-1618 A.D.), son of Mai Idris Alooma, through the 18th century until the collapse of the second Kanuri empire in 1808. Although none of the writers are agreed on the causes of this decline it is possible that the monarchy and the court life had become so overly elaborate and ritualized, that it hampered the operation of effective leadership in a state requiring constant vigilance and warfare for its survival. It is reported that throughout almost the entire 18th century, the Mais rarely, if ever, left the confines of the palace during their reigns.(3) Traditions during this period tell of famines and pious leadership, rather than administrative and military successes.

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721 From about the 14th century onwards a nomadic cattle people, the Fulani, had been filtering into the Sudan from the northwest and slowly moving across the whole of what is today Northern Nigeria. In February of 1804, for a number of political and religious reasons, a Fulani religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, declared a Hejira, or Flight from Digal (evil), which was an expression of defiance and aggression towards the Hausa leaders. From this period forward he and his warrior-scholar son, Bello, carried on a holy war in the Sudan that resulted finally in an empire

(1) Shaw, F. L. (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p. 279
(2) Arkell, A.J. The History of Darfur; Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33 p. 246.
(3) Stennings, D. Nomads of the Great Forest (Ms.) 1955

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with its center at Sokoto. The Fulani who had settled in Bornu were encouraged to rise up and support the war, and soon Bornu felt the onslaught of Fulani forces. In 1804-5, Kano sent for help to its suzerain state of Bornu and a Kanuri force was dispatched to aid the vassal in quelling the revolt. This relief force was soundly beaten by the insurgents and Kano fell under the rule of the Fulani. These and other early successes encouraged the Bornu Fulani who began organizing their revolt in Western Bornu and declaring themsevles openly for Othman dan Fodio. We still have letters from this period sent back and forth between the Fulani and the Kanuri. The Kanuri scribes write of the attack as an outrage since it is a holy war against themselves, true believers, while the Fulani write of cruel and pagan practices being carried out in Bornu which must be cleansed. However the political nature of the campaign was obvious to all concerned, as it is to us in retrospect.(1) In 1808, a Fulani chief, Gwoni Muhktar, organized a force and moved against Birni Gazargamo, the ancient capital. It was taken and sacked. Some 44 years later in 1852, Barth met a man in Bornu who had been in the old capital on the day it fell. According to this report the attack was quite sudden and very little opposition was offered. The King and his courtiers left hurriedly by the east gate, while the Fulani entered the west gate in triumph.

An appeal for help was sent to a Kanemi Sheikh, Mohammad el Aminu, who with the help of Kanembu and Shuwa Arabs, had prevented Fulani risings on the western and northern shores of Lake Chad.(2) El Aminu or Laminu as he is remembered today sent his son and a force to help the Kanuri and nine months after the capital had fallen it was retaken. Laminu wrote

(1) Bovill, E.W. The Golden Trade of the Moors, (London) 1958, p. 230, feels that this Fulani expansion was primarily a religious movement. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the end result of the Holy War was the Fulani Empire of Sokoto.

(2) A tribal leader from Kanem, the territoy north and northeast of Lake Chad.

175 721 to Bello and complained that violence was being used for political aggrandizement, not religious conversion. Bello replied that the attacks were justified because of the oppression of the Fulani in Bornu, and the heathen practices of the Kanuri people, and because of aid given by Bornu to Kano and Katsina to resist the holy war.

Between 1809 and 1811 the capital fell again to the Fulani and was retaken a second time by Laminu for the Kanuri, but it was abandoned from this time forward as the center of the Bornu state. The results of these few years were cataclysmic for the history of Bornu. The Fulani invasion was halted, although the western vassals were now under the sovereignty of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto. Bornu had survived the Jihad (holy war), but at the cost of her famous capital of Birni Gazargamo, and the loss of a dynasty of rulers, the Magumi Sefuwa, who had retained the monarchy for 1000 years. For in appealing to Laminu for help, the Kanuri Mai triggered off the beginning of his and his family's end as the effective monarchs of Bornu, meanwhile initiating the beginning of the Kanembu dynasty which sits on the Bornu throne today.

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175 643 [103] [361] The traditional Mai set up a new capital, called Kafela (open place) near the present town of Monguno, and Laminu resided for a while at nearby Ngomo on the shores of Chad. However the constant threat of inundation from the Lake forced him to move his headquarters further inland to Kuka which became the 19th century center of the Bornu state. Ruling from behind the scenes, with the Mai still on the throne as a puppet, Laminu tried to re-consolidate the kingdom from 1820-35, by recapturing the western vassals, and even at one point (1826) by menacing Kano. It was during this period that Denham and Clapperton visited Bornu and in their publications we have a good record of the contemporary court life and politics of the kingdom, as well as some glimpses into the nature of everyday life in

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643 Bornu in the 1820's. (1)

In 1835 Shehu Laminu retired and his son Umar (1835-1880) took over the effective headship of the Bornu state. Like his father, he attempted to maintain and expand the kingdom, while keeping the old Mai on the throne. During one of Umar's western campaigns against Zinder, the puppet Mai, Ibrahim appealed to Wadai for help in restoring him as the rightful ruler of Bornu against the Kanembu Shehu who had usurped the power. Umar returned from his Zinder campaign to find himself being attacked from the east by Wadai. Hearing of the Mai's instigation of this aggression, Umar put the puppet ruler in irons and tried to fight the Wadai forces at Logone, south of Lake Chad, but he was soundly defeated. Kuka was sacked, and the Wadai leader put Ali the young brother of the Mai on the throne. Umar, in high dudgeon, executed Ibrahim and bribed the Wadai forces to withdraw from Bornu. The young Ali and his small following were now attacked and defeated, during which encounter Ali lost his life. And so ended the dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa of Bornu. Shehu Umar declared himself the sole ruler of Bornu and rebuilt the city of Kuka which Barth visited in the 1850's. Local tradition marks this occasion by telling how Shehu Umar was the first of the Bornu monarchs ever to sit on a chair. Before this time leaders had always sat on rugs. It is also related of him that he took a member of the royal family, Ali Mairami, who was the son of a daughter of Mai Dunama (1810-1818), (i.e. he was not in line for the succession) and made him a Maisuli or joking king, who could joke with and chastise the Shehu in a manner prohibited to anyone else. This practice is still carried on today by the descendant of Ali Mairami in the court of the Shehu at Maiduguri.

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(1) Denham, Dr. Clapperton H. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1826.

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With minor disturbances, including one by the brother of Shehu Umar, in 1854, the Bornu kingdom maintained itself in a fairly stable condition, throughout the reign of Umar, and even afterwards during the reign of his son Bukr (1880-4). However, trouble was soon to come from the east.

In the Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur region of the present independent Sudan, an adventurer named Rabeh was slave raiding under the power of the first Egyptian governor of the Bahr, named Zubeyr,(1) in the 70's and early 80's. However Zubeyr's son Stiman headed a rebellion against Egyptian authority and was defeated, and his army disbanded. A remnant of this force headed westward under Rabeh who transformed this band of freebooters and pillagers into a disciplined army which, in the late 80's under the banners of the Mahdi, terrorized the Bahr el Ghazal, conquered
175 Wadai, and defeated the Baghirmi kingdom east of Chad. In 1893, he engaged
721 the Bornu army near Ngala and vanquished it. Whereupon he entered a defeat-
727 ed Bornu and literally raped the countryside. From 1893-6, he despoiled the entire area, putting to death many of the leading figures in Bornu who opposed him, and tried to spread his conquest as far west as possible. In this latter effort he was checked by a union of western forces and
175 refugee Kanuri at the present site of Geidam in northwest Bornu. After
643 1896 from his capital at Dikwa, Rabeh seems to have attempted a consolidation of the kingdom and due to these efforts at administration a more
[173] moderate policy was followed. Nevertheless, his rule is remembered in Bornu
[661] today as the blackest period of their history. Old men are still alive who tell of the pillaging, burning, slave-raiding, killing and excessive extortion of the peasants, that was carried on during the "Rabeh period."

(1) c.f. Balfour-Paul, H.G. History and Antiquities of Darfur; Sudan Antiquities Service, Museum Pamphlet #3 Khartoum, 1955.

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The political organization of the 19th century was almost completely overhauled by Rabeh. Fiefs were re-constructed with new boundaries and given to his own followers, while the old fief holders were often killed. But it should be stressed that complete chaos was not the rule of the day, as many writers have assumed. Rabeh was establishing a state under a new and alien leadership. It had been done by Laminu at the beginning of the 19th century, albeit with much less internal turbulence. It is most probable that had history given him the chance Rabeh would have founded the third dynasty of the Bornu empire and linked its relations much more closely to the east. It was European events that impaired the direction of this development. Rabeh's triumph and abortive attempt at empire building was cut short because in the European world the "scramble for Africa" had come to Nigeria and was rapidly closing in on the would-be king.

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The presence of a good sized literature on pre-British Bornu, including travellers's accounts, the extant collections of early Kanuri records, especially the historical writing of Ahmed ibn Fartua,(1) and the so-called "District Notebooks" of early 20th century British Colonial Officers who tried to reconstruct the pre-Rabeh political organization and tax structure of Bornu, enable us to say something about the life of the Emirate in its pre-European period. To this list of sources can be added the oral traditions of contemporary Kanuri, especially some of the older men in and around the Shehu's court.

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Very little remains at present (besides the archeological material) to record the life of Bornu in the early pre-Muslim days of the

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua; op. cit.

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642 kingdom. It is probable that the early state was organised as a group of clans, with one clan and a lineage within it as the ruling group. There is the possibility that this dominant group was an intrusive one, but this point has been so over-stressed with no substantiating data by other writers, that it would be wiser to leave it until sufficient archeological research has been done.

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829 After the move to Bornu and the founding of the capital of Birni Gazargamo we have some contemporary data with which to assess the life of the times. Ibn Fartua expresses the feelings of a chief servant of the Mai concerning the ethical nature of the state in the 16th century. He says that " . . .every people relies on imitation of its leaders. The leader goes before and the people follow him. He leads them to the Garden as it were by a bridle, after giving the Book of Direction, glad tidings about the Faith, right direction, and sure guidance in the path of law. So every man knows his rights and his obligations to others. Most excellent is the fame of just deeds, and justice on the part of a Mai for one day is equal to service of God for sixty years . . . A place where there is an evil Mai is better than a place which has none." (1) Thus the structural position of the Mai is extolled as being even more important than its functions, for when a leader is present every man knows his relationship to other men, and the people are enjoined to feel blessed at the fact of political leadership <u>per se</u>.

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631 The political organization of Bornu during the second florescence of the kingdom was structured outwards from the capital at Birni Gazaragamo with the cardinal directions of the State under the military protection of four titled noblemen. The south was under the Yurema or chief eunuch; the north was held by the Mustrema (also a eunuch); the east by the Kaigama (a

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua, op. cit. pp.10-11.

175 nobleman); and the west by the Yerima (a nobleman). As far as can be
631 ascertained these men were not enfieffed of these portions of the kingdom (they held fiefs elsewhere), but were rather hereditary titles connected with military functions in one of the quarters of the state, or in the army as a whole. Thus the Mustrema was responsible for controlling raids upon the northern area of the realm, and was in charge of northern troops when the army of the kindgom was assembled for war. In contrast, Nguru, in the northwest, was held by the Galidima who still holds it today. The latter, unlike the other "subregents", but like the tributary vassals, resided in his territory as a kind of semi-independent king although he was also one of the paramount courtiers of the Bornu ruler. All other nobles lived at the capital under the watchful eye of their king, and toured their districts
175 only when trouble was brewing or taxes were needed. Working within the
631 above system was the organisation of the state into fiefdoms held by the
634 nobility, rewarded servants of the king, and military personnel. Any person to whom a fief was given or who received it through inheritance from an original recipient (which was more often the case) was called the Chima Kura. As was pointed out, all nobles with the exception of the Galidima lived at the capital, and the administration of the fief was carried on by a Chima Gana (small Chima) who was most often a slave or trusted servant of the Chima Kura. The Chima Gana usually resided in the fief itself raising taxes and maintaining law and order. With this system it was easy to gear in vassal states or nomad peoples. Their leaders were simply made Chima Kura of the Kanuri state, which strengthened the leader's position in his own group after conquest, and manoeuvred him into the Kanuri political organisation.(1) Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing contin-

(1) This office because of its different nature was also referred to as the Kura Jilibe (head of the tribe or clan). The Kura Jilibe was however acting as the Chima Kura of his group, in relation to the Bornu throne.

175 631 [173] Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing continuity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organised as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the Shehu.

175 631 642 An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu.(1) Tomlinson found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants.(2) Being a stranger in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced. Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as possible to consolidate his power.

173 634 [562] Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were, as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants in residence at the fief.

173 651 The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of two separate levies. One, the binkuram collected in binem (winter) was the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

(1) Tomlinson, F.J.F. Report of Nganzai District; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
(2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
[792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

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651 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.(1)

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651 From the earliest records extant of the Kanuri empire in Kanem right up until the arrival of the British, a system of tax exemption obtained called the Mahram. Although it most often applied to religious mallams, who were recognized in this way for their esoteric knowledge in matters of law and religion, special services to the king were sometimes
[212] rewarded in the same way. These exemptions were always recorded in writ-
[451] ing, so that when the British arrived and began instituting their own form of universal taxation many of these documents, some claiming 990 years of
[114] exemption, turned up. They were collected, translated and subsequently published by Palmer.(2)

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692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Mainin Kanendi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanendi were twelve
[693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

175 692 693 [645] whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175 692 643 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjudication himself. [631] The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175 182 463 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in Bornu. [44] This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market. 175 439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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439 There is some information on a copper trade which the Kanuri middlemen carried on between Darfur in the east and the Nupe area of the Niger river in the west.(1) Contacts with southern people although most often channelled through Kano were sometimes made directly in the trade carried
175 on for the much desired kola-nut. Finally, slavery was a specialized
567 trade from which political figures had a ready source of income. The slaves were often sold locally through middlemen although there was an eager market for them across the desert in Tripoli, Tunis and Cairo.

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436 Currency seems to have come rather late to Bornu as compared with some of the other Sudanese countries. Certainly the nobles and large traders knew of its use in the early 19th century, but the Kanuri peasant had not taken up the customs of currency use that were prevalent amongst his contemporaries in other places such as Kano and Zinder at the time. In the 1820's Clapperton noticed that it was not until he arrived at Katagum, on the way to Kano from Bornu, that cowrie shells were being used as currency. Although he did notice that rolls of cloth from native weavers could be used as currency in some of the Bornu markets.(2) By 1850 the rolls or strips of cloth (gabs'a) were being slowly replaced in Bornu by the cowrie shell.(3) Amongst the traders and the upper classes, both Maria Theresa and Spanish dollars were available for use as money and were even seen in limited use in the Kuka market in the 1850's. However Barth's most revealing passage in this respect tells of his difficulty in buying food from the rural peasants who came to market and refused to have anything to
[437] do with the currency. In order to buy grain, it was necessary for Barth to change his M. T. dollars to cowries, then buy one or more kulu'u (men's robes) and then barter this item of clothing for the required cereal. That

(1) See Arkell, A.J. 1952
(2) Denham,D. and Clapperton H; op. cit. Clapperton's Journal, p.21.
(3) Barth, H; op. cit. Vol. II, p.311.

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436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

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721 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were [701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year [182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plun-
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727 dered. Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
178 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
175 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which
726 warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

173 701 cause its soldiers were peasant subjects and rural followers of fief holders, whose homes were not in the capital but out in the Bornu countryside. In the pre-19th century military system, each of the four regional military leaders (the Yurema, Mustrema, Kaigama, and Yerima) had under him a force of Kachellas, each of which in turn headed up a regiment of foot-soldiers and cavalry.

175 727 Very often a diplomatic Bornu ruler, after having defeated his enemy in battle would assess the situation and try to decide whether or not the chief of the opposing side (if Muslim) was worth keeping. If not he was executed. But very often the rebel or enemy leader was humbled, then raised up after a defeat and encouraged to become a loyal vassal of the King of Bornu.

175 643 703 726 It is also interesting to note that at least part of the morale of Shehu Laminu's army resided in the general belief in his supernatural powers as a military leader. The night before the battle witnessed by Denham it was reported that Laminu had written charms (verses from the Koran) and his enemies' spears and arrows were blunted and found so in the morning by their owners on the day of battle. Laminu was extremely anxious that Denham set off a rocket for him on the night before the battle, presumably for the same reason.

War itself was highly organised. The maintenance of the state required elaborate rituals and ceremonies to dramatize militarism, and the belief in the supernatural power of the leader or his religious associates helped maintain the morale of the army, which was also goaded on by a comprehensive system of sharing in the plunder. However, this tended to create for the average citizen an areal mobility not usually associated 175 721 with peasant life in Africa. A man might return from the wars to his village on the borders of the state to find no village, nor wife, nor home,

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721 since the absence of the local chief with a force of young men had tempted the neighbouring chief, or some wandering nomad raiders, to plunder the town for slaves and booty.

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642 When the British arrived in Bornu to weld the Emirate into their Colonial Empire, it should be emphasized that they were confronted by a way of life, whose known and partly recorded past had been flowing on through at least 1100 years of continuous, unbroken and independent national history. During that time the power of the monarchy had risen and fallen in successive waves of power and decline. In the 12th and 13th centuries the first Kanuri florescence occurred in Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, only to decline in the 14th century and finally beat a forced retreat from the center of their empire into Bornu proper, to the west of the Lake. Here, to the south of the river Yo, they hoped for some safety from the northern raiders which was afforded by the river. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the second emergence of a Kanuri Empire in the Sudan, which, although often neglected by historians of the region, was effective enough to resist the eastward expansion of Songhai at the zenith of its power. Slow decline followed in the 17th and 18th centuries until a near collapse, due to Fulani expansionism at the beginning of the 19th century, could only be avoided by a new dynasty taking over the rule of the kingdom, which maintained itself and the kingdom until Rabeh's desecration of Bornu in 1893. However, even Rabeh was slowly beginning to reorganize the broken kingdom when the British arrived, and it is evident that the complete chaos, conventionally charged to Bornu at the beginning of the 19th century, has been over-emphasized. Forces of re-consolidation were in operation which would have kept the Bornu state in existence, albeit under a new dynasty.

It is evident from an appraisal of Kanuri history that its

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained. [701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organization. [692] Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation [652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

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thing to join on to, then the size of the state is merely an expression of the administrative and military capacities of the government at any given time in its history, in relation to the same factors amongst its neighbour states.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Chapter III

The Colonial Period

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The particular events and social changes occurring in Bornu during the last half century must be viewed as taking place within the larger setting of the British colonial regime of Northern Nigeria. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that during this period an English colonial administration had been grafted onto the indigenous social systems of the Northern Region through the use of what has come to be called "indirect rule".(1) This conjunction of the African social systems under the subordination of colonial rule has resulted in expanding trade, the inception of western education, the development of a native civil service, increased contact with other tribal groups, and a network of modern roads and means of communication. How these changes and the policy of "indirect rule" have affected Bornu is the concern of the present chapter.

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Before the British arrived in Bornu, the French had already defeated and killed Rabah and his son. They then re-instated the Kanuri Shehu, Sanda Kura, and subsequently his younger brother Garbai. These two ruled from Dikwa, Rabah's old capital, which at the turn of the century was considered to be in French territory. The French allowed the Kanuri rulers to institute any system of political organisation they wished as long as they could deliver 80,000 Maria Theresa dollars per annum to the French as tribute. In 1902, Governor Lugard sent Captain Morland to Bornu and it is reported that the Captain ". . . sent for Garbai and formally installed him as Shehu of British Bornu at Kuka.(2)

(1) See Lugard, F.D. (Sir) The Dual Mandate, (London) 1929; Cook, A.N. British Enterprise in Nigeria, (Philadelphia) 1943; Burns, (Sir) Alan, History of Nigeria, (London) 1955; Coleman, J.S., Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, (California) 1958.

(2) Annual Report: Bornu Province 1902. In the Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Province, Nigeria.

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648 Data on how this was accomplished were not available in the public
643 records of Bornu province. Therefore it can only be assumed (provisionally, until more information becomes available) that the British promise to rebuild Kuka, the old 19th century capital, must have appealed to the Shehu, and/or the French conceded to British demands for the Shehu to be brought to Bornu. Certainly since Britain had claim to Bornu as part of Nigeria from the days of the Chartered Companies (late 19th century), and was making good the claim, it was only logical from their viewpoint that the traditional ruler of Bornu should be allowed to sit on the throne
175 in the area historically connected with his reign. Taking the evidence
648 of the French defeat of Rabeh, and their entry into Bornu with an armed force to defeat and kill his son, plus their establishment of the Shehu, it would seem as if the French from east of Lake Chad were trying to limit British expansion into Bornu by a fait accompli of possession, even though the western Chad basin had been ceded to England in the councils of European diplomacy.(1) In any event, all this manoeuvring on the part of the French proved of no avail, for it had also been decided in Europe that the Cameroons were to be administered by Germany, and the French soon had to cede even the area south of Lake Chad to that country.

175 "The first important step by the new British overlords was
648 the sending out of the fiefholders to live in their fief-ships in 1903 ...
634 These fiefs afterwards evolved into Districts and the most suitable men available were put in charge of them, the Shehu always being consulted
[631] in the selection. These men are now Ajia or District Headmen. This formed a chain of responsibility in the administration which the size of the Emirate and its small European staff immediately demanded."(2) However

(1) Langer, W.L. The Diplomacy of Imperialism, (New York) p. 131
(2) Annual Report 1909; op. cit.

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648 before the fiefs developed into Districts it was discovered that a divi-
634 sion of interests was involved between the British authorities and the
643 Shehu. The British were motivated by their own ideas of administration, i.e. to form "a chain of responsibility" from the local level up through the Shehu to the Resident, while the Shehu evidently tried to have as many fiefs created as possible in order that there would be a multitude of District Heads, thereby increasing the number of offices with which he could reward his supporters. The matter was settled by the British who limited the number of districts to a compromise between what they believed to be the traditional structure, and what they considered to be a workable arrangement in terms of their own requirements of administering the Emirate.

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648 When the District Head arrived in his District with his retinue
634 of supporters he found that the local Village Headmen (the Lawan), who
632 were strange to him, were being supported by the British because of their hereditary claims to village leadership. The British soon discovered that it had been the policy of the traditional fief-holder "to supplant the hereditary headmen by slaves (or followers) of the China."(1) Nevertheless, when a new fief-holder took office they conducted investigations to find who were the pre-British (and usually pre-Babeh) Village Headmen and proceeded to appoint these people as Village Heads. In following this policy a political structure was created which utilized two potentially conflicting principles of social organization. In appointing District Heads the personal relationships of upper class leaders to the Shehu was considered to be the acceptable criteria, while the hereditary claims of local leaders were considered to be the basis for Village Headships. Thus,

(1) Patterson, J.R. Report on Nguneri District 1920; in Nguneri District Notebook; Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Prov. Nigeria.

175 648 634 632 the new District Head going out to his district was confronted with a situation in which he had a territory comprising a group of villages which were to be under his organised administration, and which were at the same time headed by people with whom he had no personal relationships.

Entering into this situation, the District Head responded in several ways. He could try to win the loyalty of the local Village Heads to himself, or conversely some Village Heads, sensing danger in the new situation, might come to the District Head and ask to be "his man." This meant that the District Head had expanded his following to include the Village Head. However, there were obstacles to this simple method of rapprochement. If the Village Head already had a strong functioning relationship to some other "big man" in the Kanuri state who was a powerful person in the post-1900 organization, or if the District Head was anxious to reward his own supporters with lucrative and prestige giving roles, 175 648 634 632 661 then this method was not too successful. The District Head could also try to manipulate the situation so that the Village Heads who he found the most truculent in accepting his overlordship, were regarded as inefficient, corrupt, or immoral in the eyes of the British, so that they would be deposed and then he could replace them with recruits from among his own following. Thus, in 1919, a British District Officer (D.O.) visiting Magumeri District, was told by Abba Kiari, then District Head of Magumeri, that two of the Village Heads in his District were inefficient and should be deposed. He felt also that because of the proximity of the two towns they should be united under one Village Head, and he offered one of his own followers as the logical candidate for the new appointment.(1) Finally, the District Head could simply carry on as if the British were

(1) Whitely: Report on Magumeri 1919: in Magumeri District Notebook

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648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
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632 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organisation from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

[178] Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

[166] The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilization by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organization, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Magumeri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged.

175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village.

175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

175 369 433 178 the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons of millet per week in excess of (1) the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialised needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

175 439 [567] In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south. (2) This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).

(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

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439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
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436 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
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452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies
441 were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europe-
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563 ans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of
[167] Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

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The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilised for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradersas well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

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The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones.(1)

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The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

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schools, a few more roads were built or improved and once in a while extended, local European trading Companies reported "steady progress" in business volume, living conditions in the province for European staff "steadily improved", medical facilities "steadily expanded" and so on. Certainly there always seemed to be a rather high turn over in chiefs, but this came to be part of the expected regularity of life in Bornu.

What in effect had occurred was an adjustment. The British administration had set up the organisation of its indirect rule and the task of each new Resident Officer in Bornu was to implement Lord Lugard's policies to the best of his abilities. The general methods of resistance to the English administration were well known by both the Kanuri and the English and no jarring outside influence entered the scene to upset the gentlemanly tug-of-war which characterized the colonial contacts as a kind of game in which everyone knew the rules and the conditions of play, while the over-all techniques of the players did not change much through time.

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Now the "game" was played at the political level can be seen in the following example of the deposition of a chief, taken from the provincial records at Maiduguri, concerning the District Head of Mobber between 1929 and 1931.(1) Mobber District is in the extreme northeast of Bornu Emirate on the border between Nigeria and French West Africa. Its relative isolation from British surveillance contributed to the maintenance of officially prohibited practices well into the late 1920's.

During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that

(1) c.f. Mobber District File; Provincial Office, Maiduguri.

175 648 634 632 During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930, Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situation. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admitted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the Lawans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order. The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr. Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O. arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri for hearings on the matter.

175 648 634 643 692 On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had requested the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignorance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising of personal tax levies.

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In another meeting between the Shehu and the Resident later that month, the Mobber matter was brought up again and the Shehu agreed that things did not seem to be going too well in Mobber. On the 14th of August, the Shehu suggested to the Resident when the Mobber misdemeanours were mentioned that the Mobber peasants were an extremely difficult group to manage and possibly chimas might be required for the proper administration of the District. At the end of August the Shehu requested of the Resident that the five men who had been arrested by A.D.O. Reed be sent back to their homes. The Resident agreed in principle, but felt that the one who had beaten a villager should be kept in Maiduguri for a little longer yet. He added that the men could be sent back to their homes only if the Shehu would take full responsibility for any further trouble in the Mobber area.

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In September and again in October of 1930, A.D.O. Reed was sent up to check the situation in Mobber District. The chimas were operating as before and the District Head was reported as being "not respectful" to the British officer on tour. Only one change had occurred. An entire village area appeared to have been relinquished by the District Head since one of the Shehu's sons had been appointed its Lawan (Village Head) by the Wasiri.

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Several months later in February 1931, the District Head of Mobber appeared in Maiduguri for an annual meeting and was warned by the Resident that "unless considerable improvement was shown he would be dismissed." From this point on, there were very few items in the Mobber District file in which the "Mobber case" was actually referred to. One short item tells of a rumour picked up by a junior officer to the effect that the District Head of Mobber was a favor-

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ite of the Shehu and was married to a daughter of the Wazirí (head of the Shehu's council). By the end of 1931 the matter began to congeal. The D. O. of Bornu Emirate wrote a note to the Resident claiming that the time had come to dispose of the District Head of Mobber since he obviously would not reform, and then suggested several names as replacements. In early 1932 the matter was mentioned briefly in a report to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces from the Resident of Bornu. It stated that "the Shehu and Council have found it necessary to depose the District Head of Mobber." Several people were nominated by the D. O. and by the Council for the replacement and the matter was closed when a man suggested by the Council was mentioned in reports as the new District Head of Mobber.

The British administrators had tried to persuade the District Head of Mobber for two years to stop using his own system of political organization and work through the Village Heads, i.e., the political structure recognized by themselves. His inability to comply finally
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brought about his removal. But the entire push and pull of the deposition did not materially disturb relations between the British and the political leadership of Bornu.

[631] Certainly the case hints at a well-organized Kanuri political system operating independently of the one formally recog-
[643] nized by the British. However, it also illustrates the formalized and balanced relationship which existed between the Resident and the Shehu. The Resident patiently tried to press forward with his own conception of government, while the Shehu was at the same time attempting to mollify English demands in order that the Emirate political organization could be maintained unmolested. The unsettling feature of the relations between the Kanuri and the English

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648 political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

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[435] This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's revealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend."(1) Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials."(2) The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mustering out pay of the returning soldiers(3) had hit Bornu unprepared.

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648 In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946
(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947
(3) Pedlar, F.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

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orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organisation of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A. salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs.

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On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim population of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

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3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kamuri M514

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PART 2

Interpersonal Relations

[p 49-A]

Chapter IV

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

Kinship Terminology (1)

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In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kásai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouse's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

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602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kàsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kàsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kàsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different
[591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the
[428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on
[671] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the
[193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanus (your
[603] mother) or yanzè (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

601 as a term of reference. The terms given in the appendix for full and half-siblings are only very rarely used as terms of reference, and never in addressing the person involved. The polite and proper behaviour being the use of sibling terms, and if finer distinctions become necessary, the relationship is referred to descriptively, a very common practice in referring to kinship relations. Informants claimed that the "real" term for ego's father's other wives is ya chintu (far mother) and its reciprocal is tada chintu (far child, male). However, the term is considered derogatory, even in reference, and would only be utilized if there were well developed antagonism between the actors. Ego, in order to be polite, should use the terms of reference and address for Fa-Sis, when speaking of or to his father's other wives. On the other hand, these latter women will never speak of ego as tadanyi (my child, male) as the real Fa-Sis might easily do, but refer to ego as tada kwanyi (my husband's
[597] child). The only time the rule is broken is when ego's mother dies and he is adopted by one of his mother's co-wives. Then she is called either ya (mother) or the Fa-Sis term is kept in use, and ego may now be referred to as tadanyi (my male child) by his father's other wife. The same thing occurs between ego and his mother's other husbands besides ego's father. There are reciprocal terms which are derogatory and indicate bad feeling between the parties if they are used - aba chintu (far father) and again tada chintu (far child, male) - whereas rawa (Mo-Bro) is the polite term unless ego wishes to insult his mother's husband. The reciprocally polite term is tada kamunyi (my wife's child, male) or tada kèramisyi (my Yo-sibling's male child).

It has been mentioned that siblings rather than use the

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilized rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tilo (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bersum (respect or discipline-respect), wuli (joking) and munkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarises the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin.(1)

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(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour has no effect on the responses of

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TABLE I

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Response to the Category*

**	Par. & Par-Coll	Ego's Coll	G/Par & G/G/Par	Affines of Par-Coll	Senior in-laws	Junior in-laws
shame	48.8	5.8	0	26.1	89.8	14.6
respect	82.4	33.8	14.9	97.5	96.4	42.1
joking	1.9	2.4	100.0	0	2.3	66.0
friendship	12.9	76.4	0	7.0	16.6	26.6
total number of responses	262	233	87	157	168	233

* The figures are percentages of the total response; thus 48.8% of the 262 responses given to parents and parents' collaterals were nungu (shame). They have been reduced to percentages in order to make them comparable with other columns in which total responses add up to different numbers.

** Par. = Parents; Coll. = Collaterals.

Shame (nungu)

Nungu is a general category of behaviour which describes relationships that are restricted in some way by rule. Under this general rubric there are two distinct kinds of action which hold for two different categories of relatives. Firstly, shame-avoidance

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informants, especially in the cases of extreme aberrancy (if any such existed). Consequently in order to be as conservative as possible, it would be wise to conclude that the questionnaire material represents an attempt to obtain a picture of real kinship behaviour, which has most likely had its sharply deviant content rounded off by the ideal patterns of the culture.

Firstly, shame-avoidance
602 whose criterion is whether or not the incumbents may eat food to-
264 gether or in the presence of one another, and secondly, shame-respect wherein food may be shared but ego must sit with eyes downcast and only the most necessary conversation passes between the parties. As a general rule the first holds between affines, although Table I illustrates the variability in this respect, and the second holds among consanguinal kin. There is a strong shame-avoidance relation between ego and his senior in-laws (kisai); that is to say he will not eat in their presence, and he will not enter a hut alone with any of his female kisai unless he has been in the habit of doing any of these before marriage.(1) This latter refers to the case of a preferential cousin marriage or marriage with the daughter
606 of a close friend. A polite person (male speaking) would manifest signs of shame-avoidance behaviour, no matter what his previous relationship with his future father-in-law, around the time of the marriage. It is then up to the in-law in question to remind him of their prior relationship and to persuade him that there should be no sungu between them now that they are son-in-law and father-in-law to one another.

593 Ideally, ego should show shame-avoidance in the presence of his wife when they are in public and only the most necessary conversation should pass between them. After many years of marriage or in the case of a barren marriage depending on the wishes of the couple involved, much of the formality of shame-avoidance (except

(1) An upper class informant claimed that a man should never even visit his in-laws alone but should always go in the company of friends.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 In some cases, more oftch among the upper classes, if
565 a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents
[842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class
[853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(mungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela-
[577] tions. In this sense it is generalised to include all good, proper
[834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some mungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass
576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem-
[515] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class
[264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some mungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

576 moved in the presence of social superiors, and if the gap between them is great shoes are removed even when passing in front of the superior's compound. A person who continually avoids or breaks moral rules and rules of etiquette and good conduct is described as nungu ba (having no shame) or shim ngumdu (narrow eyes) - the latter from the saying " a man of narrow eyes has no shame."

Respect (bàrzum)

571 Respect (bàrzum) is a general category of behaviour in interpersonal relations which has to do with the response to power and authority. It ranges from shame-respect, described above, to friendship-respect in which there may be a more affective relationship that involves discipline and a superior-subordinate relation along with the possibility of partial intimacy depending upon factors of personality, age, generation, and sex differences of the actors.

593 604 Generally speaking the shame-respect relation is most stringently practised with own parents, being transferred to parents' siblings if any of these has taken on the parent's role toward ego. There is a significant difference in shame and friendship responses given to parents and to their collaterals. In the table below respect responses are not indicated because all informants gave a bàrzum response to own parents and parents' collaterals.

TABLE II

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Responses to the Category

	shame	friendship
own parents	99.5	0
pat. coll. (Parent's)	23.8	20.4
mat. coll. (Parent's)	23.2	20.2

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604 In qualitative terms the table indicates that there is a relaxation of the shame-respect relation between ego and his parent's generation members of either sex as ego moves outward from own parents to their collaterals. One informant expressed the difference in behaviour towards own parents and their collaterals in the following manner:

> If I have matters to discuss about needing things, I will talk to my father; but if I wish to talk about marrying a girl - I will not talk to my father or my mother - there is shame in this - I will talk to my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) or my abakura (Fa-Ol-Bro) if I have one - then I will tell to my sister or my brother (real or classificatory) or my friends to go and tell my father and mother for me. I must never talk directly to my father and my mother about anything about my marriage.

593 After a marriage is joined any trouble between a man and his wife should ideally never get back to a man's parents if the man and his wife are not of the same family. However, such matters can usually be arranged through intermediaries.

602 There is a respect relationship between a husband's parents and his wife's parents, with tradition leaning over on the side of the wife's parents as to who receives more respect. That is to say, tradition directs that the bride's kindred are in a higher social status position than the groom's. However, the comparative social position of the two families in the society at large is a very real consideration in this matter. This respect relation overlaps into shame avoidance between the in-laws of opposite sex.

593 There is a variable discipline-respect relationship between ego and his older siblings of the same sex depending upon age disparity, presence or absence of real or adopted parents, and consideration of power and authority. If an older brother has taken

593 over the leadership of the compound then for all intents and purposes the older brother must be treated by his younger siblings in a very similar manner to a parent. If the age disparity is not very great then the situation may be ameliorated although here [592] personality factors may enter into the situation. In one case of male twins the father had died, and because of a dominance-submission interaction between the two men, the second born but dominant twin had become the accepted head of the compound. Later when the submissive twin left to form his own compound nearby, he remained in close economic subordination to his brother.

Many informants felt that the discipline-respect relation of junior and senior siblings, real and classificatory, was at best a tenuous one, especially between males. The following example illustrates how culture contact can operate to increase the fragility of the sibling relationship. An informant who was employed by the N.A. obtained a job for his Fa-Bro-So as his assistant in the bush. The senior in the relationship was finding it extremely difficult to make the junior do any work, or take any instructions seriously. The junior complained privately that he was being mistreated and poorly used by the senior, who he said was not giving him enough to eat. Finally the relationship was severed and the junior (classifi-
593 465 catory) sibling left to go to the provincial capital. These difficulties were accentuated by the differences in remuneration patterning between European and Kanuri cultures. The senior had been getting monthly pay and an allowance for his sibling assistant which he turned over to the boy. The youngster promptly spent the money and expected to be supported all through the rest of the month

593 465 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 604 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bàrzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a

571 607 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bàrzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalized inter-

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action is one of reciprocal joking. The joking itself is related to the respect behaviour. The older or senior member (Ol-Sis-Hu) must always joke with the younger or junior (Wi-Yo-Bro) saying he will obtain either a spouse or a sexual partner for the latter. And this is an essential aspect of bərzum; the senior must give something in return for the subservience he receives.

TABLE IV

Responses to Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro

	Respect		Joking	
	R	N-R	R	N-R
Ol-Sis-Hu	36	5	35	6
Wi-Yo-Bro	4	36	37	3
sig. level	.01		-	

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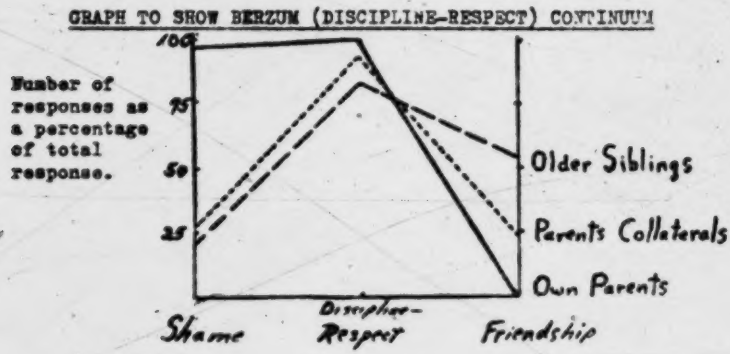
It is now possible to make a more summary comment about the nature of the bərzum behaviour norm in the kinship system. It can be said to range on a continuum from shame-respect through discipline-respect to friendship-discipline-respect, represented by three categories of relatives (a) own parents, (b) parent's collaterals, and (c) older siblings. Any of these who assume the own-parents role in relation to ego takes over the expected behaviour

GRAPH TO SHOW BERZUM (DISCIPLINE-RESPECT) CONTINUUM



602 from ego necessarily. It was noted that the behaviour is a response to power and authority and is non-reciprocal. This means that bàrzum is non-reciprocal, not the relationship in which it obtains. Respect ideally moves from junior to senior in a relationship, but as we shall see respect (bàrzum) must be cultivated if it is to flourish.

571 Beyond the operative limits of the kinship system, bàrzum is the essential quality of all relationships in the society which involve power and authority. If the relationship is of a master-servant variety then the subordinate gives bàrzum to the superi[illegible] while the superior will totally or partially feed, clothe, house and even obtain a wife for the subordinate (i.e. help with the bride-wealth, or even in some cases find a girl for him). The superior in such a relationship is often referred to as abanjima (father of the house) especially when the subordinate lives in or near the compound of his superior and the superior refers to the subordinate as his tada njima (child of the house).

571 576 To a lesser extent the bàrzum relationship is imbedded in the etiquette system of Kanuri greeting customs. This is called nona which means paying-one's-respects-to a superior. Here, although the bàrzum is only momentary, it symbolizes and validates status differences in Kanuri social structure. The rule is simply this: a high status person never goes to call on or greet a lower status person. By following the reverse order, that is the lower status person always calling on or greeting the higher status person, respect is delivered in the proper direction and the lower status individual indicates his recognition of the power and auth-

571 ority of the superior in the society as a whole, thereby validating
576 the status hierarchy of the social structure.

571 In terms of the present analysis bèrzum is such an essential quality in the fabric of Kanuri interpersonal relations that it bears closer scrutiny. To do this we can use the method of presentation being followed here and return to the kinship system working out from there to the wider society. The content of the bèrzum relationship includes a sense of mutual obligation partially symbolized by the Kanuri concept of "trust" (aman). It is only partial because aman as we shall see has an affective connotation not necessarily implied in the bèrzum relationship.

602 In the questionnaire results, no differences were obtained from informants as to their behaviour towards patrilateral as compared with matrilateral kin. However, the interviewer also asked the respondants which kin they felt more aman with. In this case a definite discrimination between the descent groups was asked for and the answer was unequivocally in favour of the patrilateral group. The solution to the problem lies in the nature of the word aman (trust). It is not a unidimensional term implying only one kind of attitude, but subsumes within it several different kinds of trust, and it depends upon how the question is phrased which descent group will get the comparatively greater amount of aman in the individual's judgment.. If the question is asked barely, with no indication or hypothetical case which might refer to loans or credit or emotional factors, the answer comes back quickly (and this is universal for all strata of society) that there is more aman with the patrilateral group. The reasons given for this choice are also

602 elicited with little difficulty:

[682] [683] It is the father's family that is responsible for the dia (blood-money, compensation to a non-group member and his group for physicalinjuries or death brought about by the activity of own group members), they will support you if you get into trouble, it is from them that you get your property, if you marry and have no money, they will collect it for you, and you don't have to pay it back, but you will help them when asked for other people in the family - they are the mai durbe (king of the families).

Upper class members made the following generalization in their statements about the father's family: they felt that the great utility of the patrilateral group is its readiness to support an individual member when he is in trouble, and of course its eventual material use to him in terms of property.

When informants were asked at some other time about the matrilateral kin group without any reference to the father's family and in the context of a conversation having to do with loans and credit, the answer was similar to the following given by a small hamlet farmer:

> Oh yes, for these things (credit) you must go to your mother's family, they will not refuse you anything, for they feel for you like a mother feels for her child.

Upper class members observed similarly that if summa kalewa (if all was well) then people like their mother's family better, it is more [184] affectionate. They also felt that it might be easier to borrow money from the matrilateral groups but were not as unanimous in this respect as the lower class member (neither class was completely unanimous).

[152] In answer to questions about jealousy (kandulí) differences, all informants agreed that there was much more of this among the patrilateral group. One informant expanded this as follows:

402 If you try to take kare (possessions, property, material wealth) from your father's family as a loan, or for any purpose at all, then they feel that perhaps they will not get it back, and you are trying to get some of the family (pat.) property which by the rules of inheritance is not supposed to come to you, but go to someone else. But the mother's family like you very much, they will give you things, and if you promise to pay back a loan from them they will trust you and wait patiently.

[828] Informants also knew that personality entered into the question, and were always ready to qualify these generalizations about the descent groups with a story, whose moral indicated that a kind and generous man was always so no matter what kind of a kinsman he was, or whether or not he was a kinsman at all.

Thus, leaving aside personality differences, there are two basic kinds of aman (trust), one for each descent group. The patrilateral aman defines the mutual obligations which members of the group experience as members, in the face of non-members, i.e. society at large. For this group aman also means source of my past, present and future, my inheritance, in every sense of the word. An individual has aman with the patrilateral group because they give him much of his social and material security as a human being in society. They will stand behind him in times of trouble and they will ensure that he has the necessary objects with which to sustain his social existence (land, a house, tools, a wife, political membership in the State). Ego can appeal to this group for help; threaten a Kanuri and he immediately thinks of the aman he has with his patrilateral group which he can invoke to meet any oncoming danger. Inheritance is tied into the same concept, for it is the insurance for the individual's future sustenance and material place in the social order. It gives time-depth and perpetuity to his aman with the patrilateral group.

The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers

171 602 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers (1) for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system.

602 433 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent system would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organisation for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 571 [433] A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organization of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organization in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her relatives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

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(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

571 602 In interpersonal relations in the society at large aman or trust is most often used in the patrilateral sense of the word when social organization is involved. Thus, in the anthropologist's household, one of the members who developed yearnings for the women of the other household members, and was suspected of taking ways, became increasingly estranged from the general corpus of the household personnel. The comments about him, most often muttered under their breaths by the others, were "aman ba", no trust, and "shim ngumdu" narrow eyes, i.e. no proper feelings of shame and respect. That is to say, he neglected or rejected the proper rules of trust behaviour which should be practised by a person living in a household unit. Thus aman (trust) in the patrilateral sense is the working mechanism of bàrzum (respect). Bàrzum as a formal or structural behaviour norm can often be tied to nona, to pay one's respects to a superior, but when it includes aman it is a more functional and purposeful interaction and is tied into the successful or unsuccessful operation of interpersonal relations. Consequently, when the two are linked together, i.e. when a respect relationship also involves patri-aman, its neglect or infringement causes a judgment of lack of "proper" respect to be placed on the head of the individual offender who breaks faith. To the Kanuri then, the best respect, the real respect relationship involves aman, and without this essential feature the relationship is more formal than functional. Here again the concept of a continuum is useful in filling out the complex variability of the respect relation. In terms of utility, the respect relation runs from extremely little, which is symbolized in nona, (paying one's respects to a superior), through to aman, (trusting a superior and being loyal to him), in return for the support and maintenance he can bestow. The value of these different aspects of respect both functionally to the

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571 602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-gman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalized pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if [855] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are [591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth- [553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate 553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer- 602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

553 602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken 603 [591] [593] [867] away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bàrzum) because there is no bàrzum, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of [602] some respect (bàrzum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocality of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the yeiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's
[262] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602]
[553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of
[551] opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

[587] say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded [601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

605 [601] There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his 605 601 joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunyi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings 605 into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only [582] marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

[184] Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an
571 ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers;
614 pepper sellers and kola-nut wholesalers. Joking relations also hold
648 between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tèra; Kuburi and Tèra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bédde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to
602 cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations therein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

603 the difference in generation of the parties, there is a higher secondary content of fondness on the grandparent's part, while the slight lessening of this dimension is associated with a corresponding rise of the respect relation on the part of the grandchild. It does not show up in the questionnaire data summarized in Table I, because the joking relations (suli) with grandparents already includes friendship behaviour within its meaning content for this particular category of relative. Therefore when subjects were asked how they behaved towards grandparents, their suli responses included the kind of affective behaviour covered by this relationship.

593 The same thing is true for the relationship to own mother, although for different reasons. No friendship responses were given to own mother, because the cultural ideal of shame-respect is so strong here. Thus there was a blanket response pattern from all subjects in accordance with the traditional value of shame-respect.

[612] Nonetheless, there is the possibility and indeed expectation of an affective fondness and friendship relation between ego (male or female speaking) and own mother, which is extended in theory to

[586] include the mother's kindred. When asked what was the worst thing that he could remember ever happening to him when he was young, an informant replied without hesitation that it had occurred when he had to stay in his father's house on the occasion of his mother's divorce of his father. Another informant related how he had gone to the Jos Plateau to learn something about geological survey work, as part of his training for a job with the Bornu N.A. However, after three months he claims he had strong yearnings to see his mother and subsequently walked off the job and returned to his

593 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 There is much friendship practised between ego and his
602 collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzá (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate
[476] friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sérwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sérwa contributions, and his ashirmanzá.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-

593 ship developing in the husband-wife relationship depending upon
[565] the stability of the union. Such friendships are aided and abetted
[586] by cousin marriage as well as by upper class position where the divorce rate does not seem to be as high.

572 Finally, an examination of the nature of friendship in
156 general excluding the grandparent-grandchild, and mother-child relations reveals some unique features which arise from its setting in the total social organization. The question can be raised as to why it is that friendship is not formalized or structured to the same extent as the other behaviours associated with the kinship system. Certainly, an immediate answer lies in the universal nature of this kind of interpersonal relationship, i.e., its affectivity and expressive content, and the concomitant emotional satisfactions which people obtain from such associations. These tend to create a large area for personality characteristics to determine exactly who among the available persons, for example age-mates in the kindred, ego will move toward in expanding and contracting his friendships. As in our society, social factors such as socio-economic status, occupation, residence patterns, ethnic background, and norms of upward mobility all enter into such choices as well. But there is more to Kanuri friendship relations than a mere addition or interaction of these idiosyncratic features of personality attraction and repulsion on the one hand and sociological variables on the other.

572 Informants were forever telling the anthropologist that someone he mentioned was a friend of theirs, although no affective or emotional or for that matter any very real social relationship existed between them. They meant, of course, that they liked

572 to include as many people as possible under the category of friend. On the other side of the question, what we in our culture would consider a very close friendship can be restricted or terminated for any one of a number of reasons, running from a shift in residence
572 to uneven upward mobility on the part of the friends. When friends
201 actually do have to part, great protestations of affection and sadness are often made at the time of leave-taking, especially and in much greater part, by the person remaining behind. Occasions like this are not uncommon. On one of these, a local official had received a much higher office in the capital. At a small gathering of his friends before his departure, heavy emotional displays of sadness and actual bereavement were made by many of his friends — they were losing such a good friend — why was he leaving them? — couldn't he stay? — did he realize how sad he was making them all feel? — he would forget them all now — etc. There was no mention whatsoever of his good fortune in receiving such an honourable and prestigeful promotion in the State. The sadness seemed more an expression of the group's dissatisfaction with their friend's departure than one of melancholy at his leaving, and it lasted only until his departure on the part of all but his very close ashirmanzà (intimate friend) who because of other circumstances in the situation had extremely few real friends and, therefore, suffered a more profound loss.

829 There is a cultural evaluation of interpersonal relations which underlies all Kanuri attitudes about their social life. Relationships achieved and/or ascribed are good, and more importantly, they are potentially profitable and satisfying phenomena. Conse-

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Consequently, any informant will tell of a host of friends that he possesses. Contrarily, the loss or lessening of interaction in any relationship is a bad thing, and a departing friend is mourned at during his leaving as a loss to self and admonished over and over again not to forget his friends either directly — "Don't forget me," — or indirectly — "You will forget me now." —. This explains why no one mentioned the official's good luck in obtaining a promotion, the total emphasis being on the loss which his good fortune had inflicted on his friends. However, he was still a friend and would always be referred to as such if they were questioned. Thus, many of the friendships reported on are due to past associations now inactive, or often because of hoped-for associations in the future. Because of this constant interplay of friendship as a value per se with the non-permanent quality of many relationships through time the Kanuri often seem to the Western observer to lack "sincerity" in the emotional quality of their friendships except in rare cases of extreme intimacy. However, even in the latter a long-term basis is not necessarily a concomitant of mutual intimacy. Since it is good and desirable to have as many friends as possible, from previous associations as well as in terms of future possibilities, the social and physical mobility and the sheer numbers of such relationships dictate that an individual cannot have an expressive-affective relationship with all of them. Nor can he expect or predict when a really operative friendship (even in the kinship system) may be broken. Consequently, he learns to anticipate the possible break-up of any particular interpersonal relation at any time as part of his social interactions and concentrates, if he is successful in his culture,

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829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendhip relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalised recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealised Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

592 Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion
[571] that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal rela-
[602] tions in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realized that the fundamental unit of social organisation in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily
592 identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass
351 matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

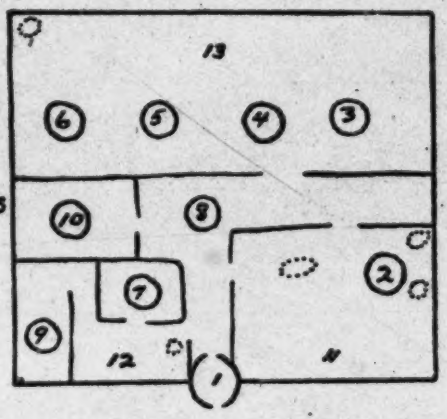
592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

592 181 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri household, although it is an example which was actually observed.(1) It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
[595] 4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
[343] 11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area
dotted lines show granaries



592 Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the [736] wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

[595] (1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magumeri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside [823] (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,[1] personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.[2]

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organization with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

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123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for pol-
125 itical reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

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[593] because of the eventual high status position he can look forward to upon the death of his father. Again he has a strong affective tie with his mother, i.e., his father's senior wife. In this case the compound split is merely a segmentary process which is reproducing the pattern. The son will attempt to set up a similar household to that from which he came.

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571 Another alternative takes place when a household head dies leaving several sons or heirs. The sons may remain in the compound area with the senior as the nominal head. However, as soon as each of the brothers begins creating his own nuclear family the original pattern begins to reassert itself, and hiving off takes place which is commonly noticeable in the re-arrangement of compound walls, or the emergence of new ones. The degree to which the brothers remain together is very often a measure of the genealogical distance between them through the father's line. Informants state that full brothers have a much greater chance of remaining in the same com-
[578] pound or near one another than other types of siblings. The conflicts over inheritance and the loyalties to different widowed mothers tend to create a somewhat stronger fissionable force in the case of half-siblings of the same dead father. In the opposite case where the widowed mother is the same, but the co-resident siblings are of different fathers, then only the offspring of the dead father have any claim to the inheritance. The half-siblings of this variety generally do not remain together since they have different patrilateral kinship affiliations. This does not mean to imply that half-siblings of different fathers are unfriendly to one another. In actual fact the reverse seems to be the case. However, ego's interests and sense

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
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An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by
[587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his
[554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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These three compound heads all farm near one another on the split-up land of their Mo-Bro (they also have cleared other plots), often helping one another in farming duties. They present a united front to the community at large and if one appears in court, the others will also be present.

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The youngest half-brother also learned the butcher's craft, but he has married and moved away to another section of the butcher's quarter and today has virtually nothing to do with his three half-brothers. Some of this half-brother's statements indicate the background of disunity among siblings. He had been raised until puberty in the house of X who was married to his Mo-Sis in the capital. After puberty he came to the house of his Mo-Bro in Magumeri, who was now dead and whose place as compound head had been

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taken by the eldest of the half-brothers. This brother "taught him the knife" (i.e. instructed him in butchering) and he in his turn gave bàrzum (respect) to the half-brother, who was now also his compound head. Here is a paraphrase translation of his own attitude to the relationship:

> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother, who was head of the house — therefore I had to give to my brother the same respect as a father and keep myself under his orders. I wanted a wife (all my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my eldest brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation properly — he said — continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse, and learn the butcher's trade and I will feed you and give you money for spending and buy your clothes. But I was not happy and saved my money in secret and saved enough to take a wife of my own — they were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage but he still wished for me to stay in the compound — but I did not wish to do this and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my Mo-Sis in Maiduguri, owned here in the butcher's quarter.

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He has now obtained some farmland from a friend and all his primary relationships are with non-kin members (X is dead). His extreme youth, plus his absence at the time of the Mo-Bro death as compared with his brothers' presence in the compound, left him out of the inheritance and allowed the three half-brothers to parcel out the farmland among themselves. He feels today that there is gadena mbeji, a difference or bad feeling between him and his half-brothers.

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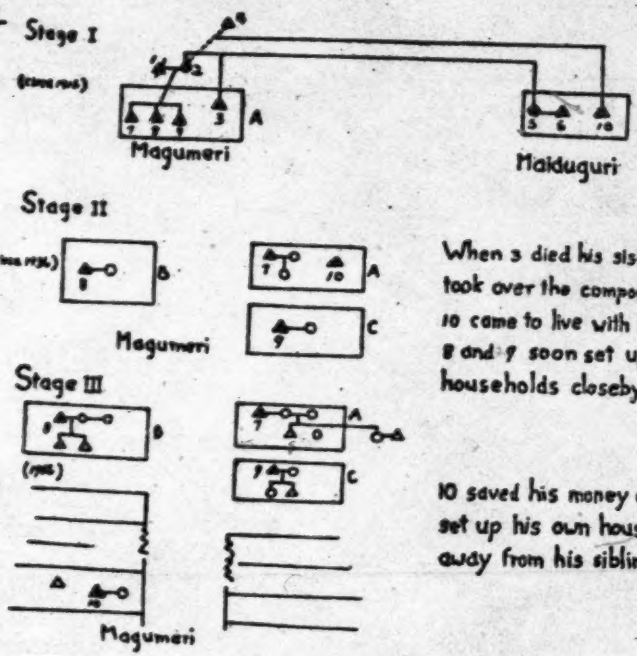
The following diagram illustrates the processes of the above example.



When 3 died his sister's eldest son took over the compound (A), and 10 came to live with him. Siblings 8 and 9 soon set up their own households closeby.

10 saved his money and finally set up his own household (D) away from his siblings.

Legend:
(1) Mo-dead-husband: (2) Mo; (3) Mo-Bro: (4) Mo-next-husband (divorced later): (5) Mo-Sis: (6) Mo-Sis-Hu: (7), (8), (9) full siblings: (10) half-sibling to 7, 8, 9.

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Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs [591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up [621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of bàrzum its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

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602 als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensitivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms
592 of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the father-
593 head of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

593 Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal
596 extended family grouping,[1] the son (7) will soon be moving out to
571 form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

[1] [cf. p. 86]

593 complete autonomy even when his new residence pattern has been
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571 established. On the other hand, the father is only a lower link in
593 a large, complex political system, and the father's relationships to
557 those above him are carefully scanned by the son. If the father should fall out of favour in the total political organization of Bornu, then to that extent his degree of power over his son may diminish, for the son being desirous of eventually stepping into the father's shoes is also sensitive to higher authorities than those of his immediate residential grouping. The continued loyalty and subservience of the son is therefore a function of the father's beneficence and his total position in the society at large. Certainly the bonds of consanguinity enter to thicken the tie between them, but a continued violation of the above methods of making the relationship work, i.e. validating the relationship, would lead to the possibility of the son looking for a more beneficent superior, real father notwithstanding. The father-son relationship would then have more formal bərzum (respect) than actual functioning power and authority involved. Because of the ascribed nature of the real father role, however, the relationship can never be totally divested of authority. He can always secure some little performance of action on the part of the son, which the culture sanctions, such as attendance at family weddings, funerals, etc. although his power, i.e. his ability to make decisions about action for his son's behaviour is more highly variable and requires more careful cultivation if it is to be as diffuse as is ideally desired in the patrilocal family organization.

571 If the foregoing description seems too mechanistic, it is
557 a result of the example chosen to illustrate the phenomena. In this

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557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is
[554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

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592 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to
621 have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
621
571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

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571 range of personal ambition, inertia, and variation in the scale of social relations. The kinds of structures which result from the natural processes of birth, maturation, marriage and death may vary and, as we have seen, result in various kinds of stresses to be incorporated into the organization. However, these can almost always be mitigated when the structure has a satisfactory operating distribution of power and authority. If not, then fissionable forces in residence structures tend to emerge and themselves determine the character of the group.

Maximal Lineages and Clans

614 It is not necessary within the scope of the present discussion to go into a full description. Nevertheless, it should be noted that traditionally Kanuri kinship included functional clans and to some extent at least, i.e. among the upper classes, maximal patri-lineages. In Chapter II, mention was made of the military use of clans in the army in the pre-1893 periods of Bornu history. All Kanuri if pressed are able to give their clan membership whose identity they generally recognise patrilineally. Exceptions were found, however, where informants gave two clans which they identified as coming to them from their mother and their father. Nevertheless, basing judgment upon the statements of older informants it seems fairly certain that clan membership was reckoned patrilineally.

The Magumi and Kubûri clans are recognized by some to be the clans of the leading lineages of the Kanuri and Kanembu peoples respectively. It is also generally known in a rather vague way, which varies from informant to informant, that all clan members are descended from a common ancestor about whom there is sometimes an

614 origin story, often associating the founder with the Prophet. For example, the following story was related by an informant about the origins of the tbra clan:

> One day a barber was shaving the Prophet's head. The man made a mistake and cut the Prophet's scalp. Blood came out and the barber drank it. Everyone who comes from that barber is tbra. They are not connected with chiefs, they are common people but they are close to the Prophet -- they are sherib, fire will not burn them.

Some informants felt that in the old days there may have been a tendency for clan endogamy, not as a sanctioned custom, but as a matter of mere frequency. No one ever heard of any exoganous rules, or ever connected the clans to any natural species of flora and fauna.

613 614 565 Among some of the high status groups and some of the very high status families of Bornu, not only clan membership is known but also a series of maximal lineages within the clan to which the name of an original founder (not mythical as in the case of the clan) is attached. Most Kanuri have heard of the Sefuwa lineage of the Magumi clan. This was the royal lineage of pre-nineteenth century Bornu. No rules of marriage were elicited for this grouping.

614 829 Questions about clan to younger Kanuri and even older ones in some cases often brought out (after tribal affiliation) residential associations. Thus, a peasant informant would relate how his daughter had been married to a man whose clan was Kanuri. Continued questioning on the same point would bring out the reply that the son-in-law's sub-clan was Maiduguri; in other words, the name of his town.

613 614 121 On the basis of this data, it is concluded that Kanuri clans and maximal lineages have very little, if any, functioning significance in the contemporary society.

64 nificance in the contemporary society. It should be noted that for
121 purposes of the present study, the term "clan" refers to extra-lineage connections between persons with some understanding of common ancestry from an original mythical founder. As Africanists have used this term, clan does not necessarily refer to exogamous groups.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

601 **Kanuri Kinship Terminology**

ya	Mo, Mo-Sis, Mo-Mo, Fa-Mo, any elder female
yakura	Mo-Ol-Sis
yinna, yagana (rare)	Mo-Yo-Sis
rawa, raba	Mo-Bro, Fa-Sis-Hu, Mo-Hu, Mo-Hu (not own father), Mo-Divorced-Hu.
aba, ba'a, baba	Fa-Bro
abakura, ba'kura, babakura	Fa-Ol-Bro
bawa, baba	Fa-Sis, Mo-Bro-Wi, Fa-Ol.Bro-Wi, Fa-other-wives, M-co-wives
abagana, ba'gana, babagana	Fa-Yo-Bro
yangana	Fa-Yo-Bro-Wi
kaka, ka'a	Mo-Mo, Mo-Fa, Fa-Mo, Fa-Fa, any old person, Wi-grandparents, all sons and daughters of ego's own children, with less frequency - the sons and daughters of people ego calls son and daughter. For 2nd descendent generation, only as term of address.
yeiya	anyone on the 3rd ascendant and descendant generation of ego's kin relations.
yeiyari	Anyone of ego's kin relations beyond the 3rd ascendant generation.
yanyiana	Bro, Sis, Half-Bro, Half-Sis, Ol-cross and parallel cousins pf either sex.
kárami	Yo-Bro, Yo-Sis, Yo-Half-Bro, Yo-Half-Sis, Yo-cross and parallel cousins of either sex.
yabo	same as kárami, not used often, also any person junior to ego.
shakik (rare)	full brother, sister.
aba'ana (rare)	Half-Bro, Half-Sis, same father
kalala (rare)	Half-Bro, Half-Sis, same mother

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tada	own son, own children's sons, own children's male grandchildren, junior male cousins and their male descendants, general term for male child of any one.
fero	same as tada, only female.
diwo	grandchild (reference)
fèndi	child of a cousin marriage
kèesi	senior in-law, Wi-parents and their collaterals, Wi-Ol-Siblings (sometimes)
tim	junior in-law, Wi-Siblings real and classificatory especially juniors, all wife's junior relatives
kamunyi	my wife (reference)
kwanyi	my husband (reference)
tinàma	spouse of wife's collaterals

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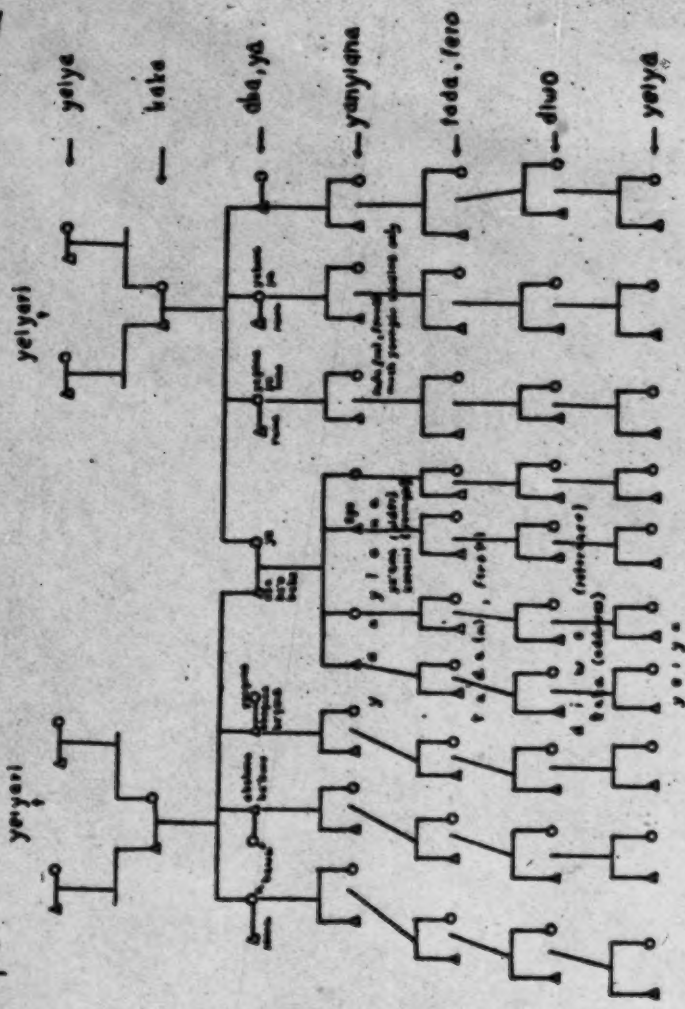
Kinship 1



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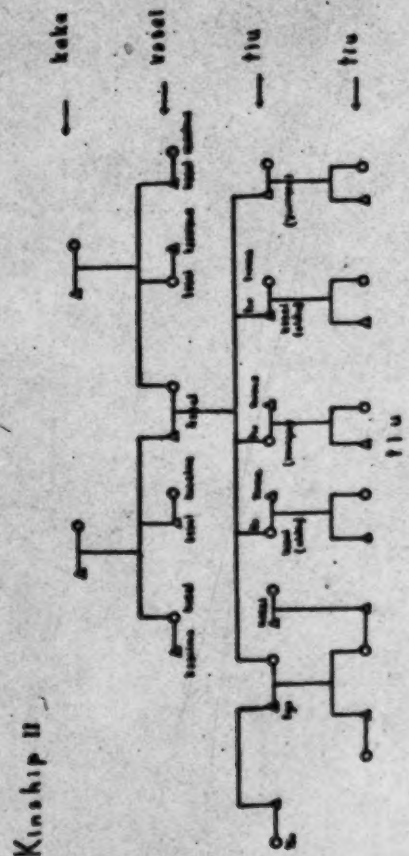

CHAPTER V [p. 99]

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Marriage Relations

Kanuri marriages are virilocal from the point of view of the woman, which means that she always leaves her residence to live in the compound of her husband. From the point of view of the man, marriages are patrilocal or neolocal. Thus a man either brings his wife to the compound of his father or very close to it, or else takes his wife to a new residence away from the residences of both their kin groups. Thirty-eight out of sixty-one informants in Magumeri reported bringing their first wives to the house of their own father or setting up a contiguous compound. For successive wives the number dropped to about one-half of those asked.

584 429 The inception of the first marriage for young girls is decided upon by her family and chiefly among these her luwali or guardian,(1) who is most commonly the head of the household in which the girl is living at the time of her marriage. A luwali can stand in various relational positions to the young girl - he may be her father, her elder brother, her cross-cousin, or patrilateral parallel-cousin, or adoptive parent. When the household head is not the luwali, which can occur for example in the case of cousin wardship, then the luwali still has the rights of marriage dispensation over the girl. Indeed he would take anyone to court who tried to inveigle these rights away from him. Although such cases are known they are quite rare.

581 429 The luwali's choice of potential husband is based on the availability of males seeking virgin wives plus his desire to create profitable relationships for himself. If he is a high status person, his wife-giving rights will be used most commonly to tie political and/or

(1) C.F., "lugali" in Ellision, R.E., Marriage and Childbirth Among the Kanuri, Africa; Vol. 9, 1936, pp. 524-535.

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429 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the
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565 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate.(conceived out
[848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest.. Marriages with parents or their siblings, ~~and~~ full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

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589 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older, a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

836 [589] husbands. These women (gower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a wom-
582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.
885 581 264 437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b)
581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

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585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman,(1) and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

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584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] [595] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

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584 encouraged to increase his bridewealth offer and also to increase his kwororam gifts to the girl's grandmother (she had no mother in the compound) in order to increase his chances of acceptability. Only after enlarging his offer and his kwororam before witnesses did the anxious suitor discover that he was the victim of a ruse, and that there was no other bidder for the girl.

The kwororam is not considered part of the bridewealth within this present discussion or by the Kanuri themselves because it is not necessarily returnable by the girl's family if the arrangements proceed no further. It is therefore exactly what its name implies, a fee or set of gifts given for the privilege of asking and smoothing out any opposition from female relatives to the future negotiations between the girl's guardian and the would-be suitor.

The kwororam applies only to non-preferential virgin marriages. It is not practised in cousin marriage because these unions are arranged
587 years before they are consummated. In non-virgin marriage the money and
[836] gifts which the man gives to the woman while he is sleeping with her, as a divorced woman, serve instead as the initiatory behaviour which may or may not lead to marriage. The man may also give small gifts of some cloth, soap, perfume, or other women's sundries to any senior female relative of the divorced woman, especially if she is quite a young girl or woman who values her elder's opinion.

583
584 The Kanuri recognize that this practice has the utility of allowing some time to elapse while the parties prepare to go more deeply and seriously into creating the marriage relationship.

If there has been a kwororam, the luwaliram occurs one to three months afterwards. This payment is the largest single amount given by the male (with the aid of his supporters) to the female's group. It

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584 is arrived at through bargaining done between intermediaries for the husband-elect and the girl's luwali. The primary reason given for this use of intermediaries is that a man should not indulge in argument with his potential father-in-law. The luwali of the girl uses a number of arguments to persuade the suitor to raise the price of the luwaliram. Thus he tells of the qualities of the girl, her family connections, the large number of people to whom the luwaliram must be distributed, i.e. the people who have a claim or an interest in the girl's marriage. He often hints broadly at the gifts which the young man may expect from the girl's family to offset the expense of the payment, in order to assure the suitor that the bridewealth payment is only a returnable token which should be raised in order to add dignity and prestige to the entire affair. Most of it, in all likelihood, he suggests will be returned at the next ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the wedding. The luwali also tries to assure the groom's party that the girl will have a very fine dowry of enamel plates, clothes, pots, pillows, mats, jewellry, etc., which will give the groom much prestige and perhaps even a source of capital. The luwali may complain that he is spending a lot of money on the dowry, which he feels must be compensated by a high bridewealth payment. The husband-elect, on the other hand, tries to point out through his intermediaries how much the marriage expenses in general are costing him and how the entire negotiation may endanger his socio-economic status. However, he must not push such an argument too far or his suit might be considered ill-advised. His best argument is usually a threat of withdrawal, or a feint in that direction, at which point the prices may be lowered somewhat as an inducement to his re-entry into the fray.

[602] The luwaliram payment is distributed by the luwali among the close bilateral relatives of the young girl, although he keeps a major

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584 portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasizes the patri-
602 lateral group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliram.

587 With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliram payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliram payment.

584 With the completion of the luwaliram payment the final ar-
585 rangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada'a, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliram payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

584 If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the
1091 luwaliram, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

584 691 the man requests that the luwaliram payment be returned to him (as it should be traditionally). Very often a man may try initially in the judicial proceedings to regain his entire investments, asking not only for the luwaliram, but a sum which includes his entire outlay of capital to date for the wedding. In such cases the position is usually just a beginning for bargaining. However, if the adjudicator can be convinced that the girl's or woman's group intended to defraud, or break faith from the very beginning of negotiations, the man might possibly be awarded more than just the luwaliram by the court. On the other hand, either party has the right of retraction before the formal wedding day ceremony (sada'a) which for the man means forfeiture of his payments, and for the woman and her group, means repayment of the luwaliram to the rejected suitor. For example, in one case observed, a man was repaid his luwaliram because a higher bidder had come on the scene.

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585 In the early morning on the day of the wedding the groom with his male friends and relatives, along with male friends and relatives of the bride's household, meet at the household of the luwali, or at the house of a ranking person of the ward or town for the sada'a. The tendency is to use the luwali's house more among higher ranks in the city, while lower status groups and rural people generally use the compound of a local ranking person. At this time the second and final payment of the bridewealth, the sada'a is made. It is most commonly referred to in Maria Theresa dollars although most often paid in pound sterling. For peasant non-virgin weddings in the Magumeri area during 1956-7, the price seemed to be fairly standardized around the value of 4 M.T. dollars (28-32 shillings). The disposal of this payment is similar to that of the luwaliram.

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The major part of the ceremony is given over to examining

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publically the gifts from the girl's family to the husband-elect. These can include such items as men's robes, pillows, mats, money, grain, sometimes a horse, or a saddle. Male informants expressed the opinion that the closer the gifts to the groom approximated the combined value of the luwaliram and the sada'a, the more satisfactory was the entire affair. In only one case was such equivalence ever observed (1) although tales were told of others. These stories always referred to a lower ranking individual who had married the virgin ward of a rich, powerful person. The hero of the story was always spoken of as having been given a girl and a large amount of property equal to or surpassing his bridewealth payments. Taken for granted in these reports was the loyalty and service which the husband-elect gave to his benefactor both before and after the marriage. The only other incidence when gifts to the groom are of a grandiose nature occurs when both the girl's family and the groom are rich, powerful persons and there is competition in the gift giving.

All the males who attend this ceremony, contribute a little money to the groom. It is collected by the sowa kura (big friend) who serves as "best man" for the wedding. He gives the mallams who lead the prayers a little money, and presents the official or ranking person at whose house the sada'a took place a small fee, if this person was not the girl's luwali and takes charge of the gifts to the husband-elect. During the entire wedding he pays the proper people, accepts gifts for the groom, brings him information as to what is going on and what is re-

(1) In this case the virgin girl was being married, high above her status, to a highly respected and fairly well-to-do person, by local rural standards. The father-in-law (luwali in this case) felt that he must try to give this new husband as good an impression of the girl's family as possible, and please him in every way. Consequently, the gifts to the groom were much larger than usual.

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583 quired, heads the party bringing the bride to the groom's house, and generally acts as a middleman between the groom and everyone with whom the latter is supposed to have dealings. Informants commented that this allows the groom to remain unruffled by the many decisions and social obligations which are occasioned by the wedding ceremony.

585 After the sada'a and lumiram have been paid and the gifts to the groom exchanged the bridewealth payment is completed. However, there remain the rest of the marriage expenses which can be impressive. During the entire day of the wedding the kususu (female head of the wedding proceedings for the groom) demands that the groom supply the celebrating women with kola nuts and tobacco flowers for staining their teeth and pay any drummers who have been employed for the dancing celebrations. At a virgin marriage a special payment, the kususuram, must be paid through the kususu (woman head of the wedding) consisting of a ram, soap, shoes, and kola nuts for the women. This expenditure is used for the performance of a special hair washing ceremony held on the first day of marriage. At all weddings the kususu requires a small gift for her services. This is carried over to the sowa kura (the "best man") who must also be given a gift of a robe and/or some money for his efforts at the wedding. When the groom's party (minus the groom) brings the virgin girl from her household a small payment of money (majila) must be paid to the eldest unmarried sister of the young virgin, if any reside in the compound, so that she will feel no jealousy and spite over her young sister's marriage.

Since the girl must traditionally arrive on horseback in any kind of marriage, the man holding the bridle and guiding the horse is given a small fee for the safe delivery of the bride. The wedding party of singing, joyful women must also be given gifts by the groom. At one

585 virgin wedding in which 15 women had come thirty miles on foot with their little relative and friend who was to be married, each of them was given five shillings by the bridegroom, the girl's mother was given twenty shillings and the two drummers, who had accompanied the party, were given fifteen shillings each. The groom had also paid the expences of the journey which included the rental of two camels for five pounds. In other words the journey had cost him somewhere around ten or eleven [583] pounds. His bridewealth payments had been eight M.T. Dollars and seventeen pounds sterling or about twenty pounds, which means that the bridal journey alone had cost him as much as half of his bridewealth payments.

Before the consummation in the privacy of his hut, the groom must bargain with the young bride over the <u>fereram</u> (consummation money, literally: the virgin's fee). This is usually achieved quite rapidly since there is a fairly standard price range of one to two pounds for this payment and agreement is commonly reached after a short conversation.

583 One final point must be made about Kanuri bridewealth; this is the idea of <u>use</u>. Kanuri moral tradition defines the bridewealth payment as a transfer of property given for the use of the woman by her husband. This is not a static but a processual arrangement which changes 583 its nature through time. Thus, if a woman leaves a man within the first 586 year after marriage, before he has had a chance to utilize her services in agricultural production, then he has "not had his money's worth" and requires some of it back. This applies just as well to women who are in seclusion; indicating that it is the total function of the woman whose use the male feels he has acquired. If a divorce results very rapidly after the marriage through any fault of the woman, the male usually feels aggrieved and demands that part of the bridewealth be returned. His

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586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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593 In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment
602 of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed
586 into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with
[603] whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with
[691] him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
584 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
[695] times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bridewealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

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593 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

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[691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
[184] with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

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593 movement of the bride and her dowry from the husband's residence angered him. This should not be taken to mean that the husband feels he owns the dowry. His claim to the dowry is similar (not identical) to his claim to the woman, i.e. he has certain privileges over her use which are conditional upon his living up to her expectations and those of her family (if she is a young girl) of being a good husband. Dowry and bride are called the same thing (laruza) and are related in people's minds as a unitary phenomenon which comes to a man's house as the result of his marriage negotiations and the payment of bridewealth. Therefore, loss of dowry implies partial loss of bride. Usufruct of bride and dowry by the husband is however different, for use of dowry is dependant not upon the formation of a marriage but upon husband-wife relations. The husband may in time gain access to the dowry as a source of capital, if his wife trusts him. This occurs however only after long periods of marriage. Even then the wife merely loans him some of her capital rather than giving it to him outright, and if he is clever he usually returns a little more than he takes. This is because the woman considers her dowry as part of her marriageable self; it helps define her social value as a wife or potential wife. A woman who had been married many years to the same man, when given a small gift of an enamel dish, put it among her possession and called it laruza (in this sense, woman's possessions). The man who gives bridewealth for a wife gains her services as a human laruza (a bride) but her will and partial independence is recognized in that he cannot take over her dowry carte blanche but must wait until the relationship between them is sufficiently durable and trustworthy so that his use of her possessions is not open to suspicion of fraud. Since durable marriages are not very common, neither is husband use of dowry. A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-

583 A man who started using his wife's dowry without
593 her knowledge and con-
[586] sent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most prob-
[685] ably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son
over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates
156 from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal
583 worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material
expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as
her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more
as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value
[585] in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel
dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

581 The Kanuri recognize different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as <u>kasu gwojin</u> (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a <u>fero gwojin</u> (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is
[832] good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

the aid of magical devices.

Besides the greater elaboration and expense of a virgin marriage it is also distinguished by the delivery of the woman's dowry (larusa) to the groom's compound the day after the wedding. In non-virgin marriages the dowry is brought with the woman on the wedding night. This is due to the necessity of proving the virgin status of the young girl. Her material goods cannot be brought over to the husband's house until the terms of the contract are acclaimed as valid. If her virginity is questionable on the marriage night, then a litigation either in or out of court begins, wherein her status as a virgin must be re-assessed and the entire marriage arrangement re-evaluated. The whole community is witness to this validation since the successful deflowering is made public in the middle of the night or early morning by a procession of women of both families, friends and neighbours, who go round the town beating enamel basins, with a drummer in the lead. This serves as an announcement of the marriage consummation and of the discovery of the girl's virgin status by her husband. If there is no procession every one knows something is amiss. Among more traditional families, the groom announces the successful test by emerging from his hut immediately after defloration to shoot a gun into the air.

The second classification of marriage is the kamu gwojin (he takes a woman) which means marrying a woman who has already been married before and is now divorced. There is a great deal of variation in the initiation of such a marriage, but as a general rule it is carried on with much less ceremony and a far greater degree of individual choice is exercised by the couple themselves. This freedom increases with age as well as being more common for all ages (except first marriages) among the lower ranks of society. As a man and woman grow older they demand

As a man and woman grow older they demand 582
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. [589] The upper class woman although not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the temporary liaisons to marriage. [585] Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. [595] With a few exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. [589] The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

583 Men marry if their harvest
587 money holds out longer than their shopping, and their aspirations fit their resources. Generally speaking men can obtain a wife within their price range. The variation in expense for marriage with a divorced woman is large, but is lower than a virgin marriage at any one level in the society. The entire affair can cost as low as two to four pounds ($5.60 to $11.20 in 1955-7) or approximately 11% of the smallest annual income recorded (twenty-seven pounds in cash and kind). The number of times a woman has been married and her class status determine the extent of the
587 bridewealth. One informant, a man of about 33, married a woman of similar age. The entire bridewealth did not exceed four pounds in value even though the woman was fairly "well-connected". Her father's brother, with whom she was visiting at the time of the marriage, was a court official in the District Headquarters, and she hereself was an urban woman. The informant stated that the bridewealth was to be very small because, "She had been used very much", i.e. she had been married and divorced many times. This meant that her services and favours had been granted to many others, and that she was prone to this kind of behaviour. Thus, no very good assurances could be given from past performances that the projected marriage would last very long (the informant divorced her five and a half months after the wedding). Therefore no great investment in her as wife could be made.

581 Men desire wives primarily for their cooking and food-producing skills, although other factors such as culturally prescribed propriety, sexual abilities, personality attributes, family background etc. all play a part in the choice of any particular woman. Some men also claimed that they would prefer to marry high ranking, rather than wealthy women, if forced to choose between these two qualities. Women generally replied in the reverse, i.e. they would prefer to marry wealthy rather

581 than high ranking men, if they had to choose between these two attributes
581 in a husband. This type of distinction was more easily elicited from
369 urban persons or upper class informants than from rural peasants, who only
565 discuss such a question in a fantasy-like conversation which many are not willing to do. Lower class informants in the rural areas often refused to consider questions about whether they would like to marry wealth or rank answering only "andi tala" (we are peasants or commoners).

581 Crosscutting the foregoing classification of marriage with virgins or non-virgins are several subclassifications which describe in a somewhat sharper fashion the nature of the relationships involved in the contraction of the marriage.

581 According to custom any variety of marriage may be a Kyia
593 kulle, a marriage of seclusion or partial seclusion. In practice, this
565 kind of marriage is almost totally restricted to the upper classes and usually implies only a partial seclusion. The woman may go out to visit under cover of darkness and escorted, or may even go out of the compound during the day, again escorted, for some very special reason such as a rite de passage ceremony which she is obligated to attend. One very high ranking District Head claimed that his senior wife, who had been married to him for many years, had never been out of his compound except when he changed Districts, and once when he had arranged an escorted trip to Mecca for her.

Women of this kind are exempt from any of the ordinary wifely duties which take them beyond the compound walls, such as getting water at a public well, or helping on the farm, etc. It is no wonder then that such marriages are almost totally restricted to the households of the higher ranks of society. No man wishes his wife to be seen excessively in public. However it is only the rich and powerful who can afford

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the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of loneliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practise preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe.). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.(1)

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For the most part the older men who had practised preferential marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal extended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.

(1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. 582 This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. 584 If the young girl [304] is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

582 584 304 881 When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

587 567 [593] In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced woman who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its main-
tenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One in-
formant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to
practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kèrami (younger sib-
ling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell
embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group.
This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
(602) would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contract-
ing this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate re-
lations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea.
All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One
informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so
that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
[606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily
never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because
she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other
marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behav-
iour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines
is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low
popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter
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(1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

581 In discussing the matter
582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which draws a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

582 The next type of marriage to be considered is the nyia kam
557 rukatabe (marriage of pleasure). The expression means marriage to a man of wealth or high status, i.e. marriage with one of his daughters or with one of the girls over whom he has rights of marriage dispensation. The closer the girl comes to being the actual biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

One common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of luwali. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law.(1) It will

[608] (1) Ego always behaves to his wife's luwali in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

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557 be remembered that a bride's family is traditionally of higher status than a groom's. In this situation we see the perfect fit to the traditional evaluation of status between a man (and his group) and his in-
[583] laws. The bridewealth is usually not excessive since the entire set of arrangements takes place within the extended household organization of one wealthy and/or high ranking man. This does not mean that the groom must live inside the superior's household, for the organization may encompass a group of households. The arrangement parallels the form of cousin marriage since two members within one organization are being married, rather than members from two separate and distinct organizations.

Another way of doing the same thing would be for the household head to find a girl from among the households of his friends or relatives and initiate the arrangements for a marriage between his subordinate and the girl in question. In this case the superior would almost certainly help the subordinate with gifts and loans of money. This kind of behaviour is very similar to that of a father obtaining a wife for his young unmarried son who lives in the father's compound. Consequently when a powerful household head arranges such a wedding for his subordinate he is acting like a father to his follower. Informants noted the similarity when they spoke of this kind of behaviour.

Where no strong relationship exists between two males a high ranking person may single out some individual, junior to himself in status, with whom he wishes to obtain a relationship and give him a fero (daughter, ward, girl), in order to create some obligation as a basis for their relations into the future. As a general rule the superior uses his powers of dispensation to maintain, create and strengthen supportive subordinates, while the subordinate invests his subservience to obtain the fruits of his superior's powers of dispensation.

582 557 For example, in 1930 the District Head of Mobber, who was in grave danger of being dismissed from his position by the British, contracted a marriage with a daughter of the Wazirí of Bornu.(1) This was his own way, the Kanuri way, of attempting to strengthen his waning political position in the State. He felt that a marriage link between himself and the household of the Wazirí would make it more difficult for the higher powers to dispose of him, and would enlist the aid of the Wazirí, the second most powerful man in the Kanuri political organization, on his [648] behalf. The British administration, however, did not take into account the feelings of fathers-in-law for sons-in-law(2) when judging political performance, and so the manoeuvre was in the end to no avail.

The nyia kam rukatabe can also refer to a marriage which is initiated purely for the sake of marrying a woman or a girl, whose attachment to ego will obviously profit him economically. She is often wealthy herself, or is a wealthy heiress. Thus a high ranking person was observed to spend a great deal of money (this might almost be termed an "investment") for a virgin girl who was the only heir of a rich old man of lower social rank to himself. Informants described this as a true nyia kam rukatabe (marriage with a rich man's girl).

582 587 557 565 By their very nature marriages of this variety are more commonly of the virgin type. However, young girls who divorce and return to the households of their luwali, as tradition prescribes, very often can be utilized for such marriages in their second or possibly even third unions. Since high ranking women are more often in seclusion there is a greater probability that successive dispensations after div-

(1) See above; chap. III.
(2) The official records do not give the actual biological linkage of the girl to the Wazirí, and it is therefore impossible to tell what kind of a ward she was in the Wazirí's household.

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587 orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to
557 return to the partial seclusion of their luwali's compound, especially
565 during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

582 Nyia sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage (1) is sim-
793 ilar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the
582 donor. In such cases much, if not all, of the gift giving by the male
793 to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in
583 connection with the formalising ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and

(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nyia mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

582 793 583 [557] the motivations of the luwali in giving his ward. It may be that the mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage payments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 582 793 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills. This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made, because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural powers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 793 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immediate ward of town. He had been married six times,almost always to one wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been a nyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obligations.

58 Nyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

58 ther. The term "agreement" refers to the chief difference with previously discussed marriage types, for here the parties to the marriage are themselves the prime movers in its inception. As would be expected this kind of marriage union is most common among women who have been married before and through divorce have gained independence. The main responsibility for the decision to initiate the marriage comes from the man and the woman who are to be married. The connotation here is that the marriage is not being contracted for utilitarian purposes primarily, but rather for reasons of emotion, affection, and mutual desirability on the part of the couple. To the Kanuri who view marriage as being first and foremost a utilitarian relationship which creates satisfactory economic and social relationships, this marriage by "agreement" seems somewhat strange. Indeed, not many marriages of this type were referred to by informants.

That they do exist was indicated by one informant who told how he had made an arrangement with a young girl of his home town when they were both in their pre-pubertal period. They knew that they could not marry one another (a) because her luwali (guardian), in this case her father, controlled her first marriage, and (b) because of the differential ages at which the sexes customarily marry. The informant related how he was able, several years later, when he was about thirteen and the girl about eleven, (i.e. marriageable) to obtain a solution to his problem with the aid of a friend. The friend, X, aged about seventeen or eighteen, was in a family with slightly more resources than the informant's and his father wanted him to take a virgin as a first wife. X himself (according to the informant) desired a virgin whose own family valued her at too high a price for X's family to become seriously interested. The informant suggested to X that he marry his (the informant's)

58 little sweetheart and keep her until he (the informant) was grown adult enough to have her as a wife for himself. Because the bridewealth was in the range of X's family resources, X's parents decided, after having the idea suggested to them by the informant, to obtain the informant's "intended" for their son. Needless to say, they knew nothing of the informant's long term plan to marry the girl eventually himself. When the informant was nineteen or twenty, his little childhood girl friend divorced X and married him. The informant did not know whether X ever managed to marry the girl of his own childhood dreams, but thinks he did.

58 183 This rather extreme example is interesting for its illustration of how individuals growing up within a certain social structure can often work out arrangements whereby they skirt round the requirements of their culture, yet manage to maintain the system as a set of rules. The Kanuri recognize that all marriages cannot simply be lasting agreements made between groups of individuals comprised almost entirely of males, especially in Bornu where divorce is so simple and all relationships have a brittle edge.

587 The final stage in independence is reached in the last variety of marriage, nyia kolatabe (marriage of discovery), which by its very nature is confined to non-virgin women. This is the most widespread form of marriage among the population, becoming common after the woman has had her first divorce (or second in some high ranking households). Informants claimed that in this type of marriage, "There is no arrangement, you only meet the woman somewhere and decide to marry her." [171] Some Kanuri equated it with the Hausa tsintuna or propertyless marriage, i.e. where the kin are not involved either in the decision to marry or the exchange of property. There is, however, a bridewealth payment by the husband-to-be which is paid to the woman herself, and the marriage is still solemnized at a sada'a ceremony as at all weddings.

587 562 is still solemnized at a sada'a ceremony as at all weddings. With her growing freedom in life a woman exerts a progressively stronger independence in her marriage choices. It was observed (but not measured) that the rate at which this occurs in the life span of women is increasingly rapid as one descends the socio-economic scale, and increases as well with the number of divorces per woman.

567 595 To complete the discussion of types of sexual unions, it might be well to digress slightly at this point to include a brief description of concubinage. A concubine (chir) is a female slave who obtains this status as a result of her birth as a daughter to a male slave (karliya); once having been ascribed the role of chir by her birth she is groomed for a life concubinage. She is considered part of the household property, the inheritable property of the agnatic lineage of her father's owner. She may be given away as a gift to someone (without a wedding) or she can be kept in the family of her father's master. Formerly she could be sold. Once she is sexually mature she is available sexually only to her master unless her master gives her permission to marry someone, for example, another of his slaves. Any children she has as a result of union with a free man, i.e. her master, are themselves free, for slave status is determined by that of the father. This means that the slave population in Bornu is reproducing itself only through the efforts of functioning male slaves who are producing children.

A concubine is primarily a sexual partner to her master and a mark of his high status. She is also a servant to her owner's wife who may use her to do household work, carry water, etc. In several cases slave owners told of using both male and female slaves for farm labour. There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with concubines as there

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that
428 one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[104] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in
178 seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
881 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

595 irum to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-irum), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

595 632 162 [589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are a-typical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of [125] the population than is commonly the case. The following table on num-[361] ber of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Ngubura, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

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five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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[128]

Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[124] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who attempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for approaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master, and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad", causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
829 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment buildings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables operating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

1. Age Differences

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It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her sower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her [183] husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

3. Length of Marriage

593 The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leaven gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

593 592 602 With the longer term of residence in the husband's compound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

593 [565] [595] This variety of long term marriage is more common among the upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

593 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a
565 higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realizes that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

593 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the
156 husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and
557 return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

593 wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities.
557 Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their
[558] husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female domin-
[521] ated household. Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking
[837] of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power
[183] available to him to assert his rights. Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function
593 properly. This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accord-
565 ance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they
183 are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only token acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always <u>zower</u> (divorced women) in Borno who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men such freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[828] [829] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

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836 available only to her husband and this turns to sexual freedom and
562 experimentation when she is a divorced woman. (1)

837 This results in much marital infidelity on the part of
562 married men and women. As we have seen, this can take a sanctioned and an unsanctioned form for men, while for married women any extra-marital sexual intercourse is considered to be adultery. Thus X, a Magumeri man, well known for his extra-marital sex relations woke up a local official late one night and asked him to come and see the woman whom X had brought to his compound. This was to ensure public recognition of the fact that he was sleeping with a *nower* (divorced
[593] woman) and not someone's wife. When asked what his wife thought of his behaviour X replied that she did not like it. He added that it was none of her business and she could leave him if she wished.

593 On the other hand, Kanuri men are usually extremely sus-
837 picious of their wives. One man whose wife attended local dances used
684 to come to these evening celebrations to make sure that no one shone a flashlight on his spouse while she was dancing. The only time that this did occur the husband reported the incident to the Village Head who in turn locked up the *voyeur* for the night. This same woman was observed on several occasions entering single men's sleeping huts while her husband was away on trading trips.

837 Even one seemingly submissive woman, the wife of an upper class man, was observed to blossom out suddenly and visit strange

[589] (1) This is not meant to imply that the woman has complete freedom, even when divorced. A woman may have one or two men supporting her and sleeping with her while she is divorced (one at a time is more common), often for only periods of a week or two at a time. Women who sleep with too many men at the same time while divorced are considered bad marriage risks and tend to be regarded as acting somewhat more like a prostitute, rather than a divorced woman, who *should* really be going through a series of "trial" marriages, one of which will eventually lead to the real thing.

837 households when her husband was away. Several informants remarked that it was apparent, now her husband was away, that she wished to have some tum-tum (pleasure, with a sexual implication).

593 837 Whether or not the husband is away, women must leave the compound for ceremonies, water carrying, helping other women to prepare for ceremonies, going to market, etc. Only men with wives in seclusion can restrict, and then only partially, female activities beyond the household. Within this framework, all Kanuri men know from their own experience how easily liaisons can be set up with married women, and therefore become anxious and mistrustful of wives who leave the compound too often.

837 584 The covert subversion of marital fidelity norms is also illustrated in the role of the sersér. The sersér is an old woman who for a fee, acts as an intermediary between a man and a married woman in promulgating a future marriage between them, which presumes the divorce of the woman from her present husband. The relationship arranged between the man and the married woman by the sersér often [684] infers an adulterous sexual union as well. If discovered by the husband, the old woman is often taken into court with her male employer and fined heavily. However, among males who value their respectability, the old woman is usually warned at first to stay away from the compound, and the wife admonished not to have anything to do with her.

832 Another illustration that documents the social recognition of female desire for sexual freedom is the concept of tarwo which refers to walking about looking for a partner for sexual intercourse. Any man or woman walking about the town alone is suspect of tarwo. There are a few definitive signs such as man having his hat pushed for-

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
832 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one, including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illicit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person. For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia, and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse. Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This latter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

837 established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of re-
628 lationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the marketing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually the wives of their close friends and relatives.

586 It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the contrary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to [123] be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order to re-unite separated couples.

581 This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the
585 formalization ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the marriage. After the fatiha[1] prayer has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for [829] the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior status, but because European marriages are well known for their durability. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

581 Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, preferential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that
586 their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

586 Nevertheless the incidence of divorce is very high and only exceptional women marry as virgins and remain married all their lives to the same man, while practically all men divorce a wife at least once in their lives. The average figure is about three to four divorces per person (from qualitative observation and genealogical records) during a life span. The reasons given for divorce run the complete gamut of dissatisfaction that a man and a woman can complain of in their relations with one another.(1) Furthermore divorce is very easy to institute, being merely an act of personal will by either partner to the marriage.

[692] A great many divorces are practised without resort to the formal proceedings of the Alkalai court. The woman leaves her husband's compound taking her property with her and returns (traditionally) to her luwali's (guardian) household, which usually means her parents. As we have said before, this is not always the case in later marriages. If the husband wants her back, he sends an intermediary to the house to which she has returned to plead his case. If he does not, then an intermediary may be sent from the house to which the girl has gone. This latter procedure is much less usual, since the girl's family is traditionally of higher status, and it is customary for the lower status group to visit the higher and not vice versa. If no intermediaries are used it is assumed that both parties desire a divorce, or if they are used and fail to obtain a reconciliation, then [627] divorce follows. If any adjudication is required in the proceedings, [692] it is most commonly carried on by relatives, friends, ward heads and town heads.

[171] (1) c.f. Smith, M.G., op.cit. (1955) (p.63). Smith gives a list of complaints obtained from Hausa court records of divorce. All of his list of sixty-three complaints are applicable to Kanuri court proceedings on divorce.

586 town heads. Resort to higher courts occurs only in cases where settle-
692 ment by these local adjudicators is refused by one or both of the parties. This usually happens in the following instances: (1) annulment cases where there is a failure at consummation of the marriage; (2) when a man wants the return of the bridewealth because of his wife's request for a divorce only a few months after the wedding; (3) when there has been a beating which draws blood, thereby involving the litigants in an argument over blood money which must be paid by the assailant to the injured party and his/her family; (4) when any matter becomes so contentious as to be impossible to reconcile with the immediate help of relatives, friends, and local leaders.

586 Informants claimed that at least half of all divorces resulted in the remarriage of the couple. In light of the large number of divorces, this statement seemed contradictory to the observed facts
[192] at first glance. However, the Kanuri word for divorce (dammyin) really means "to leave a spouse", i.e. it makes no distinction between divorce and separation in its semantic reference, which is an accurate description of the facts, since all divorces begin as separations. When viewed in this light the informants' statements make sense, since many separated couples are re-united. The reunion of a man with his separated wife was described as being very informal and inexpensive. He merely gives a small gift to the woman and the relatives (sometimes) with whom she is staying, and she returns to his compound without ceremony. There is, however, a limit to the number of times a man and woman may separate and re-unite. The third time a woman leaves her husband's compound, she does so in the knowledge that return is impossible under the terms of Kanuri law. That is to say, after the first and

586 second separation reconciliation is possible, while the third constitutes an irrevocable separation, i.e. a divorce.

Among the manifold particularistic reasons for divorce, two major categories of dissatisfaction may be isolated. The first can be labelled "functional disputes". The woman complains that the man does not give her enough market money, or he does not like her, or he wants too much or too little sexual intercourse, while the man complains that the woman does not cook well, or enough, or on time, or does not perform some other womanly task properly. Sometimes, these may be real issues, at other times they serve as excuses for some other dissatisfactions which the man or woman may not want to make public. The second category has already been referred to in the discussion of male dominance. The behavioural responses by men and women to the cultural ideology of male dominance causes much dissatisfaction. The male complains that his wife has done something or continues to do something that he has repeatedly told her not to do, while the woman complains that her husband will not allow her to do things which she proclaims to be her right, such as visiting her parents, or going to a friend's house to have her hair done. The most common male complaints in this vein are, (a) "she goes to dances", or (b) "she will not stay in the house". The first of these (a) implies that the woman likes to go out at night against her husband's wishes to an activity that no man likes his wife to attend, since it is a common time and place for sexual liaisons to be made, or at the very least, for the advertisement of sexual charms. The second (b) is more general in that it includes the first, and refers to a generalized insubordination on the part of the wife.

008 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri

437 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate
583 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman her-
[426] [571] self. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

58 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories - virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who has been married before. Marriages are further subdivided on the basis of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However, only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings. Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) to either strengthen or create obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases, these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia

58 sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory subordination by the mallam to the luwali.

Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible or feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior/subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many men are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, there is a conflict
183 between the subordination that most Kanuri men expect of their wives and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in
[565] the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the
[586] man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are few divorces.

CHAPTER VI [p. 148]

The Life Cycle

121 In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialised.

561 As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the [571] only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organization is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

844 At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (sartéma). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as [846] other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

844 after birth. The birth takes place in a sitting position over a warmed wooden bowl. When the infant arrives it is washed and then continually warmed by the female attendants who heat their hands over
[853] a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child. Almost immediately attempts are made to have the infant feed at the mother's breast. The placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony.

[782] Men are barred from any direct participation in the actual birth process, but usually pray heavily and/or employ a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest) to pray for the successful outcome of the
846 birth. During the forty-day confinement period there should be no sexual intercourse between spouses. Informants stated that strict
[565] adherence to the forty-day confinement rule as well as the sexual taboo may vary among the poorer classes where the woman's economic services are more in demand. However, the first eight days after birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement and sexual abstinence.

846 During the first eight days of life the infant is known
858 as fatu (the little kitten) or kusoto gana (the little stranger) and is referred to when necessary in these terms. This is a strong tabu time for the parents, and they must be sure to maintain all cultural prescriptions to ensure the safety of the infant. Hardly any mention is made in public of the new arrival. Even its sex is unknown except by a few close female friends of the mother who are expected
[766] to keep the secret. If it dies during this period, the infant does not receive a proper burial, but is unceremoniously interred in the women's section of the compound.

000 On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553
[562] On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

553 money, which helps to allay the expenses of the ceremony, is collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. When the face marks have been cut, and the uvula removed, the father sends a subordinate to tell the women inside the name he has chosen for his child. When the subordinate returns the name is supposedly revealed to the seated men. However, the father or his friend, who has collected the money, usually tells the gathered men at the same time as the women are being told. It is at this time that the sex of the child is made public. The Koran reading being finished the head mallam leads the entire male assemblage in the fatiha (first verse of the Koran) and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts are passed around to all males, as well as perfume for dipping the fingers, and prayer beads. Each reader of the Koran receives a few pennies, in addition, as a token of gratitude from the new father. He must also give a small present of money to the barber and the head mallam as well as the leading woman who helped organize the activities inside the compound. Each of these may receive a couple of chickens or more if the father is wealthy and/or wishes to give the impression that he is a "big" man.

[231] A ram is killed and cooked during the day by the women of the compound, their relatives and friends. The skin is given to the head mallam. Some food is given to the poor, and at the father's instructions, other portions are sent to the houses of relatives, friends and high status persons. The naming ceremony is a day of keen pleasure for the namesake of the new child, if he or she is present, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection with which they are regarded by the family.

553 Generally speaking, Kanuri names are passed on through alternative generations. Ideally a man and his wife take turns obtaining names from each of their descent groups. Some men insist that boys be given names from the patrilateral group, while allowing girls to be named after the mother's relatives. As we have seen, a parent may name his child after some high status person thus establishing what is hoped will be a fruitful namesake relationship.
551 There is a non-reciprocal name avoidance between ego and his parents, parents-in-law, and high status persons in general. In order to avoid using a name the parents give the child, a nickname which usually indicates his relationship to the person whose name he bears.
[553] Thus many young boys are called Aba gana (small father) or just Aba (father) which indicates that they have been called after the father of one of their parents.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months (lunar) the child is referred to exclusively as a tiful (infant, baby) regardless of its sex. This period marks the beginning of the individual's incorporation into society. Its criterion is breast feeding. In social rather than individual terms the period is one of introduction. The infant is introduced to its family, to the friends of the family and
858 to its community. Sibling rivalry is recognized and dealt with
867 gently but firmly. The Kanuri believe that a sibling, especially one who shares one or both of his parents with the new arrival, may exhibit antagonism towards the baby. Very often the older sibling is sent off to a nearby compound, usually to a grandparent, for the period of the birth. It returns to receive gifts from the parents

858 on the day of the naming ceremony. This is believed to apply only
867 to young children under the age of five or six; older ones are sufficiently socialized so that rivalry presents no overt problem. At one naming ceremony a small girl of two and a half was observed being brought back from her namesake grandparent's compound where she had been living for the last week. She was admonished upon presentation to the new infant, "This is your new baby —— be gentle with him and look after him." Both the little girl and her full brother aged nine or ten had been given small gifts that day, she, two little glass bangles, and he, a new shirt. Later, after the naming ceremony was over, many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with and showing affection to the two elder siblings and pointing out to them what a fine thing it was that they had a new little brother.

854 The new infant spends most of the nursing period with its mother although short sorties with elder female siblings occur now and then. The father although he sees the child often interacts very little with it. The infant learns very soon to sit quietly on the back of its mother while it is swaddled comfortably to be carried about. Toilet practices are simple at this time. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother. However, as soon as it can sit up, it is placed facing the mother, astride her ankles and with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the child has a simple and comforting toilet ready-made for it by the mother. When the baby is finished, the mother washes its genital regions and/or anus with her left hand and covers up the hole. Babies wear only a small

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm, 853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

Childhood

862 [858] [114] With the onset of childhood, which is formalized at eighteen months by weaning, the overt pressures of socialization begin for the young child. No systematic data were gathered on the effects of this formal change-over from breast-feeding. Everyone knew of a wide range of variation in reaction on the part of the infants; some babies wean easily, others require much more training. In the latter case, the more stringent techniques are utilized, but still with a matter of fact, unperturbed attitude towards the inevitability of the weaning procedure.

In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

597 It is just after weaning that most Kanuri adoptions take place. A very rough estimate of adoptions, taken from genealogical data, would put the figure at somewhere between 35-45% for the present

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 601 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bama (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a
[565] good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same mother). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her baba (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they
[601] lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ba'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it.
[842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

597 603 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 571 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

597 571 uity into his own generation of one link or agent of his parents' relational network in the society.

861 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training begins to be applied to the child.

863 Toilet training is geared to the acquisition of walking skills. As soon as the child is able to toddle on its feet the adult woman in whose hut it lives starts enforcing the rule that the child should go outside of the hut, stoop on the ground and use only the left hand for any function having to do with toilet activities. Failure to learn these skills is met with more insistent pressure as time goes on. A young child only recently weaned who cannot accomplish facile toilet functions may not even be scolded. However, with increased age and language skill, admonitions soon begin and are given with increasing frequency; the child is told that it is dirty, bad, and that it must not do such things as urinate on the hut floor. The severity depends upon the particular situation, the age of the child, and the mood and personality of the mother, grandmother, or other socializing agent who may be quite calm on some occasions and rather angry on others. The following excerpt from notes taken by the writer's wife describe a socialization situation:

> If Kachella gana (aged two) visiting my house makes a puddle on the cement floor, his grandmother will ask for a tin of water to pour on the floor and to wash the child, and this will be done either with no comment at all or, "Oh Kachella, look what you have done." On such occasions Kachella does not show much discomfort. But if the child is sleeping on his grandmother's bed and wakes up wet, he may hear, "Get up! get up! You dirty little boy" and so on for four or five minutes. During such an outburst Kachella is liable to be sitting on the floor howling piteously, which gives rise to increased consequences. Another child is told to bring a soft corn stock, which granny waves menacingly as she cautions Kachella to "Stop! Stop! Stop!" and having achieved the desired effect, puts down the corn stock beside her as a warning. We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

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We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but 158.

> the warnings are frequent. The "boogy-man" threat is more often used as a warning. For example, last month a group of travelling entertainers brought a very large, ugly hyena to town ... apparently Kachella gana was shown the thing from a distance, and ever since the hyena has been used as a deterrent to investigating the contents of medicine bottles, or venturing beyond the compound door. It works, although Kachella is inclined to laugh somewhat incredulously. (1)

Continuing with the same excerpt, it will be noticed that positive as well as negative learning is begun early and definite, patient teaching by socializing adults is a normal part of every day's activities for the young child:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little adoptive grandson, "Kachella, pick the plate up. Now take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now take that other plate and cover the food over (plates are made of grass). That's right, very good." The operation which would have taken the grandmother a second has been carried out only after two minutes of patient instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

858 The inception of sex roles begins with the onset of childhood and the end of weaning. The boys are tada gana (small boys) and wear the appropriate small smock and begin to have their heads shaved in the child hair style of the father's agnatic group. This small boy's hair style often depicts the political affiliations of the father's agnatic group and/or its territorial origins. Thus all the household groups connected to a political leader or coming from a particular town may share the same small boy's hair style. Some lower class informants in the large urban centre stated that they used whatever hair style they pleased for their small boys when it was observed that no rule seemed to be followed.

302 [858] [602] [184]

858 302 After weaning, the girls are fero gana (small virgin girls)

(1) Excerpt from correspondence by Diana Cohen with the Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto (1956).

858 or kala yasku (three heads), the latter referring to the distinctive
302 three pronged hair style of pre-pubertal females. The young girls are
soon more fancifully dressed and their eyelids blacked with antimony.

855 Until the age of three or four, children are kept for the
857 most part within the compound, going out only with older members. After four or five, the child begins to explore beyond the compound and meets children of his own sex in the immediate vicinity. These form peer groups who play together and gather together quickly to witness any excitement of the town. They stay away from groups of male elders who may sit conversing under a tree, but otherwise roam the town and later even the surrounding bush area freely as long as their growing amount of household tasks are complete.

868 The girls start to learn the intricacies of preparing food,
[412] carrying water, and the ever present task of grinding millet either on a quern or more commonly in a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, and the family dry season activity, as well as being on hand for running messages. Pressure in the acquisition of these skills is steady and slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but to a Western eye extremely severe. The reason is most often the continual or perhaps sudden relinquishing of a skill which by such time should have already been acquired. A young boy of ten was beaten for omitting to gather grass for his father's horse; this is a skill which boys of seven to nine should have already learned. The severity of the punishment is noted by all children within earshot. Thus the beating of one child in a village or a ward not only punishes his neglect of learned skills but advertises to all, within hearing distance of the child's screams, that punishment is not just a matter of threats but is an awesome, painful reality if limits are transgressed.

868 are transgressed.

868 857 Learning of adult skills is often accomplished through imitative play. A little girl of three and a half was passed a straw plate and, separately, some paper clips. She immediately put the paper clips on the plate as her mother would do in the preparation of food, and began her own approximation of the quick, deft, jiggling movement of sifting the shells of groundnuts. None of the paper-clips was dropped from the plate and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some groundnuts."

857 867 Sometimes imitative play is more organized. A large group of children between the age of six to ten may organize a "wedding". One of the young boys is the groom and a bride is chosen, as are in-[864] laws, best man, lead woman, etc. Every detail of the adult virgin marriage ceremony is carried out, even to a mock impregnation, in this case a small doll. The wedding foods, in miniature, are passed around to the proper people, who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness. Adults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people.

794 793 Childhood is also the time of basic religious instruction which is more highly stressed for boys. Young boys may be given away any time after the age of six or seven to a Koranic mallam for a year or two, to live and travel with him, work for him, and live in abject poverty, in order to learn Arabic prayers, and some Arabic script. Their relationship to him while under his tutelage is expressed in the Kanuri saying "mallamum abanum kosana" (your mallam exceeds your father). In other words, an individual's Koranic teacher exceeds his father in fatherly qualities, which means he must be given respect, obeyed and sub-

794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may 571 be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif- 881 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young 582 girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

881 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she men-
582 struates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e.
585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time
[302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a fero gana (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it:

[833] She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest
881 in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When
[885] she bleeds, then she is kanu kura (a mature woman) and she knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offerings to the poor).

885 Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl
[302] changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a completely different person immediately upon taking up the status of married woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the compound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities become progressively remote from their own.

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases
[369] the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatized occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognized, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a zorer, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri cul-
582 ture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must
871 have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

885 of any institutional prolongation of a girl's unmarried status beyond
582
871 puberty is regarded by the people as leading to the ruin of her normal development as it is conceived in the culture. (This opposition is also exacerbated by the fear of a loss of power of dispensation over the girl by her guardian when she attends school).

881 For young boys the end of childhood and the beginning of
304 adolescence is marked by circumcision. It is apparent from the variation in age, running anywhere from seven to twelve years for the circumcision of boys, that physiological maturation has very little to do with the timing of the ceremony for any particular boy. The boy's family, especially the head of the household (usually his father), decides the issue on the basis of family readiness to perform the ceremony. Often a large group of boys, sometimes as many as thirty or forty in large towns, are cut when a leading family performs a circumcision for one of its members.

The important thing for the Kanuri is not the readiness of any particular young boy for the ceremony in terms of either his behavioural or physiological development: The deciding factor is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationships with the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Have a lot of friends and relatives been asking repeatedly when little Aba is going to be circumcised? Have the household members, especially the head, attended a great many marriages, naming ceremonies, etc., of other community members and given gifts on these occasions? Is it now time to reap the benefit of all that participation by having a ceremony of one's own, to which many people will come and many gifts of goods and money will be obtained? These

881 and questions like these are the determining factors in the timing of
304 a circumcision ceremony and they point to the major functions of the
[571] event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the roadway to manhood for the young boy, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

As would be expected in a stratified society there is much variation in the elaborateness of the circumcision ceremony, depending upon the rank of the family involved, the number of boys being circumcised together, and the upward mobility motivations of the family head. Generally speaking, the period of circumcision is fifteen days. In the traditional ceremonies the boys are cut at a first and smaller celebration and then remain in their compounds for fifteen days, after which a large ceremony is held.

"They must eat good food and rest until their wound heals," said one informant. The consensus of opinion seems to be that it is "better" to have a group of boys circumcised together rather than singly. This may include several boys from one large extended family. More often the ceremony is initiated by a person of higher rank, such as a hamlet head, a Village Head, a District Head, or some person of noble family. People of lesser rank who have some subordinate relationship then try, or are asked, to have their own sons included. Social distances between the families concerned are, however, not exceptionally great. Thus a peasant's son might conceivably have been circumcised with a hamlet head's son or perhaps even a Village Head's son but it would be most unlikely that he would reach much higher in

881 his connections. The limitations on such social incongruities are
304 twofold. First of all, it would be considered undecorous in the eyes of the community and the person labelled as ro kura (literally: big life, i.e. "pushy" or overly ambitious). Secondly, the elaborateness and therefore the expenses involved increase enormously up through the status hierarchy of the society so that, unless the person has a great deal more wealth than his social position generally implies, he must of necessity carry on the ceremony only with the ranks immediately above or below himself in the social structure.

Exceptions are quite common to both group circumcision and to the two ceremonies held first on the day of the cutting and secondly fifteen days later. Impecunious peasants often prefer a single public ceremony on the day of the cutting. Informants explained that by restricting the ceremony in this fashion they were trying to control the expense.

Adolescence

882 The period after circumcision until marriage is a culturally recognized status for boys. It lasts from about the age of seven to twelve up to the period of eighteen to twenty-two years. For both males and females there is a blurred period between childhood and the next stage of life which in both cases ends roughly at puberty. However, for girls this commonly occurs after their first marriage, while for the boys it does not.

After circumcision the boy can be socially regarded as zairo (literally: attractive in a male sense). However, informants explain that he is still tada gana (a small boy) until he is capable of ejaculation, or until the growth of his pubic hair. The term tada gana is retained and applied to the adolescent to describe his immaturity or

882 lack of achieved skill in some area of behaviour. This extension of the term for child into adolescence must not be mistaken for the European cultural trait of confusing childhood and adulthood in the adolescent period. It refers not just to a lack of skill, but more generally to a lack of power and authority, and in this sense can be utilized to describe anyone until he is an old man. In this context the term is applied to mean that in some particular manner the person is like a small boy in relation to others around him, i.e. he must defer to them. People do not find this unnatural and even middle aged men may refer to themselves as tada gana (small boy).(1)

883 From the time of true physiological puberty onward, the boy associates more and more with other young zairo and takes part more or less freely in the banter of age-mates, and those slightly older. These young boys go to markets, play together, discuss local gossip and politics, and often joke about possible and actual nocturnal [833] adventures with women. On this last point, boys generally receive their first sexual experiences after puberty from divorced women who may vary in age anywhere from fifteen to fifty. More often that not, it is reported that the first experiences are with older women because of the competition for the younger sexually accessible females, (i.e. those who are divorced). Like young men everywhere they discuss the merits of various occupations, the desirability of rural or urban life, but also speak to one another at great length about the qualities of various "big men" (kam kura) in Bornu, and the benefits received by their followers. Today, boys also learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble and to drink intoxicating liquors during this period.

882 463 _____ A primary function of this age status for adolescent boys

(1) See below, p. 174.

882 463 is occupational choice and training. For most boys the choice is determined by the elders of the household in which they are living or by the economic specialization in their own quarter of town or hamlet. One youth, whose father is a small salt retailer and a farmer, lives in a quarter where many of the household heads are dyers. He has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households in order to learn the trade. In general and especially for rural areas, sons in a household are expected to take up the occupation of the household head.

This should not be thought of, however, as a system in which the young boy merely complies with the wishes of his elders. There is much evidence to show that some degree of personal freedom is involved in occupational choice. For example, a butcher's son remarked that, despite his father's wishes, he would never be a butcher and was planning to learn his Fa-Bro occupation of hides and skins trader. This is especially true today if the young boy is sent to the city to stay with a relative while learning a craft. The plethora of new and different occupations in the city may attract the young man and lead him to make his own decisions about his occupation.

874 882 There is an apprenticeship system for learning occupations which varies in length depending upon the age of the boy, the socio-economic status of the occupation, and the relationship between the boy and the craftsman. As boys become older they expect their apprenticeship times to be shortened, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun the longer the period of training. However, even in the case of a twenty-two year old, a two to three year period is not uncommon. Again, if the occupation has a higher status and/or pecuniary return,

874 882 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguinal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's" house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resem-
[578] blance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

[441] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years
[452] of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

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882 it up because, as he said, it entailed the constant giving of credit
[441] to his customers and he never seemed to be able to collect all the
[452] money owing to him. His full brother in Maiduguri (who had been his wholesale supplier) advised him that barbering was a good occupation and that one of the local barbers in Magumeri needed a tada njima because his own son was as yet too young to help him. The boy went and asked the barber about it and then made his own arrangements for the apprenticeship (the barber knew the boy's kinsmen). He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became a tada njima. He could visit his own compound in which his mother lived by herself and keep up his own farm. He had to help the barber on his farm, get grass for his horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his aba njima (father of the house). The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working, sometimes with his senior, sometimes alone. By right, all receipts of his work during that year were supposed to be given to the barber. Naturally, he pocketed an occasional fee, but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and therefore the end of his projected career as a barber. The senior could, if he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber tools. The barber fed him, clothed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events, like naming ceremonies, he was given a small tip (one to two shillings) by the household head because of his role as barber's apprentice, which he kept for himself. In 1957, he moved back to his own compound with his mother. He still considers himself a tada njima of the bar-

874 882 ber because he still does chores for him, and claims to give the senior about fifteen per cent of his receipts. Furthermore, he does not yet know how to cut face-marks, remove uvula, or perform circumcisions, and thus attends all these ceremonies with his senior barber in order to continue his education. He hopes that by next year he may be allowed to perform some of these operations under supervision. When he has finished his education, it will not be necessary to do anything for the senior. However, he will always pay respect to his ex-teacher for many years to come.

Other apprentices, who were living with strangers, but had gone into the same occupation as their fathers, claimed that they were freer in this situation than if they were in training in their own households. They also stated that it "was nice" (kbiji) to travel around and see other places in Bornu. The "freedom" was observed to refer to sexual experimentation, not discipline-respect with the compound head. As we have mentioned, it is considered shameful for children to discuss or acknowledge directly any marriage plans or sexual behaviour in the presence of parents. In some of these cases the mobility is explained by the fact that the boy's father was dead and his mother or grandparent has sent him off to a relative or a friend in order to learn the dead father's craft. In general, the boy completes his learning of agricultural skills, the planting, hoeing and harvesting of the various crops, as well as the clearing of new land in this period. Most often during his adolescence he acquires one or more plots of land of his own, either through inheritance, from the local political leader, by purchase or gift, or by going farther afield from his village and clearing new bushland. He also becomes acquainted with

882 (831)

(423)

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 885 562 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilises this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 [561] [165] [162] One of the interesting functional results of having an extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with woman marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

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162 This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygy-
121 nous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

Maturity

885 The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184] A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.
[831] When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as zairo (any person who has not been married,

885 831 but who has been circumcised, more often referring to the sexually active). In discussing this point further, informants remarked that such persons were not true *nairo* but they acted like them. The joking implied in this designation is not nearly as humourous to the hearers, when applied to a divorced man with no present wife (who really has many status similarities to an older adolescent) as when it is applied to a married man who is continually seeking extra-marital sexual relations. This joking reference to the married man being a *nairo* points up the ideal of mildly chaste behaviour property to the *rashidi* status.

156 885 Many young married men who are subordinate to older relatives, or political and/or economic superiors in large household organizations, or who are still apprentices, refuse to be labelled as *rashidi* when asked, even though they are married. They plead that they are still *tada gana* (small boys). They feel that their subservient position and lack of achievement in the areas of behaviour mentioned above, that are considered to be characteristic of *rashidi* status, puts them in the position of small boys who still have to grow up, or who are under their father's control. For subservient persons whose occupation requires that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives, the criteria of marriage, children, age, own compound, and farm plots, slowly begin to change the person's concept of himself and he comes to accept a label of *rashidi* if it is put to him as a question. However, he understands the limits of its application in his particular case. For example, one informant of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the District Head's father and who was himself a life-long servant of the District Head, accepted a definition of himself as a *rashidi* (mature man), who

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885 would, he said laughingly, soon be a chiari (an old man). He explained that he had a married daughter, a farm, a compound, and a wife, who he proudly asserted had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he was a rashidi. But when asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his superior's headquarters, without instructions he quickly replied, "atò nani wuma tada gana" (in that sense I am a small boy). In other words, in that particular area of behaviour generally associated with rashidi status I am not a participant as one who is a grown man, rather I am like a young son who must obey his father. This is not in any way shameful for the informant, since his status in the subservient relationship to the District Head is accepted by the culture.

885 Rashidi is then more than just a description of physiolog-
562 ical age. In general people consider that when a man has been married he should be defined as having reached adult status. But when the term is applied to an adult male who had been married, it is found that a set of achievements is used as a criterion for judging a person's age grade status. These achievements are valued atti[illegible] of adult male life as defined by the culture which are available i[illegible] varying degrees to all male members of the society.

A woman who has had a child can be referred to as kuko, which means that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and has added a new member to her husband's agnatic group as well as to her own. Middle aged women (about thirty to forty) can be referred to as gudum to distinguish them from younger or older women, whether or not they have borne children. In actual practice these terms were not observed to be in common use, the woman's status and age being

885 562 described in other terms. The main distinctions for women are, fero (girl), Kamu (woman) and Kamurou (old woman). A woman (kamu) can be given descriptive attributes to place her properly in people's minds. For example, she can be kamu kwanzè mbeji (a woman with a husband, i.e. married), or sanzè ngubu or gana (older or younger). These can be extended to include statuses such as having borne children or not, having an influential family, having a rich husband, being in seclusion and so on.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term rashidi whose meaning also connotes or embodies the ideology of mature behaviour.

The ideal view of the adult female role positively evaluates marriage, durability of marriage, children, obedience to husband, proper and efficient performance of women's tasks, chastity, staying in husband's compound much of the time, and maintaining some contact with her own family as some of the more important goals towards which 183 adult females should strive. In actual practice, women who divorce 885 the least number of times give their unqualified support to the cultur- 562 al ideal of the female role. On the other hand, women who divorce 586 easily and frequently tend to qualify their support of the ideal. This contrast is illustrated by the answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband required you to stay always in the compound?" A woman, who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years, answered simply, shi kura fatobe (he is the head of the household), i.e. he is my authoritative superior and I must obey. Contrarily, a woman, who at the age of about thirty-five had married and divorced four times, replied, daji lenyin (then I would go away), i.e. divorce him.

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[586] The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of [152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari, 888 old men) and women (kamursu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdoma, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived completely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
[434] and small sundries. All her life and increasingly so with old age, the peasant woman raises a little extra cash for herself by doing petty trading or obtaining some raw foodstuffs either from her own garden in the compound, or buying it with her own money and preparing it for sale in either the large weekly markets or a small daily market stall. With old age she merely extends this activity into a full-time occupation.

888 565 Women from high ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high ranking man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
565 turns to a household of her consanguinal relatives. Many of these
454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries, and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermediaries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
565 into old age.
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888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
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[596] for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

888 592 183 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in their old age.

Inheritance

428 The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law,(1) and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases [613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lineage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex. The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if present) are entitled to one-third of the warata (inheritance) of her (their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the agnatic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables, excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, although it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being [587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any living connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother, which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the largest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Buxton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

42 always be considered as getting some preference, although a surviving son who is of age (18-20) gets the largest share. When two sons of a deceased father have the same mother the younger son has no orthodox rights, since it is considered that the older brother is now replacing the father. However, it is customary that, if both are of age, the rule of two parts to one in favour of the senior in relation to junior holds sway, with the father's compound going to the senior. Three full brothers in Magumeri cut up the estate of their father in two parts at his death. Half the estate plus the compound went to the eldest brother while the other half was divided in two between the two younger brothers. A fourth younger brother was about thirteen years old at the time and living in another town - he received nothing. If the sons are from different mothers and both of age, the rules require equal sharing of the property, with the father's house going to the eldest.

A man is not free to dispose of his property to whomsoever he chooses. It must follow the rules of inheritance. However, he may before he dies ask a relative in front of witnesses to give
[693] some special possession to a friend after his death. All cases of inheritance disputes that are adjudicated give ten per cent of the inheritance value to the court making the successful judgement.

|2| Inheritance customs in any society are an attempt to give continuity and stability to existing social relationships as they refer to rights and prerogatives, given the fact of potential dislocation of the ongoing relational system by loss of membership through death. The universality of inheritance disputes or animosity developing from inheritance transactions recorded from all over the world attest to the inevitable conflicts which arise no matter what variety

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
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613 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have <u>more</u> rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

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distinctions are made between these relatives as to the distribution of the rights and prerogatives of the deceased. The strength of the father-son relationship and its importance as the model for one of the central norms of behaviour in the society give it a much more important and decisive position for resolving conflicts in most cases. Although some internal resentments may result, the legal and social identity of the agnates with one another for the most part override this conflict in the system.

000 PART 3

The Wider Scaled Structures

[p.183-A]

Chapter VII

Social Stratification

128 The material on Kanuri interpersonal relations has been presented in order to depict and examine some of the primary modes of social interaction in the society. The present chapter and those to follow will attempt to tie together the foregoing discussion of interpersonal relations with the historical material presented earlier, by indicating the overall organizational framework within which this social and historical experience has been carried on. In order to do this, it is necessary to be more explicit about what has up until this point been implicit concerning stratification and its manifestations in Bornu.

121 As a working definition it is to be understood in the following discussion that social stratification refers to a system of agreed upon rankings of persons, whereby statuses are accorded differential values along some dimension of judgment such as power, occupation, birth or achievement. When there is enough differentiation among various groups in the society along any of these dimensions, so that one group persists in its relations to other groups in its recognized possession of any of these qualities, then the society may be said to be stratified. Social mobility consists of the modes of behaviour necessary for movement from one position to another along any of the dimensions which go to make up the constituents of stratification in the society. It should be noticed that in this sense there is no such thing as an "unstratified" society since all social organizations have some persistent differentiation of statuses even if it is only on the bases of age and sex. That is to say, using this definition there is no basic dichotomy between stratified and unstratified societies, but rather a difference in degree

121 and complexity of stratification.(1) Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt [829] here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

829 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as 582 563 191 can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely endogamous,(2) although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or women which included non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. var-
[826] iety). Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi dea (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor.(1)

177 The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders.
[162] Although the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres.
162 Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward;
563 slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Geidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

[192] (1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

162 563 capital, has, besides all these, a large Arab-speaking population from the Near East and the Sudan as well as the European Reservation for commercial and government personnel.

563 829 In this situation of constant confrontation and to some extent interaction with other ethnic groups, evaluation of status by ethnic membership takes place. The Kanuri vary widely in their disposition to rank own-group as having the highest status among all the other peoples that they are in contact with or about whom they have any information. Almost universally Europeans are accorded high status (sometimes higher than own-group) as an ethnic group. This stems from their superior political and economic positions as administrators and traders. Thus, informants, unless they are well travelled or sophisticated city dwellers, are shocked and surprised to hear that there are prisons in England which house murderers, thieves and scoundrels, or that there are people in England who can be classed as labourers. In their eyes and experience, Englishmen have never been low status persons. Indeed one of the common expressions among the peasants is "Bazara Nai" (Europeans are kings). One informant, during a discussion of religious edicts on morality and the relation of these to the practicalities of everyday life, interjected a surprising comment on the relation of morality to life. He claimed that the only true Muslims in the world were Englishmen, since they were the only people who ever told the truth.

The Arabs (i.e. Arabic speakers, with the exception of the Shuwa nomads) like the Europeans, have very little but formal social con-
[826] tacts with the Kanuri and are highly rated as an ethnic group. The Arab facial features and skin colour are the models for what is the most attractive and pleasing (therefore the ideal Kanuri) physical types. The

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829 place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

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[171] Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somewhat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Magumeri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name.
[551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

563 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or
829 confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana or Gwoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status people - kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a
[464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri
[273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri
[461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still regarded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is probable that the existence of urban classes and a nobility among the Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Gwoza and the Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kanuri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

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most of them (whom the Kanuri contact) are Christians. Informants remarked that Ibo Christianity, like all the rest of their European skills, is newly acquired.(1) The widespread attitude towards Ibos is reflected in the oft repeated stereotype about their alleged cannibalistic practices (Nizmali kam abrin - Ibos eat people) which indicates the Kanuri ambivalence towards this group. They are despised but feared at the same time.(2) This is due primarily to the much greater degree of westernization of the Ibo generally as compared to the Kanuri. Iboland in the eastern region of Nigeria is overpopulated and yet has a long history of mission education. Because of the need for western trained personnel over all of Nigeria, there has been an emigration of Ibo mechanics, clerks, postmasters, traders, truckers, builders, lawyers and even a doctor or two to all parts of the country. Thus a despised pagan group is seen to have more income, higher status jobs, more facility with western type liti-

(1) One western educated Kanuri told the writer that the high numbers of educated Ibos proved that they (the Ibos) know how to bribe Europeans into giving them qualifying certificates and higher degrees.

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(2) The notion of "eating" also includes the ideal of being cheated, which the Kanuri feel is always a strong possibility in their dealings with Ibos. The stories of Ibo cannibalism are rife all over northern Nigeria — with strong support from credulent Europeans who share the general belief. The empirical validity of these stories is unknown to the writer — however, they seem to have very little basis in fact in the contemporary society, and are even somewhat doubtful for the aboriginal culture of the Ibo. There is no mention of cannibalism in Forde, D. & Jones, G. I., The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking People of South-Eastern Nigeria, (1950). The only reference to the subject in Meek, C.K., Law and Authority in Nigeria (1937) p. 67, is to a fright given to initiates by one of the priests that their testicles may be eaten during the course of the initiation ceremony. Finally, Talbot, P.A., In the Shadow of the Bush (1912), gives one reference to a conversation in the Calabar region (p.246) in which the people told him that cannibalistic rituals were practised "up until quite recently". He mentions cannibalism again (p. 260) giving his source of information to be his carrier boys, who were strangers to the particular group he describes as having "the filed teeth and the shrunken appearance usually associated with cannibal rites". Although this is by no means a complete survey of the literature it suggests a lack of empirical validity in the last few decades at least, for the practice of Ibo cannibalism.

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gation, and a national political organization seeking reforms and power in the local scene.[1] Historically their position as a pagan group puts them in the low status position of kurdi (infidels) by Kanuri standards, but the acquisition of European culture and their ability to make acculturated skills work for the benefit provoke covert feelings of admiration, jealousy, and fear on the part of the indigenous population of Bornu.

That there is some ambivalence in the Kanuri attitudes towards ethnic groups they rank as high (or higher) than themselves is easily discovered in conversation with persons who have more contact with Arabs and/or Europeans. Whether or not this means that the ambivalence increases with the amount of interpersonal contact it is difficult to say with present knowledge, although this could be considered as one hypothesis which explains the facts, until further tests are carried out. Peasants do not think comparatively about whether or not they are in some respects as good, better, or worse than Arabs and/or Europeans. They accord these groups high status among the "big" people of their world, whose particular place in the scheme of things is rather vague and far away from their own immediate experience but, nonetheless, rich and powerful. However, for those in close contact with Arabs and Europeans, aggressive, resentful remarks about the behaviour of these groups are common. Arabs are spoken of as dishonest traders who cheat [441] good Kanuri of their rightful profits. Since the Arabs maintain a large proportion of the available credit from the European trading companies, they do objectively limit the expansion of Kanuri entrepreneurial activity.[2]

(1) Coleman, J.S. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (1958), Chap. 16
(2) See below, pp. 322-324.

563 Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with
829 Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hos-
[554] pitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arsiyi, see below pp.225 -228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the
[555] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

125 Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven (1)
563 Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from
829 the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank

(1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

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829 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the following instructions, which were given in Kanuri.[1]

(1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?

(2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a faro (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.

(3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.

(4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

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[128] It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tubo and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

(1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Rosman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[text continues on p. 195]

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

TABLE V

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Tribal Choices (Social Distance) of Urban Kanuri Schoolboys (aged 13-19)

* Ordinal	Choice Cardinal	Tribe	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Remarks
I (1-3)	1	Arab	3.24	1.73	Rich traders, people of the Koran. Considered to be good-looking.
	2	Kanuri	3.49	2.01	Own tribe.
II (4-6)	3	Europeans	3.89	2.17	The highest political authority
	4	Shuwa	4.21	1.95	Beautiful women, Arabic-speaking, Muslims, acculturate easily.
	5	Hausa	4.45	1.95	A Muslim Emirate, much historical contact
III (7-9)	6	Fulani	6.57	2.24	Muslims, nomads, sometimes good, sometimes bad relations.
	7	Yoruba	8.60	2.44	Part Muslim, not much contact with this group.
IV (10-12)	8	Babur	9.66	2.65	Part Muslim, some contact, increasing today.
	9	Bolewa	9.94	2.63	Part Muslim, some contacts
	10	Kanembu	10.03	2.96	Muslim, but raided the Kanuri in the past. Some acculturation.
	11	Mandara	10.85	2.58	Pagan, very little contact
	12	Tubo	11.70	3.00	Muslim, raided the Kanuri until quite recently
	13	Magari	11.90	2.46	Pagan, very little contact socially
	14	Ibo	12.30	2.88	Christian-Pagan, contact as a separate ethnic group in cities.
V (13-15)	15	Tuareg	13.75	2.07	Muslim, much feared for their raiding
	16	Tiv	14.08	2.16	Pagans, known to be naked, very little contact.
VI (16-18)	17	Banana	15.69	1.75	Both groups are pagan, many of whom live as a minority group
	18	Owoza	16.34	1.84	among the Kanuri as labourers and brewers of beer

* The Ordinal choices in Roman numerals I-VI are calculated from categories of mean choices; e.g. I-1 to 3, II - 4 to 6, III 7 to 9, etc.

563 829 who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwoza peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yoruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwoza and Banana.

Occupation

554 The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the 554 567 status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumeri a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

555 793 Koranic mallams are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialized powers, and because of their leading role they take in rites de passage. The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

793 228, arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beggar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized, high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
[441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
554 829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanshko) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams; he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only a man with no proper shame could do such work.

(1) Composite statement from informants.

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu itself, by Kanuri.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

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in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognized, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

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With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

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(1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, September 1955.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Borno political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 33 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high 128 463 554 position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wazirí indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these 125 data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

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TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys *

School: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Wazirl of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Wazirl of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.52	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kaigama (a D.H. today) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kaigama	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

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School: Senior Primary (younger) / Secondary (elder)

Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2	23	Trader(with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5	24	Village Head	23.94	7.3
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0	25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5	26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9	27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Village Head	27.75	7.1	28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9	29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	Building contractor	28.80	11.1	30	N.A. counsiller	29.61	9.4
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6	31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5	32	Kachella Shehube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8	33	Building contractor	31.90	9.6
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4	34	Carpenter	31.94	7.8
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9	35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1	36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Kachella Shehube	35.82	10.4	37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7	38	Small retainer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Trader	36.20	9.4	39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8	40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4	41	Horsedservant	38.62	6.1
42	Horsed servant	38.16	7.5	42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6	43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0	44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0	45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

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School:	Senior Primary (younger)			Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4	46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2	47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0	48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0	49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9	50	Weaver	42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0	51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4	52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1	53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8	54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2	55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N - 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7				N - 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

* Using Spearman's rank order correlation (Rho) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).

** The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

463 554 184 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows, of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush districts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older than for younger boys).

178 463 554 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried appointments, such as Shehu, Wasiri, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head, have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but traditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant of a chief, or Kachella Shehubs (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army) have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The exception to this rule is the Koranic mallam who, although not give official support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because 178 463 554 184 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.

TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status Occupations

	Ranking	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a tendency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

178 ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In
463 their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th
554 [184] place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides
463 the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from
554 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that (1)
554 [171] young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

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er boys, 32nd on the list. This is in accord with the general high value placed on farm ownership and farm production, not farm labour. It is good to have a farm, and this means then that you are a farmer, but it is even better if you can have a labourer or some of your followers work the land for you. Thus farming is not contradictory with high status, only farm labour. The following table summarizes these comparisons.

TABLE VIII

Prestige of White Collar and Manual Labour Occupations

Kind of job		Ranking Younger	Ranking Older Boys
White collar jobs	high	11.9	11.9
Manual labour (European type jobs)	middle	26.9	28.9
Manual labour (Kanuri type jobs)	low	34.1	43.3

The final comparison to be made from the table is that between self-employed as against non-self-employed European occupations. The following table indicates the ranking which these two differently organized sets of occupational roles are given by the schoolboy population. It should be remembered that it is this group among the total population who, more than any others, have open to them the possibility of western type jobs.

TABLE IX

Prestige of the Employment Relations in European Jobs

Kinds of employment relations		Ranking Younger	Ranking Older Boys
Western jobs non-self-employed	high	11.1	14.4
" " self-employed	middle	27.4	27.2

The results indicate that self-employment as it is known by the Kanuri is less highly evaluated than its opposite. Certainly this is a result of the fact that all high status European (and Kanuri) occupa-

463 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests
554 that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independant entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par-
[613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from
[428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it,
602 one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community
[123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

554 602 was considered inappropriate as a servant and household member to a powerful newcomer to the community.

Matri-kin do not give a man much ascribed birth status one way or another. However, the matri-kin often aid the individual and if they are a powerful high status group in the society, he may derive some benefits from this relationship. But these rewards must be realized before this ascribed status is worth anything to ego in the eyes of others.

The importance of birth status was made plain during the gathering of genealogical data. A well known "arriviste" in Magumeri, who served as the District Head's right hand man and principal link with the urban community, gave a completely trumped-up genealogy which included, patrilineally many antecedents who had been the horsed servants (ko'una) of well known nobles of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bornu. Only later, when crosschecking some of the material, was it discovered that this informant was the son of a man who used to tend camels for their owners in the Maiduguri market and that he, himself, had started life as a gatherer and seller of bush grass for horse fodder. His faked genealogy reveals his sensitivity to his low status background and his desire to give a newcomer the impression of continuity regarding his origins. His own rank at the time of the interview was that of horsed servant to the District Head of Magumeri, so that the faked genealogy indicated his desire to create for himself a family background of similar status to his present one.

554 602 156 Along with other explanations (see below pp.225 -228 , arziyi) birth ascription is also used to describe the reasons for success or failure at any given role, especially among the high ranks of society where improper behaviour can be attributed to the person's rise from a

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] [648] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [271] [369] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in 565 463 602 the large urban centre. At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 463 602 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry season activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as kwanzika (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galibu

556 (a rich man). There is no word to describe a middle range income, so that a speaker expresses this idea, if he has to, by negating both terms for rich and poor thus giving the ideal of a position somewhere in between the two extremes of his experience.(1) The various translations given for ngudi reflect the Kanuri evaluation of this dimension of rank. A ngudi is a man without property, or possessions; he is a sad man and an unfortunate one. He wears shabby clothes, eats poor food and cannot entertain his friends, or give devent gifts to them when they have ceremonies. The galibu, or rich man, is the very opposite of all these qualities (ideally). That is to say, it is considered good and desirable to be wealthy and undesirable to be poor.

Wealth is used to subsist well. This means that it is good to have fine clothes and lots of them, good horses, a big house, more than one wife, a bicycle or even a car, and to be able to afford an aeroplane ticket to Mecca, and so on. Conversely, it is bad not to have some fine clothes, and, in general, subsist at a lower level of consumption.

Enhancing this dimension and elaborating upon it, are other cultural concepts concerning the purposes of wealth. Property is used to validate status. A man who is known to be comparatively wealthy and is not using it to establish and maintain obligatory relationships of discipline-respect and/or loyalty, is considered to be bayil(2) or jokku [558] (stingy, miserly). On the other hand, a man who gets into heavy debt because of his desire to give or lean money and material goods to his friends, relatives and supporters, and initiate large expensive ceremonies far above his actual economic assets is a wujirma (spendthrift).

(1) It is only when subtle discriminations are being made in conversation that a person is spoken of as neither rich nor poor.
(2) From the Arabic.

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558 The literal translation of wujirma is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Litterally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So
[571] many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

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533 Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

556 foolish, and call persons who behave this way wujirma. On the other
533 hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to
(171) praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shehu, is perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status.(1)

556 The optimum use of wealth is described as kure. The kan kure (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the kan kure.

556 The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of
571 balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefactors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants. Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of persons who would willingly become his tada or tada njima (his boy, his son, his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", You are powerful", "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "Furo she" (Give to

(1) See Smith, M.G. The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing, Africa, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.

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571 me a . . . ."). This validates the higher status of the person being asked to give and can strengthen or initiate an obligatory subordination of some kind on the part of the would-be receiver. But, because there are so many more potential receivers than possible donors, all informants felt that it was always wise to keep quiet about the exact proportions of one's wealth in order to limit the amount of requests which widespread knowledge of property surpluses would bring.

It should be noted here that this imbalance of donors and receivers and the culturally defined potentiality of their interrelationship, offers a much travelled route for social mobility in Bornu. Any man who obtains material surpluses may begin to use his property to obtain discipline-respect (bersum) relationships with an expanding [558] group of followers. Contrarily, a man whose material wealth is declining finds his followers less apt to remain within his organization. This is one of the primary elements in the operation of political and economic power.

An example of what this can mean in every day life is seen in the following example. In Magumeri the local school teacher who is on a monthly civil service salary is considered moderately wealthy by local rural standards. During an interview, at the writer's house, the teacher became increasingly nervous and fidgety, continually watching a rather elderly peasant who seemed to hover around the base of a tree about twenty yards in front of the house. Towards the end of the afternoon, the informant interrupted the conversation to ask whether the writer had seen the man near the tree. He then complained bitterly that this man was no friend or relation to him, but had been begging for a hat (price, four to eight shillings) for the last few weeks. The

556 571 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 183 What this means is that the ideal of kere (wise generosity) is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption. [454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings, which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation [123] and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

556 183 [123] so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food, [251] and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert [152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this confict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 829 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence, there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

369 Another difference, noticeable immediately to the 216.
342 stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live
829 in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush" the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several of the rich leaders in Borno were building, under private contract, city houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity, and cement floors.

369 In Maguneri, complaints against rural people are always heard
829 from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never carry a "bush" girl.
[585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town, the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the dignitaries of Maguneri were of such a low quality that it became a standing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared, respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids the civil servant in the bush, unless his confidence is won over through continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

121 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

121 notion of class becomes a somewhat knotty one for the researcher. This is because it lacks the precision of his analytically derived status dimensions and yet it demands discussion, for the very good empirical reason that the people themselves recognize class distinctions. The theoretical answer lies in the nature of the concept of class as distinct from status. Class is a more inclusive category which cuts up an entire society into only a few segments. In so doing it incorporates many of the status dimensions by correlating them into ranges so that all the high statuses of dimensions a, b, c, d, . . . n, are unified into a large segment of the population, while the same thing may occur at other ranges along the status dimensions, giving the society one, two or more classes. When these segments are present, the outward signs such as differentiation in language, dress, manners and other social and cultural characteristics of class membership, become another status dimension to that recognizable membership in any class confers varying status upon the individual. Because of the noticeable sub-cultural differences between class segments, recognizability and imitation often blur the distinction and widen the scope for social mobility. Nevertheless, in order to actually obtain continuous high status in the society, the person must be seen and judged as having high rankings along the dimensions already discussed above. In the following discussion, this theoretical framework can be seen as the process underlying Kanuri class distinctions.

556 In the every day life of Bornu, the life spans of different
565 individuals in the population are lived out within differing ranges of
829 experience (which may change through time). This rather abstract statement can easily be explained by an illustration drawn from the judgements made by a young peasant in Magumeri on the subject of wealth. He reported that there were very few wealthy people in Magumeri village itself,

556 565 829 [434] but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Nagumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops. [442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages" [465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked, "What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mentioned the District Head of Nagumeri who earns officially seven hundred pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he said "atè a'l gèdigèdi" (that is something different) because "sandi kam gèdi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristocrat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kam birni (a city man) but "arma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his concept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range, and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to describe them. Yet he certainly recognised that they were of the same ethnic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

556 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1)
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829 The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be
369 a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic
[166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban
[103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var-
[241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

565 one of the other
369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e.
[178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri musko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory func-
[828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like _____ shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

565 shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

The political office holder from the rank of Lawan (Village Area Head) up the hierarchy are considered "different" in contrast to the tala. Their judgements about occupations, birth status, wealth, etc., move through a different range than those of the lower class. Thus a good house would mean a well-built mud dwelling to a tala, while a kentuoma (an aristocrat, a man of power) would think of a good house as a burnt brick building with electricity. The connection of the kentuoma with the political hierarchy and the utilization of their power, authority and generally higher income make them seem far apart, as a group, from the tala. They dress always in robes, never work shirts, always go abroad from their homes on horseback or in a vehicle, with some retainers, and consider themselves superior to the tala who they administer.

Traditionally these two large segments, the rulers and the commoners they exert power over, formed the two large class segments of Bornu society. Informants relate how in the old days tala wore only dark indigo dyed blue clothes, while the ruling classes wore light coloured gowns. Today this distinction is much less adhered to, especially in urban areas. Nevertheless, out in the rural District Courts, it is still common to see lower class plaintiff, accused, and the witnesses all wearing navy blue gowns while the court officials appear in [441] light blue, green, white and other pale colours. Wealthy traders in the city are allied with the ruling class often serving as their financial backers and sometimes, it is rumoured, buying themselves political jobs. There is no definite sense of separateness on the part of the small wealthy non-ruling group in the city from the social organization as a whole. Their loyalty and respect to the traditional office holders

is not perceived by them as being in conflict with their lack of direct power and authority in the state.

The result of this coordination of lower statuses into a peasant-commoner class and high statuses into a ruling upper class is the differentiation of Kanuri society into two broad sub-division, that of the upper and the lower classes. Language, wealth, power and authority, occupations, manners and etiquette all differ within these two large divisions. The differences are not, however, either/or distinctions. They can be seen as a large number of recognizable signs which tend to place the person higher or lower on a scale of class attributes. It is at this point that class, or rather its cultural characteristics, become not just a segmentation of society into large units, but a dimension of status. This process occurs through the simulation of class attributes, generally in an upward direction. For in Bornu, the appearance of upper class membership enhances an individual in his own eyes and those of his fellows.(1) Thus the acquisition of items of upper class culture, such as large flowing light-coloured robes, or a fine horse, or many supporters and subordinates, or more elegant manners and speech, give a man higher status. But it is the dimensions of social stratification discussed above, rather than these cultural expressions, which are the underlying conditions for status. Thus if a person does not have a high status occupation, or is not of a sedentary Muslim tribe, or possess real wealth that he uses properly, or behave in all the other ways necessary for him to obtain high status, then the acquisition of some items of upper class culture merely constitute some blurring and

[114] [171] (1) Nadel, S.F. A Black Byzantium (1947) and The Concept of Social Elites, UNESCO Bull. of Social Science, Number 8 (1956) has made this same point for Nupe, and on a theoretical level as a characteristic of elites in general, i.e. that they are copied by the rest of the population.

565 [171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

114 562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

554 562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

173 554 562 571 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
576 superior-subordinate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider themselves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) expect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri family and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage, or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the political scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling, wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

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828 makes what power he has work well for him, avoids illness, poverty and derision, or does anything that can be measured in terms of achievement, then the degree of his success is the proof as to how much arziyi (good fortune, personal degree of success) he has in his hal (his nature, his being, his essence). Like Calvinistic pre-determination, arziyi is hoped for before the fact, and indicated or substantiated after the fact, of success.

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829 In answering questions about arziyi, informants of all classes and ranks are generally agreed that no matter how much success a peasant has with his farm, his wife, at cards, or at his craft work, he can never possibly come close to having as much arziyi as even a bad District Head or Village Area Head. When finer discriminations are asked for, however, disagreements sometime arise. Thus informants when questioned as to who has more arziyi, a trader in the city who recently bought a big truck and has a large compound of wives and followers, or a somewhat effete District Head, they answered according to how they ranked wealth alone as compared to political power. Since both of these dimensions of status are usually congruent when ranked high, the discrimination is often a difficult one. Nevertheless there is, at any one level in the society, a large measure of agreement about the amount of arziyi of the various social roles in the society at any one time. People from different levels of the society give somewhat differing pictures of the distribution of arziyi throughout the society. This results from their different vantage points and therefore differing opportunities for perceiving the social structure. Thus although many lower class people find it difficult to decide whether or not the effete District Head has more arziyi than the rich city trader, those close to the chief, including himself, feel that the rich trader has more.

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829 This brings up an interesting observation. The judgment of any individual about the distribution of arziyi in society at any one time is his particular notion about the arrangement of social roles in the social structure. Furthermore, his estimation of the distribution of arziyi at any one level of the hierarchy, e.g. comparing the behaviour of one District Head with another, is his judgment of the success that occupants of similar roles were enjoying relative to one another.

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829 Arziyi seems to be used in two related ways in Kanuri culture. Firstly, in an enormously heterogeneous society, it gives a satisfactory answer to individual variations along one of the most affective dimensions of behaviour, success in achieving immediate and long range goals. Secondly, it is used as an explanation for the nature of the social structure, i.e. for its stratification. Those people, who have higher status along any dimension of stratification, have more arziyi, which accounts for their ability to maintain such a role in the social organization. These two ways of using arziyi as an explanation for differentiation are related so that what results is a Kanuri theory of society that at once validates its structure and explains the changes in personnel which accompany a system where personal fortunes may rise and fall rapidly. Thus a high status position in the structure indicates that the person has that amount of arziyi. His performance of the role required by this status may show him to have even more arziyi then he will outstrip others who occupy the same status and seek the
[558] same goals. On the other hand, he may do badly which will indicate a loss of arziyi and a loss of status. Arziyi is also, besides being a theory of society, a theory of causation, which integrates social and individual differentiation under one simple, mystical force, personal

554
828 good fortune, which is continually being validated since its presence
829 is manifested after the fact of its operation in behaviour.

Chapter VIII

[p. 229]

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organiza- [571] tion with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the [632] small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

571 In 1953 one of these full-time
621 gworongo farmers whose holdings were somewhat above the average, moved
166 his household three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Gworongo Hamlet to be closer to his fields.(1) With him he took his two wives and a younger brother and his wife. The younger brother also had fields at this spot through inheritance. Two sons moved as well. One has since left to go and live with his father's brother in Maiduguri, and one was preparing for a patrilocal marriage in 1957. A stranger to Gworongo Hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the 1953 settlement. He had no wife at the time and reports that he asked the original mover if he might build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals with its head. For this hospitality he helped mend the owner's bramble fences on the gworongo plots, repaired household fences and huts, and sometimes gathered grass for the senior's horse. He has since married (with some financial help in the form of a loan and a gift from the settlement head) and is not a
62 settled member of the new community-in-the-becoming. All residents of this new settlement look upon the founder as its senior member, and when he dies his son (in the settlement) will take over the headship. Disputes between members are always taken to the senior for settlement before going to any higher authorities (which has never been done), while disputes with outsiders follow the general rule of going first to a pol-
621 itical leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not yet have a name; however, in all likelihood, if it continues to grow and expand it will be called Aji or Ajiri after the original founder whose name is Aji.

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(1) This is the reason given by the farmer himself. Local gossip has it that he had quarrelled with the Hamlet Head of Gworongo over taxes.

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621 This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

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632 The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head
[651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years
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621 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the
622 founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Bulama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[text continues on p. 233]

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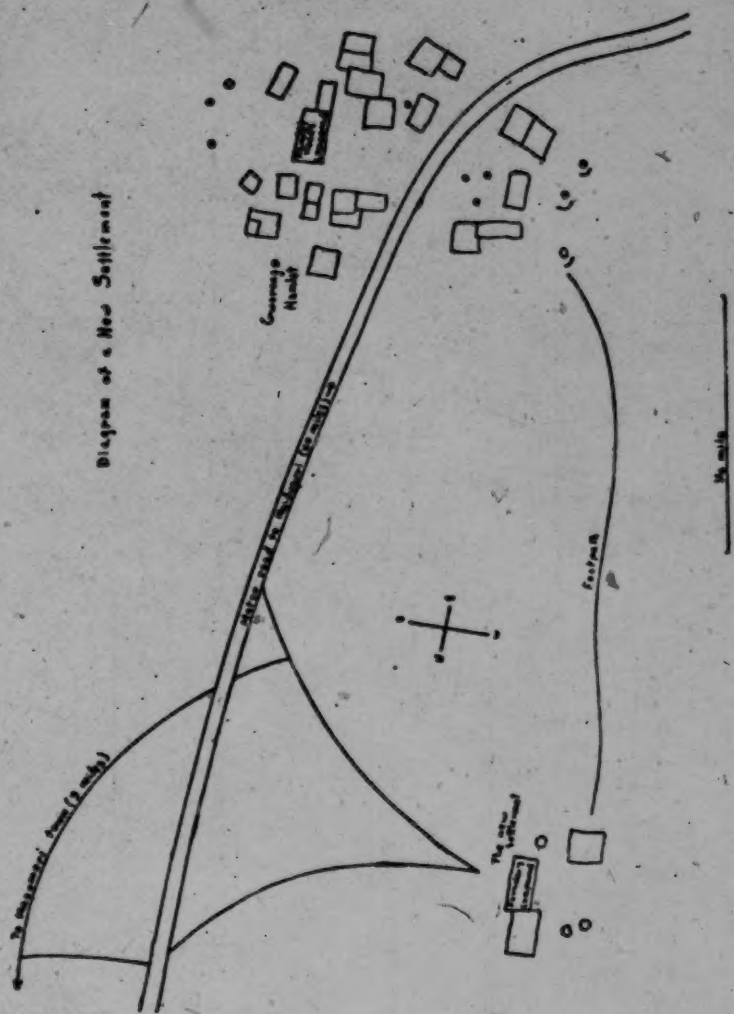
Diagram of a New Settlement



361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

571 632 621 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional units of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (nguro) under its Bɛlama is slowly approaching the condition where another Bɛlama will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 571 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this study by the term extended household organization. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as kin who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

If the extended household head can maintain the
621 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
571 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
554 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bɔlama), depending upon the location
622 of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bɔlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bɔlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the ngure Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 621 Lawan arrived. They look upon Lawan as their leader, but also feel more deeply rooted to their place of residence. This group has seen several Lawans come and go and if Lawan were to consistently overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to complaining about him to his superiors. Their goodwill and support must be sought by Lawan, and they must not be administered to their perpetual detri-
632 ment. Indeed this check on the Lawan's power applied to all his tala (peasants) many of whom know that they can complain of misrule to his superiors. Another check which any tala has over his political superior is migration. He can always move to some other town where he is treated more judiciously. All political leaders, especially Lawans and District Heads, are aware of these checks on their power and are to varying degrees influenced by them.

632 621 571 In Magumeri, the Lawan's own extended household organization includes his son, and about twenty followers under a chief follower (Wakil). Each of the men in this organization has a household of his own somewhere in Lawan's ward (they are not necessarily contiguous), and farmland given to him by Lawan. They receive economic aid from their superior in the form of food, clothing, money, etc., and a status in the extended household organization of the Lawan. Peasants often ask them to intercede for them with the Lawan, or to help them in arranging a meeting between disputants with Lawan as judge.

The members of Lawan's extended household organization are his "administrative staff". They keep in touch with gossip, especially political news; aid in raising taxes; act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him; help him on his farms; and carry messages for him. His followers on foot and horse give him as well the appearance of being what he is, a man cut above his peasant subjects, a local ruler.

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571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

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871 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated [554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A. (1)

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423 All land use rights in the village area except hereditary
[622] usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan
632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

632 if the matter is ratified by a person of authority in their community. Thus if a man in Magumeri town wishes to move his compound walls in order to expand the size of his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it and they both go to the Lawan and speak to him of the decision. Lawan asks his men to find out if the contiguous neighbours object, and if not, the action is ratified. This supervisory function of political leaders, especially the Lawan, is a well used mechanism for avoiding possible conflicts in the interpersonal relations of people in town and village settlements.

632 651 The Lawan collects two kinds of taxes, although only one is officially recognized by the N.A. Firstly, there is a tax collected for the state from all settled people in the village area which is in the form of a property assessment on all males over the age of eighteen to twenty. Any amount the Lawan obtains with the aid of his organization above the amount written on the tax receipt stubs, is (illegally) [661] his own income. Overtaxing in this manner is a widely accepted prac- [648] tice, but must be kept within limits, since a complaint to the British by a resentful peasant could bring on the dismissal of the Lawan.

632 651 661 The second tax collected by the Lawan is the zakat or tithe on farm produce. Unlike the first tax, there is no official sanction for this levy beyond that of tradition, and the power and authority of [648] the Lawan in his Village Area. Colonial officials assured the writer that this practice was illegal and occurred only sporadically. In a survey of 75 households in three Village Areas (i.e., under three different Lawans) all peasants who had produced a farm crop reported paying a tithe in kind or approximately ten per cent of their millet crop. In twelve cases the household heads declared that they had given ten per cent of all crop production including millet, beans and groundnuts.

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One of the informants offered the information that if he did not pay zakat to his Lawan, his farmland would be taken away from him. Checking this information proved to be difficult, since no cases were ever reported or observed. Consequently, people only speculated about the results of not paying zakat. The belief that land might be confiscated if the zakat tax is not paid is not universal, but the belief that some sort of reprisal would result from non-payment is held by all peasants.

The following excerpt from field notes illustrates the kind of experience that promotes this belief if the Lawan's authority is not responded to with some degree of subordination.

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Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the Lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat maker and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the town, he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school, an N.A. employee and a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appears to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the town, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

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On one of these occasions of the teacher's absence, Bukar had borrowed some matting from his mentor for use in his own compound. The Lawan, in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony, needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arabic teacher's to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked in the teacher's compound. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the others. He answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting from his own compound and was brought to the Lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the Lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by Lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned Lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar, sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by Lawan (the ceremony was over).

632 661 He therefore supported the lower class person against his fellow upper class member.

632 661 683 684 Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani herder whose cows had eaten his millet. The case came before Lawan who ruled that although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offence), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cows to wander over Bukar's field and devour his, as well as another man's, crops. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops and given an extra fine of five shillings as kafelo for the District Head. (Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started; besides this, pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offence to the fight itself, and the Fulani was not fined for this middemeanour).

632 661 In discussing the matter, Bukar's senior, the teacher explained that Lawan was angry at Bukar for his behaviour over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine he was told by the teacher to give the money to Lawan and to say that he (Bukar) was a small insignificant poor peasnt. He was further instructed to tell Lawan that if there was any help that Lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future. If Lawan continued to adjudicate against him and give him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with Lawan, but if this were impossible then higher authorities would be resorted to and Lawan's power by-passed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected within limits.

This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

632 [643] A Lawan is installed officially by the Shehu at an investiture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawans well back into the 19th century,

632 others are of mere recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organization.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher pol-
631 itical organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organization above
634 the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the
631 Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the homad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial.
[492] When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe
[411] and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

634 The District organization is roughly similar throughout the twenty-one such divisions in Borno Emirate. Each District shares the [368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a [491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

634 A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in 64 consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

634 The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most [644] impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the 634 palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household 571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

634 571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'uma if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Nagumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live 634 571 either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization 561 are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

634
571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

634 that his assessment was too high. The DH promptly sent out some of his
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661 followers and gathered twice the assessment originally stipulated. He then called in the Lawan to the District capital, reprimanded him and gave back one-quarter of the excess tax raised by his followers.

631 Formally the Lawans are subordinate to the DH of their District. The DH relays information to them from the capital concerning the execution of their political duties and it is their responsibility to have these directives carried out. However, for various reasons to be discussed presently, some of the political activity of the DH is illegal under the present regulations. Therefore he often requires more than mere compliance to state regulations. As shown by the example above the DH wants cooperation and complicity in his own political organization of the District. Several factors militate against the absorption of the Lawans into the DH's organization. Firstly, the Lawan's salary and his income from taxes and political duties make him less dependent upon the DH than the latter's more disciplined followers. Secondly, the British have always viewed the Lawan's job as that of a local chief (see above pp.36-39) whose ties should be to the locality and not necessarily the DH. Nevertheless a DH's views are almost always taken into consideration by both the NA and the British when a new Lawan
631 is to be appointed. This last point leads to a conflict. Dismissals
661 and transfers are common occurrences among DH's. Because DH's often manage to get a few of their loyal followers into a Lawan's job, especially in the District capital, each new DH in a District is confronted with a few Lawans who are the loyal followers of his predecessor.

The result of this structural framework is a constant manoeuvring by the DH to either win the loyalty and obedience of his Lawans or replace them with his own followers.

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Good examples of these conflicts can be seen in some of the recorded history of Magumeri District in the last fifty years. From 1921 to 1929, Lawan Tayil, a follower of the DH, is only mentioned briefly and always alluded to as a competent Lawan. After the DH left the District in 1929 and was replaced by a new one, adverse reports by British officers (who had talked to the new DH) became more and more common. It was noted that Lawan Tayil was unpopular with the people, that there was emigration out of his village area due to exhortative taxation, and that he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1934 he was deposed and a younger brother of the new DH was installed
631 as Lawan. Examples like this are extremely common from Magumeri's
661 recent past as well as from the other Districts. This is reflected in the length of term of Lawans in office, taken from three widely separated Districts. The average length of tenure for a Lawan who is the follower of reigning Lawan is ten years if the DH remains in the District; on the other hand, the average length of tenure for a Lawan (in the District capital) is four years after a DH has left the District.

There is a tendency indicated in the historical records
631 for DH's to appoint younger brothers as Lawans. But this has its lim-
661 its; sometimes kin are passed over, or relationships are broken because
662 a kin member feels that he will be held responsible for his kinsman's behaviour. Thus in 1935, the Lawan of Magumeri asked the British authorities if he could be moved to another District away from the hegemony of an older brother who was his DH. By 1935 the British had received a great many complaints from Magumeri District about the oppressive taxation of the DH. Thus the DH's younger brother sensing that trouble was brewing for the DH, felt that it would be more advantageous for his own political career if he were out of his older brother's District,

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631 661 Another good example of this point was observed in the field. The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of [602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 647 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A. are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of [178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years, and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred, or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy [571] out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A. officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which 634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the 647 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues, 651 and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration with the Chief Scribe.

634 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe 647 was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All 661 631 efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

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hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

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In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat

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with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to mulct the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

634 However, this and other moves by the DH to obtain friendship and
647 loyalty from the N.A. employees in his area can never be totally suc-
571 cessful in creating a unified political organization in the District. First of all, they can be moved to other Districts by their superiors and often are, thus creating the problem of new N.A. personnel constantly arriving. Secondly, their income from N.A. salaries allows them to be independent of the DH economically if they wish, while the power and authority of their own departmental superiors in the capital always acts to lessen the degree of sensitivity and possible subservience they may feel towards the DH.

631 This does not mean to imply that the N.A. employees are
634 completely independent of the DH. In many branches of N.A. activity
647 it is either difficult or impossible at present to initiate or continue civil service programs without a modicum of cooperation from the DH. This is another way of saying that in the rural area the independent existence of other sources of power and authority besides the line leading from Lawan through the DH to the Shehu is hardly recognized. (1)

For example, it is impossible to establish a local forest reserve without the DH issuing orders to all Lawans ordering them to cooperate with a newly arrived District representative of the Forestry Department. Or again, it is the DH who at present enforces and maintains a regular flow of children into the Junior Primary School in his District capital. On the other hand, if the DH continually refuses to cooperate with N.A. officials and civil service programs are obstructed, complaints by local N.A. personnel, plus the failure of program goals can bring sharp reprimands down upon the DH.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a

(1) The exception here is the European, who the peasant knows has much power.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a
634 647 554 [576] highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 647 662 Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the extended household organization of the DH, then the factional memberships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 647 557 The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household organization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[838] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

634 647 554 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connections to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri. The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from [661] Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to [203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to guage properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

634 647 662 The prison warder who kept the little jail in Magumeri, although not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

634 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A.[1] He
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662 had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

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634 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are
642 extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form.[2]

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Waziri (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Kaiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

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634 personnel, and ratifies all appointments, dismissals and transfers of
642 the N.A. The DH may be informed of directives either from the Waziri's office or from the relevant Department which would also inform their local District personnel.

648 Officially, today, the British personnel both technical and administrative, perform an advisory, not an authoritative, part in the political organization. Although much of the "advice" is given at the center, there is some contact between the colonial service officials and the District during the touring duty of the officers. Such visits are always publicized beforehand to the local officials and the British officer is always accompanied by a Shehu's Representative. Technical officers are generally concerned with their own particular program in the area and unless they feel that the local authorities are being uncooperative, they do not interfere in local or State politics. The administrative officers have a much wider range of interests which covers all areas of government not directly under the concern of some technical department, i.e. taxation, courts of law, District Councils (local government) and complaints by the peasants against their chiefs. Some also take an interest in one or more technical branch and report their findings to the relevant department after their touring duties have brought them into contact with local programs.

634 Informally the DH has a house in the palace ward in the
203 capital and his followers there are links between himself and the
[631] center. The Wakil (chief follower) in charge of the town house visits the Shehu regularly and represents the DH in the capital. Besides this source of contact with the center, the DH receives information from N.A. messengers, policeman and traders who travel continually from Maiduguri through the Districts. By the judicious giving of gifts to

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
634 which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
665 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Waziri
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Waziri with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realised
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bərzum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

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651 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts, the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

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631 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their
648 enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

643 In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the
[368] palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization.
[101] As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

643 The Shehu is
793 also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
796 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadam (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
[123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

643 That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocen-
648 tricism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy
[114] to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Wazirí and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in
[829] reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state.(1)

645 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has
647 the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Wazirí, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

[Footnote continues on p. 258]

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

647 557 traditional one. One of the senior members of an individual's agnatic group arranges an audience with some person connected to an N.A. department. One informant in the N.A. commented on recruitment in the following manner.

> If you want a job in the Treasury, one of your relatives (a senior male agnate) will find out, if he does not already know, the name of some person who is known to "help" people and go to greet him some night. Your relative will give him some money and he will say that you must come back the next day and he will tell you. Then he will find you a job in the Department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him, and then the job is yours, and you are in the N.A. . . . Sometimes it takes a long time.

647 Because of the constant shifts in personnel, some to higher positions, others because of dismissals or jail terms, there is much unpredictability of job tenure in the N.A. and suspicion of unorthodox 647 behaviour is a common rule. Thus one junior N.A. official remarked 576 that he must be careful in his department to always dress less well than his superiors, or it would be considered ro kura (ambitious, proud), and therefore threatening. On the other hand, he must not dress too poorly or his superiors will consider him a wastrel, who 647 spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again, it is extremely difficult to transfer (through own effort) from one branch of the service to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to the person's own department heads and N.A. council; if a release is granted, then a further application to the desired department [829] can be submitted. To the Kanuri such a transfer is not considered a rejection of the work, but of the people in the department. Thus informants claimed that they would be considered ingrates and trouble- [662] makers if they were ever to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends "visiting at night", i.e. paying tribute to the appropriate

647 662 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647 [557] Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense 647 571 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However, within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the DH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or [641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

647 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation
661 of Kanuri
values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his [183] laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismis- [671] sals) to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence.

Political Parties

665. In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

665 ernment, which means that several Kanuri have been Ministers in the Federal cabinet. Several days a week public meetings are held in various parts of Maiduguri under the green flag of the N.P.C. Followers of the "big men" make long speeches to the assembled crowds, while political leaders, N.A. officials, the DH of Maiduguri, and several Lawans from the main segments of the city sit on chairs near the center of activities, often nodding their approval. Sometimes, although not often, these leaders speak themselves. However, it is more in keeping with Kanuri culture that the actual work, the talking, which in this case is usually a loud harangue against the opposition party, should be done by followers and professionals who specialize in such speeches.

665 641 The overall effect of an N.P.C. meeting is one of traditional and constituted authority. The N.A. officials and the traditional leaders always appear to support the movement. Thus a vote against this party not only means that a different party is being supported, it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference the moral order which holds it together. This last point is particularly evident in the political speeches of N.P.C. The listeners are constantly and almost entirely confronted not with a political platform, but with a moral decision; the opposition party is represented as being against the chiefs, and to the existing order of society. It is argued they are opposed to children obeying their parents. Stories are told of opposition members whose parents support the chiefs, but who have run away and rejected their parents. These are now vagrants - with no families, no proper place in the society, who have little responsible connection to the social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as now known would be destroyed by the opposition, who

665 641 [186] it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 647 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should support the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate [648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union)(1), is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

665 marked that one day their leader would obtain power in Bornu and put them all into traditional offices.

Opposition party meetings, which are well attended, play up the corruption, and abuses of power made by the N.A. and the traditional leaders. European democratic standards of political behaviour are used as criterion for condemning the traditional party and its supporters. Followers are urged to use their votes to bring down from power the officials who take poor peoples' money to buy big cars, fancy houses, trips to Mecca and many wives for themselves. The party is well organized in the big city, but has practically no representation or effect in the rural areas. In the rural communities the Lawan and the DH as well as the local N.A. officials, as the ruling elite, give substance to the leadership of the N.P.C.

Chapter IX

[p. 265]

The Economic Life

592 For purposes of consumption and production the basic unit
128 among the Kanuri is the household group consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their children. Since the external and internal social relations of household groups has formed a major part of the study up to this point these data are omitted from the present discussion. This allows us to deal with the "bare bones" of economic activity and to ask questions about the patterns of consumption, production and distribution of goods and services. Where economic activities are set into heretofore unmentioned forms of social organization such as occurs in the distributive sector, then these structures are described and related to the economic activity being analysed.

121 For purposes of the present analysis, consumption is operationally equated with all behaviour pertaining to those things acquired through the expenditure of capital resources as these are known to the Kanuri; production refers to those activities from which income is derived in cash and kind, excluding trade; and distribution includes those activities by which the movement of goods and services is accomplished from producers to consumers.

829 It should be noted here that this classification is an arbitrary one in terms of Bornu culture. To the Kanuri, consumption comes under the linguistic rubric of awo manyen (things we need), while production and distribution are lumped together as sanya (occupations). Where an individual has two occupations such as farmer and craftsman, or farmer and trader, he most often reports his non-farming activity as his sanya.

000 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant

12 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant observation, two other methods were used in obtaining information on economic life in Bornu. Firstly, a sample of seventy-five cultivators, chosen partly by their local political leaders and partly by personal consent,(1) was observed and questioned by a field assistant on agricultural production, food consumption, livestock and land tenure. The sample was drawn from three towns: Magumeri, Nguburu and Chingowa: each roughly six miles from the other points of a triangle. Farm plots were measured off, dates of planting, weeding and harvesting were recorded, and the produce from one acre of millet and one of groundnuts weighed for each cultivator. As reported by the farmers themselves, and checked by the interviewer, the sample consisted of the following occupational groupings:

[115]

TABLE X

Occupation	Number	Percentage of Sample
Farmers	25	33.3
Craftsmen #	16	21.3
Traders	17	22.7
Political and Religious Specialists	17	22.7
	75	100.0

Includes 4 "herders" - persons who tend other peoples livestock, mostly sheep and goats, for a fee, as their non-farming specialty.

Secondly, using intensive interviews and observation, the annual budgets of twenty-two household heads were constructed by extrapolating from daily and weekly figures on income and expenditure in cash and kind, as well as reported crop production.(2) No sampling procedures were used in gathering this material, since the traditional method of gaining rapport with informants was a major criterion in

(1) They were primarily involved in a demonstration of the potential improvement of farm yields with the use of superphosphate fertilizer.

[114] (2) A similar but more extensive (numerically) method has been used by Smith, M.G., The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, 1955.

12 in choosing households.(2) An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of 592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Itd economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the lpcal political leaders.

462 592 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking [434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

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[114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labourers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

[463] [177] 562 592 562 323

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>serwa</u> (co-

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476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

Production

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182 Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

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[132] The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

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433 In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

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their surplus crop at the local markets.

Although not exact, because of the exclusion of non-cultivators from the sample, some measure of the variation in crop production is shown in the following table of average productivity among the cultivators of the farm survey.(1)

TABLE XI

Table of Average (calculated) Yields for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	Millet (bags, threshed)ø	Groundnuts (bags, decorticated)ø
Farmers	22	9
Craftsmen	17	5
Traders	7	4
Political and Religious Specialists	5	2

ø One bag of threshed millet, average weight - 190 lbs.
ø One bag of decorticated groundnuts, average weight - 200 lbs.

Increases or decreases in production from previous years were reported by 24 (32%) of the 75 cultivators. The following are the reasons given for this variation:

TABLE XII

	N
1) Increase or decrease in number of wives	8
2) Other activities interrupted farm work during the growing and harvest season	7
3) Sickness	6
4) More help in the compound (male)	1
5) Soil depleted	1
6) Damage by smut	1
Total:	24

Thus increase or decrease in number of wives, non-farming activities, and sickness during the growing season seem to be the larg-

[128] (1) These figures are constructed from the acreage of each farmer, multiplied by the average yield per acre in the sample. Reported yield figures on millet (not groundnuts) were so at variance with calculated yield that their reliability is extremely questionable. This may not be due entirely to deliberate falsification by respondents, since they were asked to estimate yields in bags, whereas for the most part this crop is stored in large underground pits, or aboveground storage shelters.

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433 est factors affecting crop fluctuations from year to year. The seven cases of loss in crop which resulted from inattention to farm work because of other activities, refer mainly to economic pursuits, especially retail and wholesale trade, which took the man away from his household during the growing season. The one exception to this rule was a man who had been to Maiduguri with his family in order to fight a court case.

The table on occupation and crop production reveals the pattern of crop production among the various groups in the community. The increases and decreases in production give some measure of the amount of variation that may be expected from year to year. What follows is a discussion of the factors that affect this variation.

[164] The growing season is also a time of general biological in-
[136] crease in Bornu. The rain not only brings the blessing of fertility to the land, it also initiates a period of increased malaria, guinea worm and other plant and animal infestations, as well as the arrival of cattle nomads whose herds may stray into a cultivator's plots, and periodic hordes of locusts. These factors may at any time reduce a farmer's yield and add a constant element of uncertainty to his life. It is no wonder that prayers, charms, and divinatory practices are utilized in combination with the more "rational" agricultural techniques.

The amount of land under cultivation, and its location close to, or far away, from the settlement varies with the kind of primary occupational interest of the farm owner. This is easily seen in the table of average yields above, in which farmers and craftsmen have much larger yields than traders or religious and political specialists. These figures point up the fact that in Bornu a man's non-farming activities especially if they are in trade, politics or religion, tend to impinge

241 433 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the District Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
[571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
[586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
[571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bèrzum subordinates again help determine the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
[476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily salaries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.
[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
241 464 571 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure availability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties or working bèrzum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).
(2) See below p. 305.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilize the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groudnuts have been as follows:(1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ø
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	[illegible]

ø Maiduguri market (average)
ø General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

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458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

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571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

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55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds,
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369 and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterized by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has <u>tada njima</u> who tailor for others

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishama (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

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TABLE XIV

Table of Average Non-agricultural Income for 75 Cultivators #

Occupation	Annual income from non-agricultural pursuits (pounds sterling)	% of total annual income in cash and kind
Farmers	0	0
Craftsmen	31	43
Traders	44	67
Political and Religious Specialists	55	84

[128] # These annual figures are constructed from estimates made by each respondant in answer to questions concerning his earnings per week, (a) in the dry season, (b) in the wet season. The percentages are calculated by adding the figures in this table to those obtained for crop production after converting crop figures to cash values.

Increase or decreases in income from non-agricultural pursuits were reported by 26 (34%) of the sample. The reasons given for such changes are shown below.

TABLE XV

loss or gain of tada njima per household	16
sickness	3
better or worse income from membership in an extended household organization	2
loss or gain in wives	2
raise in salary (N.A.)	1
a new wholesale source or loss of an old one	3
	26

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The table on income indicates what degree of specialization away from sedentary agriculture various segments of the Kanuri population have achieved. Craft workers, it should be noted, are slightly more dependent upon agriculture than craft work, while trader, political and religious specialists are much more dependent upon non-agricultural activities for their incomes. This means that the crop producers

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kagumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fèlongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 433 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calculated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season, he does not produce for the market at all; but takes private orders which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

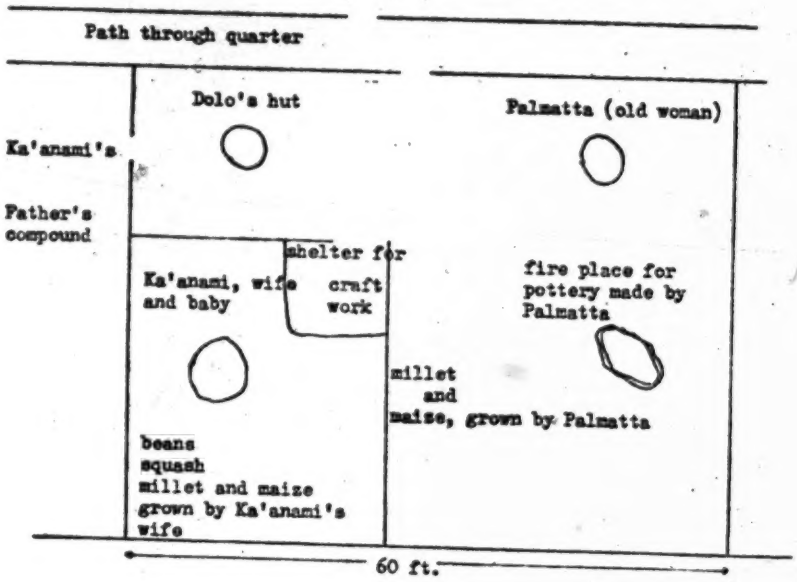
435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from 3/3 to 5/- or about 4/ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about 3/-
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him a cash income of approximately £45.0.0.; when this is added to his crop production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at £86.0.0.

461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Besides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossipping and moralizing about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

461 on the gourds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

178 415 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

592 351 Ka'anami's Compound



231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as muhh respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the Kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential

592 461 in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Mukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

231 463 435 434 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d. to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional income of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/- per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between 4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0. for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission" because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about £167.0.0.

434 [452] However, he does not actually take in all this income as cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He complained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of prop-
556 erty by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Nagumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

Consumption

511 128 In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

264 For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male
262 head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of
264 millet flour (*penisetum typhoideum*) made into porridge or dumplings (*buri argumbe*) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

262 [264] [782] where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, occra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet.(1)

511 In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 zaka(2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half zaka per person. Using the zaka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 [435] lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Kagumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 zaka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

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[146] (1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

[804] (2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A zaka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quantities of grain, beans and nuts. Four zaka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one sa (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 sa per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 zaka per buhu. Zaka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

511 The expenditure for condiments, vegetables, cooking oil, meat or fish, etc. varies from household to household, for this reflects the individual tastes, and more especially the standard of living of any particular family unit. The lowest reported was 2/6d per week for an unmarried man whose aged mother cooked for him and herself in their small compound, while the highest was £5.5.0 (105/-) given by the District Head to his wife for the meat, fish, rice, chickens, condiments, oil, etc. In about two-thirds of the cases, however, the figures fell between 3/- and 5/- per household per week. If the person had any identification with urban life, as several did who were in Magumeri for the farming season, then this weekly expenditure seemed to be somewhat higher, ranging between 5/- and 9/- per week.

Using 3/- to 5/- as the weekly market money that the rural peasant householder spends on additional necessities for his staple foods (median value of roughly 4/-) an annual minimum for this part of the peasant diet can be set at about £10.0.0 for the average (four person) family. That is to say, the figures from budget interviews in combination with the survey material, give a rough estimate of the minimum amount(measured in cash values) required to keep this constructed "average" household unit in its nutrient requirements at prevailing (1955-57) prices — this is £41 sterling per annum (approximately $125.00).(1)

262 Although the consumption of millet porridge is fairly standard for all levels of the population - what goes into the soup, and the scale of differences among other foods eaten, varies with socio-

(1) This does not mean that the average family buys $125.00 worth of food per year since almost every family grows some part of its nutrient requirements. See above p.272 for the approximate amounts of millet produced by various occupation groups.

262 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may
262 be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with
264 a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bèlèm (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bèlèm, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins, bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
441 closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men, there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the different kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and

286
[192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] girt giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desirability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, workmanship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kanuri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rarely wear prints).

291 In a culture where houses are often extremely similar from person to person, within any one strata of society, clothing tends to give expression to individual tastes and desires. On a broader scale, difference in dress reflects class divisions and higher and lower echelons of the status dimensions discussed in previous chapters, giving cultural support and emphasis to these social distinctions. Thus on a normal work day in Magumeri these differences are readily apparent.

511 The actual amount of expenditure for clothing is a function of income and social status and seems to range for many of the peasant population (over two-thirds of the budgets) between three and thirteen pounds sterling per annum for each male household head. If we take £9.0.0. as a rough median value per rural male householder, the calculated rural expenditure for food (£41.0.0) and clothing (£9.0.0) is about £50.0.0 per year, in cash and kind (translated into cash values at local Bornu prices).

[562] The following table, taken from nineteen of the more reliable budgets, illustrates the relationship between occupation and clothing expenditures, as well as pointing up the fact that most women's clothes are bought by men. The extremes of the table are: (1) a District Head who buys a larger amount and a better quality of clothing as a mark of his high status, as well as giving away many gifts of robes to his followers; (2) a servant of the District Head who buys no clothing at all, since the D.H. supplies him with his needs; (3) a wealthy trader from the city who utilizes clothing expenditures, among other things, to raise his social status commensurate to his recent rise in wealth.

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men ø (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Gworongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

ø All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment,
511 ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social
431 relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and
511 informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand,
796 religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lis-

517 tening to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
[554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for 177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

302 sexes and constitutes one of the minor expenses to be reckoned with by
301 the ceremonial initiator. Men and women wear rings of silver or some other white metal and women also wear bracelets, anklets, hairpins, ear
302 plugs, and necklaces. Women darken their eyes with antimony, and colour their front teeth red. Males have their heads shaved by a barber once every two or three weeks, sometimes letting it go for an entire month. Women dress their hair every fifteen days. Female friends, relatives or neighbours dress one another's hair in turn. Men give their wives a regular allowance to cover the cost of hair dressing which includes expenditures for pomade, cloves, special needlelike objects for braiding and other materials that go into the elaborate confection of a Kanuri woman's hair styling. Men and women also (not universally) dye their hands and feet in indigo and henna respectively.

511 In the budget interviews the composite expenditure for ceremonials, entertainments, stimulants and cosmetics ranged between £3.0.0 to £12.0.0 (per annum) with one person lower (£2.0.0) and three higher (£15.0.0, £20.0.0 and £88.0.0) - those higher were two N.A. officials and a city trader; all, therefore, non-peasants. Taking the median point as our measure of central tendency, we can allow about £8.0.0 sterling for this category of consumption in the average (four person) rural household. This brings the calculated rural expenditure in cash value to £58.0.0 per household.

Operating Expenses

Operating costs are those expenditures which are not consumed for their own value as entertainment, or subsistence items, but are necessary expenses, which maintain the economic unit as a productive entity. In this category are such things as housing, tools, labour, land, transportation, taxes, fuel and seeds.

511 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

000
231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accommodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

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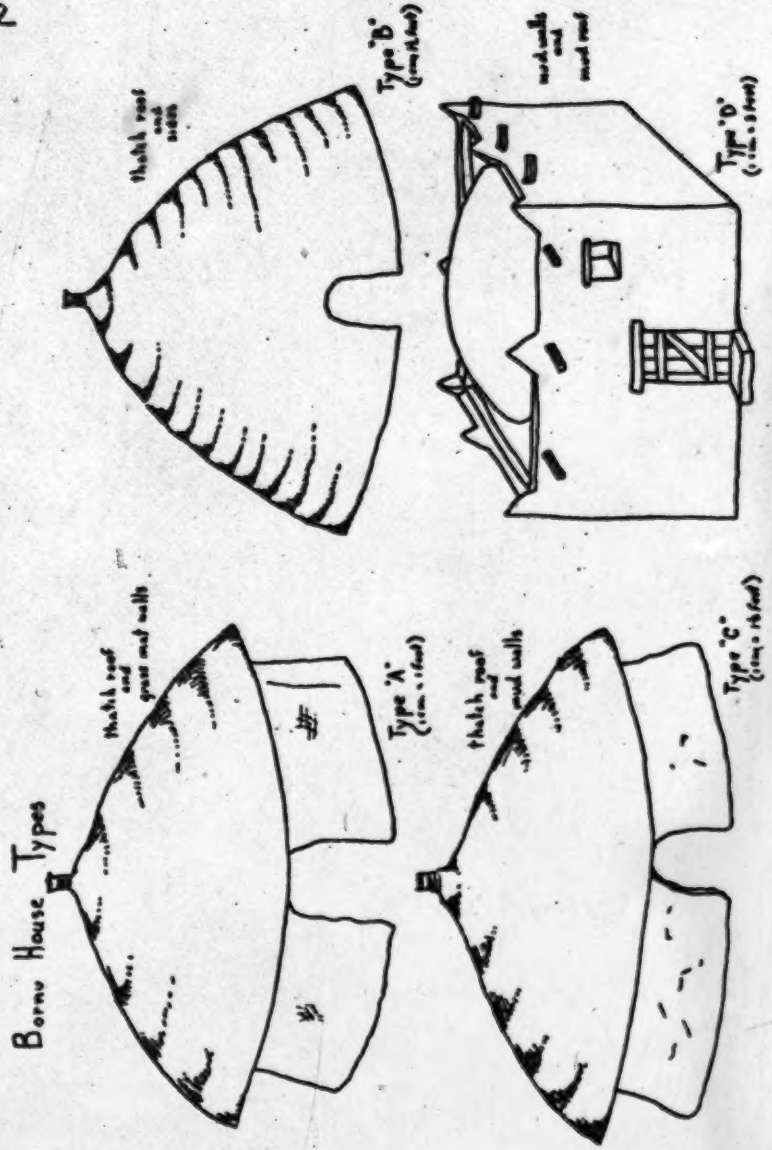
Bornu House Types
thatch roof and grass mud walls
Type "A"
thatch roof and mud walls
Type "C"
thatch roof and mud walls
Type "B"
mud walls and mud roof
Type "D"

342 476 565 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the owner. This method is only practised in the construction of house types 342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists 331 565 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la- [369] [563] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contractors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur- [427] [369] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea- [425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving 423 632 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

Permission should be sought
425 for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
632 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots;
+23 this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm are.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

423 [829] political leader, and/or it means that the person has inherited land through his agnatic relationship to a previous community member.

A second characteristic of Kanuri land tenure is its progressively private character through time, especially after an inheritance. Thus if A receives a plot in the house farm area from his Lawan and three seasons later leaves the town the land returns to the dispensing power of the political leader. However, if A receives land from his father and wishes to leave the area, he may give the land to a friend, or attempt to sell it, especially if he considers it a "good" farm plot. That is to say, after land use rights have passed on through inheritance, the dispensation of these rights comes (more properly) under the power of the inheritors using the land. However, things are not quite so clearcut in practice as this description implies. Thus much depends on the particular political leader and the peasant in question. The writer has seen land rented by A to B when it had only been given to A by the Lawan a few years before, and there are numerous stories of Lawans attempting to repossess land use rights or their dispensation after several generations. Thus the second characteristic is more properly speaking a tendency among other. Kanuri land tenure as observed today is really the result of three forces which operate in greater or lesser intensity through time. These are (a) the rights of land dispensation of the political leader, especially to land adjacent to the settlement; (b) the rights of agnatic kin members over inherited land; and (c) the right accruing to anyone through clearing new land and using it. The stability of this ownership system depends primarily upon the political relations between households and their local political leaders. Given a working political unit in which rights, duties and obligations of superiors and subordinates in the community

423 are not in conflict, then no trouble emerges from these potentially conflicting criteria of land ownership.

425 428 [182] The following table, indicating sources of land acquisition, demonstrates the fact that for the most part Kanuri land tenure is closely related to traditional modes of socio-political organization.

TABLE XVII

Table of Modes of Land Acquisition for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	(1) No. of plots	Inherited #	Inherited %	From pol. leader ∅ #	From pol. leader ∅ %	Cleared bush #	Cleared bush %	Bought or given as a gift #	Bought or given as a gift %	% of row totals
farmers	48	31	64.6	7	14.6	9	18.8	1	2.1	100.0%
craftsmen	27	17	62.9	10	37.1	0	-	0	-	100.0%
traders	26	14	53.9	5	19.2	5	19.2	2	7.7	100.0%
pol. & rel. specialists	23	10	43.5	10	43.5	2	8.7	1	4.3	100.0%
Totals	124	72	58.1	32	25.8	16	12.9	4	3.2	100.0%

∅ From Lawan or Bulama.

The table indicates that 58.1% of all farm land in the three towns examined was acquired through inheritance, i.e. kinship affiliation, while an additional 25.8% was obtained through some political relationship between the cultivator and his local leader. In other words, 83.9% of all land was acquired by producers as a result of their traditional roles in either the kinship or political organization of the rural scene, whereas only 16.1% of the land holdings were the result of individual effort, purchase or gift.

425 It should also be noted that the 25.8% of all land obtained from political leaders refers to cleared, bounded plots, not bushland.

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted 571 that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

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[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 874 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. 241 464 476 On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists (1) provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups (2) reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

241 592 571

241 476 571

241 464 571

511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

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(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).
(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems
[511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarizes the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX :
Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance
44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44
[441] of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market economy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

366 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and
494 transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate furth-
161 er growth.

443 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the
494 one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus
484 if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest
443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of
[203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics,
[273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale
[525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom
692 disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then
[632] the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the Judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

In Maiduguri, there
443 is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles
[698] all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Nguru. In Nagumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Nagumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage
[123] of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's
[435] "followers" (tada njima) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

[162] In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Geidam and Nguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open
[805] every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.

443
435

The price mechanism is so nearly uniform for any one commodity on any one market day (and often for months at a time), that a system of consensus is implied. And yet to the best of the writer's knowledge no self-consciously organized price setting is practised in the Bornu markets. When there is room for fluctuation, price seems to emerge as a norm which results from the interaction of buyers to sellers, and sellers to sellers, through buyers. It should be remembered that all sellers of one commodity are located together in the market. They may be seated under a tree, as are the women who sell cooked foods, or in line under a common set of stick and mat shelters, or in a common section under several shelters like the tailors and sellers of cloth. What is important here is that sellers of any one commodity can overhear what prices are being charged to buyers. The early morning sellers, if alone, may have no norm and consequently, may haggle with buyers for quite some time over price unless they wish to sell all their wares early in order to transact other business, drink beer, visit friends and so on. As more sellers arrive, most buyers check prices with all sellers of the same commodity before making a purchase. (If prices are constant and the item is sold by the measure, then the various measures used by the different sellers are carefully inspected so that any smaller measuring vessels may be avoided). From these practices a norm very quickly emerges which lasts almost the entire market day, given a plentiful supply of the commodity. If, however, the item becomes scarce then individual sellers, realizing that some of their competitors are out of stock, or have left the market, (1) raise prices. Contrarily, if the end of market day is approaching and stocks are high, prices can be

(1) Some commodity sellers with slightly more money were observed to buy out one or more of their competitors early in the day in order to control supplies and prices for that day more easily.

443 435 pushed down by a nonchalant buyer with an anxious seller whose sales for that day have been low.

This above description has exaggerated the price fluctuations to some extent. With many items, prices hold as constants for long periods and become an institutionalized part of the market. Thus a box of sugar cubes is one shilling and only very rarely did this price ever 443 vary in the entire period of the field work. Even with prices that did 435 vary, it is the writer's opinion that European travellers and commenta- 437 tors on Africa have overstressed the haggling up and down variability of prices in African markets because of their own experiences. Certainly, market sellers like to haggle over price and do so with all the enjoy- [609] ment of the hardened poker player bluffing at cards. However, only to [829] the European, who is conceived of as infinitely wealthy, do prices range so widely. When the writer attended his first markets, sellers haggled wildly and prices ranged enormously to him and to his wife. However, with time, the "real" prices were learned and the range within which [609] haggling could take place narrowed significantly. If the writer then attended a new market where he was unknown, except as a European, then the range widened again and sometimes the seller would refuse to come anywhere near the "real" price claiming in Kanuri to his associates and the world in general that a European should pay more than an African. Friends always instructed the writer on the "real" price, telling him not to allow a price to be raised simply because he was a European. This "real" price is something which can be easily overlooked in an open market where haggling is the format of the buyer-seller relationship. Bartering may range widely or narrowly, but the experienced buyer and seller both know quite well, within a very small margin, where the final price will be set. This is why the really tenacious bartering comes at

443 the very end of the haggling. Thus it may take only two or three min-
435 utes to narrow a seller down from fifteen shillings to something a-
437 round five; but will it be 5/6d or 4/6d; 4/9d or 5/3d; or 5/- even? - this last seesaw in pricing may take fifteen or twenty minutes. For although norms of price may be set for market day or longer on any commodity, there is always a small range of a few pennies around the norm which can be called the "real" price. This is not a single price, but really a range within which serious haggling takes place.

435 Finally, it should be noted that price in Bornu vary with
221 the seasons. In general, the harvest period from November to the end of December is a time of plenty, while July and August, the growing season, is a time of shortage. Prices on all commodities, except food, fall during the wet season when incomes are at their lowest and men are taking time off from their dry season activity to tend their fields. They then rise around the harvests when cash crops are sold and money is more plentiful. Thus the Maria Theresa dollar can be bought for 6/9d to 7/- in July, but goes up as high 8/- to 9/- in November after the
[262] harvests. Food is scarce during the wet season, surplus sellers are short (some even stop selling) and prices of bulk (per 200 lbs. bag) rise when other prices are falling. Similarly when other commodities are rising in price after the harvest, food, which is plentiful, falls in value.

The Organization of Trade

443 At the local level in Bornu, trade is handled by retailers. Under this heading come sellers of food items, cooked and uncooked foods, sundries, medicine, charms, medical services, builders, etc. With one

443 With one
[442] exception,[1] locally produced items such as medical services, pottery,
[438] meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are bèrzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust).[2] Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
442 has lived in Magumeri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
443 from Madejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] (1) Gworongo, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is produced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet
[302] demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

438 mai gida[1] who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The
442 Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 10lbs. per bag) on
443 credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had
[578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximate-
571 ly 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

[192] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used
[571] to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about
442 town in Maiduguri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro,
443
571 one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate bèrzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his
442 farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

[439]

[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it ever after he has become inactive in the role.

438 guri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
442

Ajimi regularly obtains his nuts from four of these traders, all of whom he visits, and all of whose goods he inspects and prices before he decides where to place his order. He strongly asserts that his primary criterion in making the decision as to where to buy is the quality of the nuts. Two of the suppliers are Kanuri, one of whom owns his own lorries; the other two are Hausa. Ajimi has gone to other suppliers in the past but could not, at the time of this study, remember their names. By going to the same supplier over and over again with his uncle's money, he builds up confidence, and has on several occasions obtained an extra kwando on credit from one of the Kanuri suppliers, the profits ofwhich he kept entirely for himself.

435 Although there is some variation in price, it generally
438 occurs at the retail level, while for bulk shipments cash prices re-
442 main fairly constant, and it is quantity which varies with supply, quality and demand. Thus £20.0.0 is generally the price for a kwando of kola-nuts (a large rafia rope-bound package). A kwando contains seven thousand to eight thousand nuts depending upon their size, quality and the state of the market at any particular time. After returning to Magumeri, Ajimi generally gets back about £32.0.0 per kwando and returns the money, plus half the profits (i.e. £6.0.0) to Alkali Bukar. This buying and selling procedure takes him between thirteen to seventeen days or roughly two weekly market cycles.

572 He wholesales his nuts in the Magumeri area and regularly
438
442 attends the Magumeri (Sunday), Gamiram (Thursday),(1) and Ardoram (Monday)
[366] markets.

(1) He avoids the more usual Thursday market at Ngubura and attends the Gajiram market because it has no motor road, and he finds less competition and a smaller number of kola-nut wholesalers there than at Ngubura.

442 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakama) who wishes
572 to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time
442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers.(1) Retailers also use stan-
452 dards of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but
572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguinal kin, Ajimi does extend credit if requested and this is fairly often. He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a "friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

442 When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bukar is
571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father".
[602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to describe what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a bərzum relationship with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be arranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the look-

(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distribute anywhere from two to six.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar (1) and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

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[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 439 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maiduguri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Nakurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 438 (8) One (Ajini) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought groundnuts for sale in the capital.

441 571 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its barzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 452 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This [511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 439 563 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms.(1) This system has been attacked by local Bornu politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine trad- [452] ers, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

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(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

452 not heal easily.

452 Money may also be obtained in small quantities from a local
426 money-lender, whose usual interest charge is twenty-five to fifty per cent over a short time span of one to six months. These loans may or may not include ran (collateral) in which the indebted individual puts up
452 a robe, a cow, a sheep, or some of his cash crop as collateral. This
426 latter method of putting up some of the cash crop has developed in the
455 last decade or so into a virtual selling of futures, rather than simple utilization of the crop as collateral. A man who needs money during the growing season can obtain cash for the promise of so much of his cash crop. Since the prices of the crop have been stabilized by the government, the money-lender is fairly certain of the margin of his return. During 1956-57, when groundnuts were bringing 55/- per bag, a man could get 20/- to 25/- per bag from a money-lender for his crops after the plants had germinated. Just how much of this goes on is difficult to say, for it is illegal, and is also carried on by cash crop buyers who have much larger cash reserves than local money-lenders. Again, it is customary, where possible, for a man who has sold a future, to try and save enough money from his non-farming occupation to buy someone else's future, so that at harvest time he can still obtain his yearly cash harvest. This obviously tends to spread the indebtedness, but to what extent is at present unknown.

426 If informants' reports are to be trusted, it would seem as if the actual amount of indebtedness at the local rural level at any one time in Bornu is very small, rising slightly during the growing season.(1)

(1) The writer's own rough calculation of rural indebtedness comes from a small sample of budgets. The only constant indebtedness which turned up was in the realm of operating expenses (see above p. 307); 18% of operating expenses among fifteen peasant male household heads was being carried on credit. This came to only 2% of the total annual expenditures for the budget sample.

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of hirsum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sakelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

441 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to
571 obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of
436 Malam Kina's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European
441 trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Mina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/im-
[433] port economy. Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

[p 329]

Chapter X

Summary and Conclusions

178
642 The description of pre-Colonial Bornu has indicated that despite the rise and fall of its fortune the Kanuri political organization has had a remarkable resiliency throughout the last millenium. As long as the system of feudal organization remained with its nucleus at the capital city and court of the monarch, then the rise and fall of the empire was not fatal to its continuity. Kanuri feudalism is a segmentary corporate political structure; while the top remains intact, the expansion and contraction of the State itself bears no relation to its survival.

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648
631 The traditional background from which the present society obtains its roots has been altered in this century by contact with British colonialism. In Northern Nigeria the administration was deeply affected by the views of its founder Lugard, whose own control of the organization of the regional colonial service ensured that many of its norms, procedures and its overall policy would be an embodiment of his personal philosophy of colonialism. In Bornu, this meant that the pre-Rabeh Kanuri leaders regained their old positions, the Shehu was placed at the head of the State (now called the Bornu Emirate), and the fief-holders now called District Heads or Ajias, went to live in "bush" on their respective fiefs. The Village Heads within each district were appointed because of hereditary claims to the position while the District Heads over them were chosen because of their relationship to the monarch and/or other powerful groups at the capital. This set up possible conflicts between DH's and the Village Heads in their districts
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648
642 which has lasted to the present day. The policy of the British was to rule through and strengthen the authority of the native leaders, while

175 enforcing compliance with the "fundamental laws of humanity" (which
648 ruled out the slave trade). The European and the African were to co-
642 [563] operate in administering the country but live separate lives socially,
while western ideas and technology were to be introduced slowly when
and if they would be acceptable, and only when capable of being financed
on local revenues.

175 Out of this organization there grew a readily identifiable
648 English sub-culture whose uniqueness was a product of its particular
563 English upper class background and its adjustment to the common stim-
ulus of Northern Nigeria. Their standards of administrative judgment
came from Lugard and their common origins in English society; their
hopes and fears, frustrations and satisfactions, grew out of the com-
mon work situation to be found in the British administration of the
northern Emirates.

Because of the dearth of trained local personnel for carry-
ing on the day to day office work and record-keeping of administration,
the southern Nigerian, predominantly the Ibo, was introduced to Bornu.
They soon came as skilled and semi-skilled labourers, carpenters,
builders, bricklayers, mechanics and traders, and so in Bornu a minority
group of southerners, mostly Christian, and more acculturated to West-
ern ways became an established, although separate, part of the society.

175 After the inception of colonial rule the interaction be-
648 tween the British administration and the native political organization
soon settled into a fairly steady pattern in which the British pushed
continually for conformity to their own values in political organiza-
tion, education, taxation, trade, etc. The Bornu officials and others
who contacted the British, in their response, maintained as much of
Kanuri culture as they could while at the same time learning what to

175 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the
648 British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The
178 ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been
[433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the
[494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 The introduction of the few European trading houses has
441 served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (bèrzum), joking (suli), and friendship (numkam). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the bèrzum relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of bèrzum and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

602 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent
571 in the residence patterns. Because a social struc[illegible] placed in time,
591 birth, maturation and death continually create change [illegible] personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

602 These structural features are in their turn functions of
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571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bèraum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the subordinates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
[426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories, virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

581 only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a re-
593
[565] lationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two head-
ings.

581 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife
557 by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization
and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some
cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create
[582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions
take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely
emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in
still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt
[583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe)
in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual
understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the
luwali.

581 Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and dis-
[584] covery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the
man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a house-
hold head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage
arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large
population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible
for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creat-
ing superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of
marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they
grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defin-
ing relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing
to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 183 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of [565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper [586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialisation training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of barzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

882 will lead them to their adult roles in the socio-economic structure of
582 the society. Since boys do not marry until the end of this period, first marriages are much later for males as compared to females.

885 By maturity, the Kanuri mean several things. For a man it means that he is married, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a household and some degree of independence. When some of these social attributes are lacking the person often refers to himself as a "small boy" no matter what his age. There is no one status term meaning maturity for females, although terms exist which define her status as a woman who has had a child or not, as middle aged, and so on.

888 Old age for women often means dependence upon her sons if she has any, plus some petty trade in order to help sustain herself economically. For men, old age can be viewed on a continuum running from the one pole of successful seniority achieved or ascribed during life, to its opposable and supportative complement, subordination. Some achieve their seniority, others support this achievement by acting as subordinates, sometimes only as stepping stones to their own growth in seniority, or at other times, as a life goal in itself. However, it should be remembered that all men, even the Shehu, are in some sense subordinate in the total social structure.

56 The discussion of stratification has been organized within a theoretical framework in which the complex differentiation of Kanuri society is classified into status dimensions. These are sets of agreed upon rankings pf persons within some specified area of behaviour. For the present discussion the status dimensions of ethnic membership, occupation, birth ascription, wealth, and rural/urban status, have been considered in some detail.

considered in some detail.

563 The data on ethnic membership indicates that social contacts through physical proximity per se between people of different ethnic origins does not necessarily decrease the social distance between them. The Kanuri feel greater social distance towards pagan groups with whom they interact, than those with whom they have very little interpersonal relations. On the other hand, although they have few interpersonal contacts with Arabs and Europeans, these groups are ranked as high as their own, and in some cases even higher.

463 554 Occupations range widely in terms of the status they accord to individual members of the society. In the low status range are such jobs as butcher, blacksmith, petty broker, drummer-entertainer, and money-lender. On the other hand civil service jobs, including the traditional political offices which have been supported by colonial rule in the contemporary society, are ranked as high status positions. In the middle range are the less highly valued European-introduced occupations requiring manual labour. Here too are the lesser valued traditional political offices like Village and Hamlet Head, while traditional crafts fall below these and above the low status range. The emphasis on non-self-employment among high status occupations indicates that for Bornu just as in many underdeveloped areas of the world, western education means most desirably to those who obtain it, a civil service career, rather than an entrepreneurial or self-employed occupational future.

554 Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. The other dimensions of rank modify this biologically given status, and thus birth, although important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of an individual's status in the social structure at any particular point in time.

500 at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept <u>arziyi</u>. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

621 571 in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name for this constant and fundamental organization in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organizational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organization is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organization of the Emirate.

631 571 The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimized and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organization of the next higher level in the political structure.

631 642 In practice there are factors present which make it impossible for the Kanuri political organization to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository [648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organization, and tends besides to create ambiguous

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648 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political roles.

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665 The results of this complexity leads to large factions each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State. Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

[178] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

631 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of
642 political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu
665 have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the IH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

511 Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives
[433] us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of $180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living".(1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1)This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is, the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

511 and services at current Bornu prices, which a family needed to occupy a normal place in the culture during 1956-57. In America, the average rural family requires about fifteen to twenty times as much in cash values at North American prices. Or put another way, the Kanuri peasant family has relatively few wants; food, clothing, shelter, tools, entertainments, cosmetics, ceremonials, some form of status in the community, self respect, are perhaps the major components of Kanuri socio-economic life. In comparison, an American wants a multitude of government services, schools, electricity, protection against foreign aggression, old age pensions, unemployment insurance etc., regular holidays, job security, and a host of other items which the Kanuri are not aware of yet, but which seem like necessities to North Americans.

It should also be noted that the Kanuri, although backward materially, are not at all faced with the hardships presented to the people of the overpopulated regions of the world. Thus in India, caloric intake per capita is estimated to be 24.4% below a calculated re-
[146] quirement of 2250 per day. As we have seen, the Kanuri are not generally underfed, although there is a seasonal variation in food supply, and their diet lacks certain nutrient requirements in vitamins and protein.

434 The consumption data should not be construed to suggest that because 76% of Kanuri consumption is for food and clothing, it follows then that the Kanuri are inordinately interested in these items. This statistic only demonstrates again the low level of economic development in the area. For given higher incomes the proportion of total income taken up by food and clothing will decrease, as it does today among the upper classes. To the Kanuri higher income means more food and clothing, but it also means much more expensive ceremonials, better housing, and above all more subordinates who are partially supported by the

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of bərzum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

178 511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes 178 511 have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in 369 the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

433 The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predicability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.

2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialisation of labour

433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 25% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

441 As we have seen there are a variety of trading relationships. First of all there is the extended household organization model, in which a household head gives his subordinates money and goods. These are either real household members, kin relations, or people who have spent some time as household subordinates as a prelude to their trading activities. This kind of trade uses the traditional pattern of Kanuri social organization as its structural framework. Indeed it is because the "finance trader" heads a large extended household organization, along traditional lines, that he is a person of high status and prestige in the society. Unlike medieval Europe, feudal Bornu has easily incorporated the trader role into the moral and organizational structure of traditional society.

With all shades of mixture in between the two, another variety of trading relationship is one in which the persons involved are related because of the commodity in which they both deal. Terminology from the traditional organization is used to describe the role relationships so that the supplier is called by a Hausa term for head of the household (mai gida) and the person who buys from him is called, boy, follower, son, subordinate (tada). However, the basis for the relationship is highly differentiated, and defined largely by the commodity being distributed.

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441 Judging by the course of social evolution in western economic organization, which has seen a development from diffuse personal relationships in a feudal background, to one governed by relationship through commodities and services, it is tempting to assume that the same will occur in Bornu. However, it is not so easy for this writer to see such an evolution taking place in any complete sense until standards of living rise significantly and people consume much more than they do now. In Europe the hitherto pariah trading role and relationship became a

178 necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism.
441 Ultimately the unrecognized low status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status.(1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

441 It is because of the very low consumption level that there
434 is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested(2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entre-
441 preneurs. On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodi-
452 ties alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.
(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7

441 452 the extended household organization of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 berzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizon-
156 tally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfort-
571 able with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State. (1)
56 This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked"
571 by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating.
178 However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the
571 system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this
369 argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

178 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of
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369 a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is
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511 the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one
178 of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a
571 tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical rela-
511
556 tionships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

000 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

to suppress modesty and make an attempt at prognosis. Only by straining at the interpretive leash and casting our analysis into the future is it possible to submit individual studies to the ordeal of corroboration and contradiction which has always formed the building block of science.

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The Success that Failed: An Experiment in Culture Change in Africa

By RONALD COHEN*

The economic and political development going on at this moment in the non-European areas of the globe is one of the truly monumental social revolutions in man's history, ranking in importance with both the neolithic and the urban 'revolutions' of the past. By the end of the present century, the standards of living of about two-thirds of the world's population will very likely have risen between five and ten times present level. The educational, political, religious, and social changes which will in all probability accompany this revolution are almost staggering to the imagination. However, that it is taking place is a simple fact. 121

At the core of this development are the changes and innovations in basic economic activities in the every day lives of people the world over, for these hum-drum practices are the foundation stones upon which higher living standards are built. Central planning, financial and technical assistance, and political policies, all make crucial contributions to economic development. However the full measure of cultural changes, and in this case technological innovation, requires the painstaking description and analysis which is the hallmark of anthropological research techniques. Like other social sciences, anthropology uses the data of man's social life for its empirical basis. But unlike other social scientists, the anthropologist observes the data of the human experience through his intimate face-to-face contact with the people from day to day throughout his field

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121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu Province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
[130] many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[642] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual
[177] trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
433 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
241 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented
44 by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

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turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kantuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565 554 [369]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

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242 During 1956-7 the Agricultural Officer of Bornu Province
177 was a Kanuri who had studied tropical agriculture in Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and India. He was very enthusiastic about the introduction of citrus crops into the area, and spent a large part of his time helping to get this programme under way in the southern part of the province. He was also interested in introducing super-phosphate fertilizer into the agricultural practices of Kanuri cultivators to increase the yield of millet and groundnuts.

241 The average yields for the province using traditional techniques are approximately 600 lbs. of groundnuts (decorticated) and 400 lbs. of millet (threshed) per acre. The yields diminish as one travels north towards the desert, and farm sizes increase in proportion, although farm size is also dependent upon family size, marriage stability, and the socio-economic relations of the cultivator within the community (Cohen, 1959). Research has
[242] proven that the use of super-phosphate fertilizer can raise agricultural productivity in Bornu from 25% to 40% above that normally obtained with traditional growing techniques.

Two methods of planting crops are known. The bulk of the farm plots for most cultivators are the *kulo karabe* or far farms.[1] These are located beyond a two hundred yard perimeter (approximately) around the village. Here crops are planted
[221] a week or two after the first rains, hoed twice during the wet season, and harvested in the period from November to the end of December. In the *kulo fatobe* or near farms, within a two hundred yard perimeter around the village, and within the household itself, maize and vegetables are planted with compost, mostly from sheep, goats, horses, and burnt ashes. This is placed on the soil during planting, and may be applied again during the growing season. Sometimes the compost is put into the ground along with the seeds.

101 The following course of events was observed in Magumeri,
[162] a comparatively small district capital (population 2000), forty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri, the provincial capital.

[1] Literally this expression means "bush farm," and *kulo fatobe* translated literally would be "house farm." For purposes of descriptive convenience and accuracy, the writer has coined the phrases "near" and "far" farms.

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The Course of Events

For the three years prior to 1956, the agriculture department of Bornu Province had sent super-phosphate to the District Head of Magumeri. The District Head called in his Village Area Heads and distributed the fertilizer among them. These Village Area Heads were in turn under instructions to give out the fertilizer to local cultivators. Some did so, some did so half-heartedly, and some not at all. Since there was no great pressure from the higher echelons of the political organization to get the programme under way, the super-phosphate was simply considered a matter of local choice. Peasants who tried the fertilizer claimed that it was useless.

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In early June, 1956, the Agricultural Officer sent a letter to all District Heads informing them that he intended to carry out a lecture tour of the Province. The District Head of Magumeri sent out directives to make sure that a large group of people would gather in the district capital for the occasion. The talk centred round two main points. First, the great superiority of European technology; here references were made to motor cars, radios, aeroplanes, and to the fact that super-phosphate fertilizer increased the productivity of indigenous crops. Secondly, the Officer remarked repeatedly that for the last three years the peasants had been using the fertilizer improperly by depositing the super-phosphate pellets into the ground with the seeds. This provided no benefits whatsoever for the plants, and might easily do them some harm. The lectures were given in Kanuri, the native language of the Agricultural Officer.

On June 30th, 1956, Malam Abdulla Yajuwa an agricultural field worker, from the Bornu department of Agriculture came to Magumeri. His instructions were to carry out thirty or more demonstration trials in the Magumeri area on low fertility far farms (*kulo karabe*). This was to be done in cooperation with the cultivator who would permit Malam Abdulla to mark off one acre of farm plot, divide this into two halves, and apply super-phosphate fertilizer to one half and not the other. The farmer was to accompany the field worker so that the method of application could be observed and explained.

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242 177 Two one-acre plots were to be used for each peasant, so that the utility of the fertilizer could be seen on both millet and groundnut plots. In addition, the field worker was to keep careful records on date of sowing, date of application of fertilizer, dates of first and second weeding and harvesting, farmer reaction to super-phosphate, name and village of the cultivator, and finally, the weight in pounds of millet and groundnuts harvested per half acre on the demonstration plots. The field worker was instructed on the necessity of weighing the harvest from each half acre in the presence of the owner, so that each peasant would see the difference in yield from the treated and untreated portions of the plots. The instructions on this last point were very strongly worded and field workers were made to feel particularly responsible for the final demonstration to the farmer of the weight of crops coming from each part of the demonstration plots. Field workers were also told to play down the efficacy of this particular stock of super-phosphate pellets by commenting on its age and its probable loss of power in comparison to new super-phosphate which could be expected to give much more powerful results. The field worker was also asked to make the point that this free application was only for the purpose of demonstration, and that anyone wishing to obtain super-phosphate fertilizer in the future would be expected to buy it. (Actually, the plan was to distribute the fertilizer the following year at a very nominal price, well below its actual worth.)

The District Head organized a meeting of Magumeri cultivators and introduced Malam Abdulla and his project. The [632] Village Head of Magumeri and the local school teacher, both [875] highly respected men in the village, made short speeches ex- [554] tolling the virtues of the fertilizer, and the Village Head asked for volunteers who would participate in the project. Only a few came forward, others were then ordered to do so, and the rest of the Magumeri sample was obtained through the participation of the school teacher and servants of the District Head, all of whom had their own farm plots. Malam Abdulla also went to two other villages in the area, after obtaining the permission of the District Head, and obtained "volunteers". In

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one of these, Chingowa, he was refused any cooperation by the Village Head at first, because this leader had heard nothing about the project from the District Head. When the District Head sent out a directive about the demonstration, the cultivators were forthcoming.

During the next few weeks, Malam Abdulla went round to the farms of all participants choosing infertile unfertilized plots. He then measured off two one-acre plots (if possible) and divided these in half. Four to fifteen days after the plants had germinated he applied the super-phosphate in the company of the cultivator. He explained in a friendly, cheerful, manner how it was necessary to make a small hole two to four inches away from the stalk and pour in a few pellets.

From July until harvest time in the fall, Malam Abdulla made monthly visits to all participants in the demonstration. During these visits he extolled the virtues of super-phosphate fertilizer, and together he and the cultivator went out to the plots and measured the height of the plants, and examined them comparatively. It was obvious in almost all cases that the plants treated with super-phosphate were larger, healthier, and broader-leafed. The contrast was especially marked for groundnuts since the untreated plants looked generally to be about half the size of the treated ones.

At harvest time Malam Abdulla did his best to make appointments with all the participants so that he could be on the spot to separate treated from untreated crops, and to keep the yields of the experimental one acre separate from other plots not included in the demonstration. This was not possible for sixteen out of seventy-eight cultivators. These men simply harvested their crops and took no notice of the experimental plots even though they had participated in the scheme up until harvest time.

For the rest, the results were varied, but the overall technological success of the demonstration was indisputable. For those measured, there was a mean increase in millet of 30.3% per test plot, and a mean increase of 35.1% for groundnuts. Variation was large, although almost everyone obtained at least a 10% increase on their fertilized plots, while some received

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242 177 gains running up to 300%[2]. In two cases for groundnuts and ten for millet, the increase on the test plot was less than 10% of that on the non-fertilized one. These twelve plots were owned by nine people: allowing for eight cases of negligence through absense or sickness, this leaves forty-three cultivators who experienced a significant (more than 10%) increase in productivity due to the action of super-phosphate fertilizer.

After the harvest season (November to January) had ended nothing more was done on the project for some time. Malam Abdulla prepared his report and turned it in to the Agriculture department at the capital, but remained in the Magumeri area. In March a District Council meeting was held in Magumeri, and the fertilizer was on the agenda for discussion.

242 177 634 The District Council, under the chairmanship of the District Head is composed of Village Heads, Ward Heads and some elder compound heads from the various villages and hamlets of the district. The body, a British innovation, discusses local planning, and votes on the disbursement of a small amount of money known as the District Council Fund.

This was a rather special occasion for the Council, for they were to have an African District Officer rather than a European, which was the usual practice. Generally speaking, the meeting differed considerably from all other Council meetings attended by the writer. The people seemed much more relaxed, much less stiff and formal compared to previous occasions. Comments passed back and forth between one person and another, whereas at previous sessions, people had sat silently, and never spoke unless spoken to first by a superior. The resulting loss in orderliness was offset by a large gain in freedom of expression. [782] Many participants remarked afterwards on this difference and spoke favourably of the African District Officer, who prayed with the people at both the beginning and end of the meeting.

242 177 During the meeting, the District Head announced that the super-phosphate fertilizer was to be available within the next month or two for sale to those who would like to buy it. Several

[2] The standard deviations for these averages are as follows: millet, 25.2; groundnuts, 20.1.

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objections to the fertilizer were voiced immediately. The school teacher of Magumeri gave a short talk extolling the virtues of super-phosphate and reminded the people that European technology was "a wonderful thing". He also repeated the claim that there had been widespread misuse of the fertilizer in the years before Malam Abdulla had come to show them how to use it correctly. Although this was heard in polite silence, objections to the fertilizer were still raised after the school teacher had finished. Several older men murmered, *faida ba* (useless), *ngəlagnyi* (no good) and similar negative phrases. Finally, Malam Abdulla spoke to the meeting for about twelve minutes. He gave a rough summary of his work in the Magumeri area, and remarked repeatedly that the demonstration had been a complete success with many farmers. He explained that in those cases where the fertilizer had failed to give results, the farmers in question had done little or no hoeing, and the crop failures were therefore due to negligence and not the super-phosphate.

However, when the District Head asked the people to estimate how many would be interested in purchasing bags of super-phosphate pellets, there were no volunteers. On the contrary several old men stood up and gave sharply condemnatory speeches about the fertilizer. It was claimed that this fertilizer worked in Kano, Katsina, and Zaria, i.e. elsewhere in Northern Nigeria, where the soil was much redder. In Magumeri the soil was yellow, and needed compost or cattle dung; the super-phosphate was not entirely useless, but for the Magumeri area it was not practicable. Without standing up, several others made similar comments, and a negative consensus was soon reached. The super-phosphate fertilizer was the wrong kind of thing to use on farms in this area. No one rebutted these arguments, and no one mentioned the successful demonstration after Malam Abdulla had spoken.

The District Head closed the matter by saying that he would have a letter written to the agriculture department reporting the views of the Magumeri peasants, and asking for a field worker to be sent who would teach the people how to use the new fertilizer.

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And so, after ten months of work the project was back where it had started. It may be that in future years the people will come to accept super-phosphate fertilizer: now, however, there is as much resistance to it as there was at the beginning of the demonstration.

Analysis

The demonstration of super-phosphate fertilizer in the Magumeri area was in most essentials a technical success. The programme was introducted by a Kanuri field worker employed by the Agriculture department which was under the direction of a senior Agricultural Officer who was himself a Kanuri. What went wrong? Why did the people so unanimously reject the innovation?

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In discussing factors affecting economic growth, Linton (1952: 76) has commented that people will improve their lot unless they have had adverse experiences in the past with a particular innovation. This point is particularly relevent to the situation under discussion.

Some of the people in Magumeri had used the fertilizer in previous years without adequate instruction. By placing the pellets in the ground with the seed, they had damaged the plants in some cases, and killed them in others. When the Agricultural Officer made his speech in June, 1956, people remarked afterwards that the *bundar nasarabe* (European compost) was useless. It was agreed that European technology was very wonderful, but the Europeans did not grow millet and groundnuts, and therefore knew nothing of the techniques necessary for such cultivation. Therefore the speech was in effect a failure. A field worker who had rapport with the cultivators could easily have discovered this important fact and the department would then have been aware that they were not planning an innovation at all but rather that they had a battle on their hands against a confirmed negative opinion. That references were made to the previous misuse of the fertilizer indicates that there was some appreciation of this fact. However simple contradiction was not sufficient to change these attitudes.

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Linton (1952: 77) has also suggested that peasants view any attempts to change their economic condition with suspicion when these originate from their rulers. The peasant, often quite justifiably, feels that anything his rulers offer as a chance to improve conditions is probably much more to the ruler's advantage than to his own. 177 829

This was very certainly the case in Magumeri, and had occurred several times before. Thus, only a few weeks before the fertilizer demonstration began, the Village Head of Magumeri had tried to convince people of the worthiness of literacy. His argument centered around the idea that when literate the peasants would be able to catch their rulers, including himself, for issuing false tax receipts (Cohen and Frank, 1960). When the people refused to volunteer he forced a number of individuals to sign up for the literacy courses. It is difficult to say exactly how many were forced to "volunteer" for the fertilizer demonstration, but that coercion was involved is undoubtedly true. 212 177 829 [242]

On the other hand, a strange and almost unprecedented thing occurred at the final meeting when the people were asked whether or not they would use the fertilizer in the coming year. District Council meetings were usually very stiff affairs in which a formal agenda was followed under the guidance of a British District Officer. Very often a District Head rehearsed these "democratic" meetings first to make sure motions would be seconded, voted on properly, etc. On this occasion, an African District Officer was present, and the District Head gave the members of the Council a definite choice as to whether they would accept the fertilizer or not. Bornu is an autocratic country and subordinates are usually ordered about, unless the matter is a trivial one. The outward signs of democratic procedures introduced by colonial rule are very superficially imposed upon feudal autocracy, so that effective social action is carried out dictatorially. This is an ancient society and people are traditionally accustomed to these procedures. That dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use, or not use, fertilizer in years to come, immediately defined it as a trivial and unimportant matter upon which people could make up their own minds. 242 177 634 642

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829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life,
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

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followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

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242 177 This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demonstration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

[829] The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

242 177 561 [576] Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age. However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite, and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training, [554] and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people. 242 177 [829] Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Abdulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his

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[829]

own farm plot. This added to the general impression of the fertilizer as an intrusive item, and one which had no practical value under local conditions.

Conclusion

The human side of innovation has often been emphasized as being just as important as the technological. The Magumeri experience reiterates the fact that the social and psychological context of innovation requires careful analysis so that variables affecting innovation may be isolated and prepared for before any development programmes are put into action. If the place of social relations, as compared to technology, in farm production had been taken into account, the results of this experiment might well have been less disappointing. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that all technology is imbedded in a welter of cultural accretions. It is the responsibility of the innovator to isolate cultural characteristics of technology which are necessary to its successfull operation, from those which are simply there because of the cultural origins of the item. This is what lies at the root of flexibility as opposed to rigidity in the introduction of western technology to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

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In summary, then, the methods were those traditionally associated with social anthropology, namely a long period in the field, learning the language, getting to know the people on a face to face basis, while participating, observing, and asking questions about the local social life. This is the basic experience from which the material described in this book is drawn. 12

Ethnography and Theory

By definition a case study such as this involves a description of the way of life of a people. However, no description is ever complete, nor is it a sheer listing of facts. The facts are related to one another, and many are left out. The basis for selection is, whether he knows it or not, a net result of the writer's theories and his biases. In this present work I have decided to describe what I consider to be the most important aspect of Kanuri society, and by this I mean those features which are its most determinant or causal aspects. This kind of approach can be seen more clearly when put into the form of a question phrased as follows: What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment, and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society? Specifically, I have tried to answer this question by showing how each of the major sectors of Kanuri social life, the family, the household, the individual life experience, the political, and the economic systems, are related to one another, through their use of the household organization and its modes of behavior. The household is a model, and a building block as well, upon which the rest of the complicated activities of the Bornu society rests. I will come back to this point in the concluding chapter after having described the way in which the society actually works as a "system," or an organized whole, in accordance with this theory. However it should be noted that I have excluded religion and ceremonial life as "major sectors." For purposes of this report I consider them superfluous to the problem outlined above and have therefore mentioned them only when such material seems necessary. Even then they are integrated into other sectors and not treated separately. 12

It is up to the reader to ask whether or not I have made a convincing case by using this theory, or whether these facts could be explained in ways other than the manner they are interpreted here. If skepticism holds firm, the reader should ask whether my interpretation would be weakened if facts not presented here were described. He should also ask himself what these facts might be, and how he would go about collecting them. Ethnography is in one sense a naïve undertaking, especially for a society as complicated and ancient as that of the Kanuri. How can we ever say we have adequately described a whole society of nearly one million people whose traditions go back a thousand years? Obviously we can't. And so we attempt instead to capture its essence. In what is to follow I have tried to do just that. If I am wrong, or naïve, or illogical, I am also of the anthropological faith which preaches that the attempt to understand a human society through fieldwork is a scientifically useful one besides being one of the most profound experiences that life has to offer.

121 members of differing groups are no longer secure in their expectations from others. Though the larger cultural goals may continue to operate, groups may find that previously unattainable goals are now within reach. Though the nature of sanctions may remain the same, individuals are uncertain when they might anticipate sanctions. In choosing a particular path to achieve his goals, an individual may find that his behavior towards others brings about sanctions. He then must determine whether he can achieve his goals despite these sanctions, and whether the goals are worth the difficulties which are thus brought about, or whether he must abandon behavior of that sort.

B. The Nature of the Data.

• 12 The data on which the present study is based lie along two dimensions, social structure and acculturation. The manner in which data was chosen for study and collected for each of these variables will be discussed in the following section.

1. Delineating community social structure.

124 Eight groups and categories were selected for analysis. These certainly do not exhaust the total number of social groups and categories to be found in the community of Geidam. They merely represent eight clearly definable social units, each operating within a distinctive sphere of Kanuri culture. These eight groups and categories are themselves resultant from the interaction of variables which bring about community social

12 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant observation, two other methods were used in obtaining information on economic life in Bornu. Firstly, a sample of seventy-five cultivators, chosen partly by their local political leaders and partly by personal consent,(1) was observed and questioned by a field assistant on agricultural production, food consumption, livestock and land tenure. The sample was drawn from three towns: Magumeri, Ngubura and Chingowa: each roughly six miles from the other points of a triangle. Farm plots were measured off, dates of planting, weeding and harvesting were recorded, and the produce from one acre of millet and one of groundnuts weighed for each cultivator. As reported by the farmers themselves, and checked by the interviewer, the sample consisted of the following occupational groupings:

[115]

TABLE X

Occupation	Number	Percentage of Sample
Farmers	25	33.3
Craftsmen #	16	21.3
Traders	17	22.7
Political and Religious Specialists	17	22.7
	75	100.0

Includes 4 "herders" - persons who tend other peoples livestock, mostly sheep and goats, for a fee, as their non-farming specialty.

Secondly, using intensive interviews and observation, the annual budgets of twenty-two household heads were constructed by extrapolating from daily and weekly figures on income and expenditure in cash and kind, as well as reported crop production.(2) No sampling procedures were used in gathering this material, since the traditional method of gaining rapport with informants was a major criterion in

(1) They were primarily involved in a demonstration of the potential improvement of farm yields with the use of superphosphate fertilizer.

[114] (2) A similar but more extensive (numerically) method has been used by Smith, M.G., The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, 1955.

12 in choosing households.(1) An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of 592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Its economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

462 592 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking [434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

[114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

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Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Ronald Cohen received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Wisconsin in 1960. He has taught anthropology at the University of Toronto from 1958 to 1961, at McGill University from 1961 to 1963, and from 1963 to the present at Northwestern University where he is a member of the Program of African Studies and Associate Professor of Anthropology and Political Science. He has carried out fieldwork in Nigeria and in the Mackenzie Valley, Northwest Territories, Canada. He is interested in social and political change as well as problems of theory and method in the social sciences. Professor Cohen has published papers on aspects of Kanuri society and history, Athabascan culture change, and a number of theoretical and methodological problems in anthropology.

About the Book

This case study has a clear central focus. The author shows us how the various sectors of Kanuri social life build upon and interrelate to the basic unit of Kanuri society, the household organization. He claims the basic theory of their society is not his own but that of the Kanuri themselves as they have tried to explain their society to him. In doing so they continually refer back to the household. The household, or compound, is the basic political unit; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. The economic system is dependent upon the household, since the business of getting a living is organized within it, and households link together through their head men to form larger organizations for the produc-

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121
128

tion of goods or for trade. Family life is carried on in the household, and ways of behaving that are acceptable and necessary in Kanuri life are learned there.

The descriptive analysis of these interdependent relationships centering upon the household is far from mechanistic. Though the structural features of groupings and the modal patterns of activities are made very clear, there is a sense of immediacy in their description. Actual behavior is described and vignettes of individuals and their behaviors, relevant to various sectors of life, are included.

This case study is notable in a number of other ways, but particularly in the sense of history conveyed. In a necessarily brief but informative historical sketch the author shows us how the emirate of Bornu, established in the late fifteenth century, survived insurrection, warfare, colonialism, and even today survives within the framework of national independence as a viable social and political entity. The author ends his historical overview with these questions: "Why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times?" The case study is, in one of its dimensions, an answer to these questions.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Stanford, California
November 1966

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There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, 195
so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other 576 197
areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most [178] Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria. [191]

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic 178 177
features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related 302
ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash 412
carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are 531
tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life 171
are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one 304
ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not 171
significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 114
1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and [01]
hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of [121]

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Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

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In summary, then, the methods were those traditionally associated with social anthropology, namely a long period in the field, learning the language, getting to know the people on a face to face basis, while participating, observing, and asking questions about the local social life. This is the basic experience from which the material described in this book is drawn.

Ethnography and Theory

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2

History

Kanem-Bornu: The Historical Background

121 THIS BOOK is primarily an account of the way of life of a contemporary African people. However this particular group, unlike many others in Africa or elsewhere, has an ancient and well-documented history. The fact that such materials are available also means that we can observe the kingdom as it developed through time and obtain some appreciation for its continuity and change as one of the oldest political powers in Africa. I have therefore tried to bring together in summary form an account of Bornu history and its political development during the last millenium of southern Saharan history. In terms of the overall ethnolgraphic task it is important to realize that it is within this historical stream that the [814] contemporary way of life has come to be what it is. Indeed one of the most salient facts about Kanuri culture is the pride the people feel in their history; they believe that one cannot know them unless there is at the same time some understanding of their past. In order to do this I have written first an outline of the major events of this history, then analyzed the political development of the kingdom as it evolved through time. The details of the present political system are then taken up again in Chapter 6.

173 169 Kanuri legends all take the Bornu kingdom back to the north and northeast of Lake Chad to the ancient kingdom of Kanem and before that to Yemen. Like many peoples of West Africa as far removed from one another as the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fulani of Futa Djallon in Guinea, Kanuri traditions suggest that they as a people come originally from Yemen. It is said that a migrant Yemenite noble named Sef founded the royal dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa. There is very little doubt that the ancient dynasty of the Sefuwa has been in fact the ruling line in Kanem-Bornu for over a thousand years. However, there is very little evidence except for the legend itself to support the theory that the Kanuri or their ancient leaders originate in Yemen.

121 The problem of studying human origins scientifically is a fascinating one, but there are many pitfalls and a keen taste for skepticism is a primary requirement. The rules of the game are, however, quite easy. Simply ask what valid facts

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are available, then try for the best explanation knowing that new facts will very probably force a change in the historical picture you have created to best explain the facts. The greater the number of facts, the fewer the possible number of different historical interpretations that can be applied to any particular case. With these rules in mind let us examine briefly what facts are at hand to help us with Kanuri origins.

First of all we have the Kanuri legends themselves which state that they came originally from Yemen—a legend they share with most of the Muslim people of the western Sudan. Let us call this the local theory and come back to it after considering other available facts. Subsistence farming and cattle keeping came into the area of the central and western Sahara about 5000 years ago, as evidenced by a number of archaeological sites in the area. At that time the Tibesti region north of Lake Chad was much wetter and the lake itself was enormous. It stretched well into the Sahara desert, especially into a region just south of the Tibesti known as the Bodele depression, which even today is well below the present level of Lake Chad itself. People settled in this region and utilized both domesticated plants and animals for their basic means of subsistence. Since that time, however, there has been a steady desiccation of the central Sahara which has dried up the Tibesti and the Bodele depression while the water has retreated in a southwesterly direction towards the present site of Lake Chad. As late as 500 B.C. merchants from Carthage were voyaging to the Tibesti to trade with people who lived in a wet climate among crocodiles, hippopotami, and giraffes.[1] Certainly what evidence we have suggests a very ancient trade between the people of the entire Sahara and those of North Africa. This was much expanded by the introduction of the camel sometime in the first or second century A.D. which facilitated trade across much drier portions of desert and over much longer distances. If we add to this evidence the fact that the Kanuri language is related to the central Saharan group of languages—and these are as a group only very distantly related to all other African language families—then a picture or at least a theory begins to emerge.

The Neolithic agriculturalists in the southern Sahara were drawn further south between 1000 B.C. and 1000 A.D. as the waters of the desert began to recede southward.[2] As they moved southward they pulled the Saharan trade with them, and competition among groups in the Chad basin produced some differences in power and recognized status among clans who lived in the area. Leading lineages within these clans began to unite to govern the activities of clan members until finally the various clans formed loose federations with a leading clan and its leading lineage as the royal or kingly one.[3]

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[1] See Rhys Carpenter, "A Trans-Saharan Caravan Route in Herodotus," *Journal of American Archaeology*, Vol. 60, 1956, pp. 231–42.

[2] This process was also occurring in another area of "desert capture," the upper Niger bend where desert wet regions north of the river receded towards the south. The Niger itself bends into the Sahara, because like the Chad basin there are lowlands to the north of the great bend. Thus it is no accident that the Chad basin and the upper Niger bend have witnessed some of the earliest developments of centralized states in the western Sudan—they were the two areas into which the people of the desert could most naturally and easily move as desiccation proceeded.

[3] In his book on Bunyoro, John Beattie very concisely defines a lineage as "all the descendants in one line (that is, either through males only or through females only) of a particular person through a specified number of generations. It differs from a *clan* in that while usually all the

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throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

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3

The Family and Household in Bornu

AFTER SUMMARIZING the historical background and the setting of Kanuri life, I can now proceed to analyze the society as a working, on-going whole, in other words as a process. Anthropologists generally do this by dividing the society up into what they consider to be its most significant parts. They then describe each part and try to show how these parts are related to one another, and to the functioning of a whole society. The manner in which such an analysis proceeds—what is left out, what is included, and what comes first or last—is the product of the author's "functional theory" of the society, his idea of how it works. 121 128

For Kanuri society I have chosen to start with kinship and the household as the first parts of the whole to be described and understood. First, the household is where the Kanuri themselves begin to learn of their own society and how they must act to become full-fledged participants. Secondly these parts, especially that of the household, form the basic units of Kanuri social structure such that almost all other social life in Bornu can be analyzed and understood once these particular parts are described. To start with a description of any other part of the society such as the economic or the political organization would require explanations and references to family and household life in order to make the material understandable to the reader. It is better to start the analysis at this point—that of kinship and household—then proceed to build up a picture of the society having first looked at what I consider to be its crucible, the kinship system, and its cornerstone, the household.

The Kinship System

The kinship system of any society involves three categories of behavior that may overlap one another but are always different from each other. They are as follows: 121 60 61

(a) Genealogical relations—the links between individuals which are based upon biological reproduction.

(b) Descent relations—the links between individuals which are based upon

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(e) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

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4

The Life Cycle: From Birth to Death in Kanuri Society

THE HISTORY of Kanuri society, its family and household organization, and the other groupings described later in this book that make it into a system, are all activated and made real by the people who spend their lives in Bornu. Kanuri society, indeed any society, can be described by giving the major details of its organized social life. However, such a description uses as its units the roles and groups that make up each organization. The units (roles and groups) are separate parts of the system, but it is important to remember that roles and groups are stage settings for the behavior of real people who are born, grow up, love, hate, get married, grow old and die. Some are more successful, some less so, but the way in which they live a Kanuri life from beginning to end is what produces the energy, the continuity, and the change within the structure of their society.

Like people everywhere the Kanuri see a pattern in the life span of individuals. This is thought of as a series of stages or grades determined fundamentally by age and sex. Whether he or she be rich or poor, peasant, slave, or of royal blood these stages still apply and mark off a lifetime. Like age grades in all societies there is a rough correlation at each stage with that of physiological growth, maturation and decline. However, the specific factors of local geography and the adaptation to it, as well as their social complexity and culture history, have molded the grades into the specific set of life stages that can be called Kanuri. In the future, the forces of modernism will add their weight to this stream and produce changes in this traditional cycle. For the present, however, I want to present a picture of a Kanuri lifetime, as my informants report it and as I have observed it in Bornu, starting with gestation and ending with the death of an individual.

Gestation

Kanuri men and women almost universally claim that having children is desirable for married couples, although charms that both promote and prevent pregnancy can be obtained locally from specialists. The culture norms on this point are

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Economic Life

121 433 NO MATTER WHERE or who they are the members of every human society must have some means by which they obtain the material goods and services deemed valuable and important to their way of life. How these goods are produced, distributed, and consumed forms the basis of the economic system of any society. However, for our present purposes the details of production are beside the point, for they deal with the local technology rather than the economy in the sense that this economy is part of the social system. Therefore, I will restrict the present chapter to the various units of Kanuri economy and its interrelationships which provide the means by which economic life is successfully carried on in Bornu.

433 The Kanuri do not have factories to produce goods, there are only a few large trading companies, and there are even fewer large institutional consumers of goods and services such as hospitals, schools, factories, armed forces, hotels, and so on. The bulk of the people is spread out over the entire area of Bornu in small [162] towns and hamlets, and even in the few cities the basic economic facts of life for most of the households are very similar to those throughout the entire area. Villages and hamlets are only economic units to the extent that they have boundaries, and all the land is held by virtue of one's residence in a particular village or hamlet. However towns do not act corporately for most economic purposes. That is to say they do not buy and sell things as units, they do not organize the production of goods as units, nor do they organize the distribution of goods and services within or between villages as units. The only level at which this is done consistently [592] throughout the society is at the level of the household whose members do form themselves into a unit of production and consumption.

592 It is important to remember from Chapter 3 that a household is not the same thing as the family. Very high divorce and fairly high mobility of the household members in general means that the people living in a Kanuri household can and do change a great deal over time. The economic life of the household, however, may not have changed at all. Just as personnel turnover does not change the basic nature of a business firm in western society, so does it have little effect on the jobs to be done and how they are carried out in a Kanuri household.

[433] There are other units in the economy, and as we describe the major features

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Political Organization

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THE POLITICAL LIFE of Bornu ties togther the entire society into one overall unit so that it has an identity. As far as we know this has been the case for centuries and still is today, so that, although the Kanuri people see themselves and their society as many things, they view it primarily or basically as a political entity. To the people who live there Bornu represents a culture, a language, an ancient history, but more than anything else it represents a kingdom, or sovereign realm whose definition is political. Thus whether anyone belongs to it or not, and how one should behave within its boundaries depends first and foremost on its organization as a polity, that is, as a system in which there are recognized and legitimate means of distributing authority and making decisions at all levels of the society.

Authority distinctions are present in all organizations, and from this point of view all organizations have a political aspect. However, for our purposes it is easier to limit the discussion to the means by which decisions are made and carried out in those particular sectors of social life having some territorial or bureaucratic identity as sub-parts of the emirate government of Bornu. This excludes such things as trade groupings, like that of Ajimi's uncle described in the last chapter in which there is some hierarchy of authority, but which may not be, and often is not, located in one place. It also means that what we are discussing is a system, since each of its parts is clearly connected to the other to form a working whole. Like most other aspects of Bornu life, this system starts with the household as a basic particle and then builds onto it. It is a complicated and interwoven structure of an ancient, majestic, and yet contemporary kingdom whose stability and adaptability are monuments to men's striving for these illusive goals.

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Households, Wards, and Hamlets

As we have seen in Chapter 3 a household can expand and become a group of linked households under the superior authority of a senior man. When a young man, or a man's younger brother, or his apprentice or client, wishes to get mar-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the
121 trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business en-
182 terprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same house-
592 hold. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks
829 in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live
44 there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to
571 behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of
121 Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle
178 the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators
[648] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding
[177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town
134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

177 121 significant changes. Remote as Geidam is, it is bound with ever increasing ties to the larger world. While Geidam is in a sense the center of its own small world, it is at the same time a minute part of an immense and continually expanding economic and political system.

This study focuses on changing Kanuri culture, on the process of acculturation. An acculturation study must begin with changes in the behavior of individuals. Yet the concept of culture comprises more than the behavior of individuals. It is concerned with behavior which characterizes a social whole, or segments of a society. When changes in the behavior of individuals are incorporated by the groups to which they belong, acculturation is occurring.

If one views acculturation in this way, it is clear that not all members of a society will show initial changes in cultural behavior, nor will changes occur at the same rate for all members. It is postulated here that one of the critical determinants of rate and type of acculturation in an individual's behavior is that individual's position in the community social structure. Because of their position in the society, certain individuals are in better positions than others to learn new things, to change in their thinking, their aspirations and their overt behavior. The rate of these changes and the particular areas of thinking and behaving which undergo change are considered as dependent upon the position of the individual in his society.

121 The anthropological concept of the community is used to
621 define a micro-society. The community of the present study is an urban town, and its people belong to a variety of sub-groups. The townspeople of Geidam are members of occupational groups, social classes, ethnic sub-groups, common interest groups, neighborhoods, and friendship groups. They may be members of many such groups, which may overlap, but they all share one characteristic--they are all Geidamites, part of an interacting community. The various interlocking social groups of the town make up its social structure.

121 In terms of the particular field situation, the general
177 acculturation problem presented above becomes: In what ways does the process of acculturation differ among members of differing groups in the urban community of Geidam? Two related additional problems emerge from the general one. The original problem focuses attention on the manner in which social structure guides and directs acculturation. A necessary consequence is that the social structure itself is undergoing change. The second problem is: what are the changes in social structure brought about by contact? Lastly, a third and oft-neglected problem concerns the mechanisms whereby changes are controlled and kept within acceptable cultural limits so that the emergent social structure retains its integration. Generally, this falls within the area of social control, though it is not usually seen in this light.

121 Before the research itself can be presented, however, much

|Z| additional information will have to be provided. Information on current changes in Kanuri culture can only be understood against a background which provides the norms of Kanuri culture. The particular measures of acculturation which were used in the present study can only be assessed when viewed against the overall picture of Kanuri culture.

Similarly, individuals who were chosen for study are members of community groups. The significance of such group membership can only be fully understood when the functioning of these groups is described in relation to other community groups, when something of the interaction between members of different groups is described so that the operation of community social structure becomes generally apparent.

Though the present study deals with a particular theoretical problem, it is nevertheless conceived of as a community study because it uses the community as the unit of study. However, the community will not be the means for providing a total ethnography of the Kanuri people. It is viewed here as a structured micro-society, within which the process of acculturation can be differentiated and studied. Through the concept of social structure, one can describe completely the activities of all of the various groups in the community. If one continues this process in detail, all the standard ethnographic categories, religion, economy, political organization, etc., will ultimately be fully described. This will not be attempted here. Rather, the general description of Geidam town will serve as a back-

121 ground for the activities of groups making up the social structure, so that the social structure of the community can be seen in its larger cultural context.

121 128 In the section immediately following, an overall picture of Kanuri culture will be presented, stressing the general features of Kanuri social organization. This will be followed by a section on the community of Geidam.

Lastly, the problem which was studied will be presented. This final section will include the theoretical orientation of the study, the manner in which the data were collected, the data on acculturation with their analysis, and the implications of the findings in relation to existing theory.

121 The variables which provide the conceptual basis of the present study are social structure and acculturation. Before one can single out individual groups and focus attention on behavioral patterns which are associated with those groups it is necessary to delineate the larger structural features of Kanuri society so that the particular groups which have been selected for more careful examination can be seen in their societal context. In similar fashion, acculturated behavior can only be evaluated when one has a general understanding of the more stable behavioral norms which characterize Kanuri culture. It is against the background of the expectable Kanuri behavioral patterns that items of acculturated behavior takes on significance.

177 178 It was noted in the previous chapter that important external forces are acting to bring about changes in Kanuri culture. While these are powerful forces, and the changes themselves are far-reaching and significant, Kanuri culture still retains its essential integration. This can be seen in several areas: in the consistency of people's behavior, in the stress placed on important Kanuri values, and in the integration of Kanuri personality which is apparent despite acculturation. The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of these general features of Kanuri culture.

A. Larger Features of the Economy

1. Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Land Tenure.

161 There are strong indications that the population of Bornu

779 marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights
58 of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support
[593] of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does
not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement;
[182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All
of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies,
are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in
Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million peo-
[161] ple. About one-third live in towns with a population of more
than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital,
which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying
villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten
towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of
these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu
Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26
towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost
a third of the population.

369 Although there may be some question whether a town with a
632 population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear
• 121 that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly ap-
proaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

369 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists
632 of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at
121 the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less
[622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village.
[463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors.
[622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger,
[565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are
[595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and
[592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and
342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (<u>saggi</u>). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

614 178 Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [363] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

• 121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

121 61 66 565 of a society. In societies where the state as an institution does not exist, political structure is either coterminous with kinship structure, or there is close co-ordination between the two. In the case of the Kanuri, the separate and distinct administrative organization which serves as the framework of the political structure,[1] implies a lessening of the role of kin groups to the point where they have disappeared among the Kanuri. Aside from relationships within the nuclear family, and to a lesser extent kinship relations generally, power derives its authority, among the Kanuri, from one's position in the political system, and the ability of one man to exert power over another is determined by the roles which the two men play in the political system.

121 556 565 Wealth as a variable used to determine the social importance of a single individual or of a category of individuals is analogous to power. Relative wealth defines a relationship between two individuals or two classes of individuals, and just as power derives from one's role in the political system, wealth derives from one's role in the economic system. In most primitive societies, the economic system is submerged within kinship and within the operation of kin groups. In some, the market has begun to emerge as a separate economic institution and increasingly social relationships are defined in terms of the market.

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1. the distinctions made here as to types of political systems are taken from the Introduction to African Political Systems, edited by Meyer Forres and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times. [12] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

[GEIDAN]

121 The previous chapter has been devoted to an overall view of Kanuri culture, against which the recent changes brought about by contact with the industrial Western world can be measured. It is apparent that this description, which attempts to provide the general features of the culture, is primarily of what has been called ideal culture. It is generalized, highly abstract and frequently derives from statements by informants about how the 'good Kanuri' acts in various types of situation.

An anthropologist customarily studies a community, which occupies the focus of his analytical attention. From his study of a particular community, he makes judgments concerning behavior which he considers to be idiosyncratic for that community, selects out and discounts atypical aspects of the culture which are represented by his community, in order to arrive at a statement about the larger patterns of the culture with which he is concerned. In the study of small homogeneous cultures, it was usually not important to distinguish between the two processes since small total size and homogeneity meant that there were little or no differences between various communities. What held for one camp, one lineage, or one settlement, undoubtedly held for all. In the study of more complex cultures to which anthropologists have turned in the recent decades, of which the Kanuri are an example, it is imperative to recognize the dis-
[184] tinctions drawn here. Kanuri culture is large and heterogeneous, and has only the most incidental resemblance to an American Indian tribe or to an isolated Pacific island, the "type cul-

[GEIDAN]

121 tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The
184 Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy,
[109] and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal
[369] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizantal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 197 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

A. Theoretical Concepts

121 Since the present study is concerned with the process of acculturation as it occurs within the various groups which make up the social structure of the community of Geidam, It is necessary to describe precisely the theoretical concepts which will be employed.

1. Concepts dealing with social structure.

Some time back Raymond Firth attempted to clarify the problem of dealing analytically with a changing social system. This is precisely the problem of the present study. Firth differentiated between social structure and social organization, noting that, "Continuity is expressed in the social structure, the sets of relations which make for firmness of expectation, for validation of past experience in terms of similar experience in the future. Members of a society look for a reliable guide to action, and the structure of the society gives this--through its family and kinship system, class relations, occupational distribution, and so on. At the same time there must be room for variance and for the explanation of variance. This is found in the social organization, the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision."[1] The basic distinction which Firth makes will be adhered to in the present discussion. In addition, his introduction of the notion of

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1. Raymond Firth, Elements of Social Organization (London: Watts and Co. 1951), p. 40.

121 choices through which social relations are ordered will serve as a focal point in the discussion of acculturation which follows.

The first necessary set of distinctions to be made in analyzing social structure is that which differentiates social groups from social categories. A social group is typified by a high degree of interaction among its members and an internal structuring of its membership. A social category is not internally structured, nor do its members interact frequently. Its definition is dependent on the common response which members of a category will make towards members of another category, and consequently a social category is defined by the interchangeability of its members in contrast to other categories. A family, household, or lineage is an example of a social group; fathers, household heads and aristocrats are examples of social categories. Social categories can shade into social groups since they sometimes take on the defining characteristics of a group to some degree.

The definition of a social category put forth here may be compared with that used by Fortes in the following selection. "Just what we mean by a homogeneous society is still rather vague though we all use the term lavishly. The working definition I make use of is that a homogeneous society is ideally one in which any person in the sense given to this term by Radcliffe-Brown in his recent (1950) essay, can be substituted for any other person of the same category without bringing

121 about changes in the social structure. This implies that any two persons of the same category have the same body of customary usages and beliefs."[1] The qualification "of the same category" used by Fortes is obviously intended to refer only to age and sex categories, for an extension of the idea of social categories beyond this limited notion would allow the substitution of individuals of the same category in any society, even the most complex societies. Since Fortes was defining a homogeneous society, he could not have meant to imply this extension of the concept of "category." It is precisely this extension which is the aim of the definition of social category put forth here.

Social category is merely another way to look at status. Instead of emphasizing position, as the concept of status does, social category emphasizes the similarities between individuals who occupy the same status. Social groups are almost always internally ordered into differing statuses, but social categories (or statuses) can exist without being social groups.

Linton proposed the paired concepts of status and role--the latter term to be used in referring to behavior which is associated with a given status. The concepts of status and of role are most readily seen in paired, or dyadic relationships. The status of ego is clarified when it is contrasted with the status of alter. Ego's role can only be seen when he inter-

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1. Meyer Fortes, Op. cit., p. 36.

• 121 acts with alter, so that the concept of role is really a reciprocal one which depends on the interaction of two or more people.

Robert Merton has recently proposed extensions of the concepts of role and status.[1] He views each social status as involving not a single role but an array of roles, and he suggests the term "role-set" for this cluster of roles associated with a single status. The particular role which an individual "selects" is dependent on the group of individuals with whom he is interacting at a given time. His role will vary in accordance with the nature of these "alters." In the presence of one set of individuals he plays one role and behaves accordingly; in the presence of a different set of individuals he plays a different role and his behavior toward them is very different from that which he showed in the presence of the previous group. Analogous to Merton's idea of role-set is his term status-set, which refers to the multiple statuses which any individual occupies. In each of the many statuses which make up an individual's status-set, he has an associated role-set. At any given time, his one active status determines his role-set, and the particular role which he enacts or chooses from the role-set is determined by the individual (or group of individuals) with whom he is interacting at the time.

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1. Robert Merton, "The Role-Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," The British Journal of Sociology, VIII, No. 2, (1957), pp. 106-120.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 In considering the simplest forms of interaction between two individuals, it is apparent that roles involve behavior which may be appropriate or inappropriate on the part of both individuals. Linton referred to appropriate behavior on the part of the role-player as his duty, and to the appropriate behavior of his alter as his right. "A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties."[1] Goodenough, in a recent paper, focuses his attention on the formal analysis of status-connected rights and duties.[2] Rather than rights and duties, the terms that will be used here are: expectations and obligations. Expectations and obligations are terms introduced by Goffman.[3] They are preferable to Linton's terms because they have less connotation of legal sanctions, and refer rather to every-day behavior. Goffman uses the concepts with great effect, for example, to analyze "good" and "bad" manners. Role behavior therefore refers to reciprocal behavior in which the individ-

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1. Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1936), p. 113.

2. Ward H. Goodenough, "Formal Properties of Status Relationships," paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia, November, 1961. (mimeographed).

3. Erving Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," American Anthropologist, 58, No. 3 (1956), p. 473-503.

• 121 uals in interacting roles both have their obligations to act in certain ways, as well as their expectations of how the other will act. As Goodenough points out, the terms are complementary: ego's obligations are alter's expectations, ego's expectations are alter's obligations. For an interaction to continue, obligations and expectations must conform with one another.

Choosing a particular role from a role-set automatically determines one's relevant obligations and expectations. What are the factors that lead an individual to choose one role from a number of possible roles in his role-set when he encounters another individual? The two primary factors are: his perception of the "others" whom he meets and with whom he interacts, and his view of himself (or the self which he wishes to present to others). Goffman's writings in this area of social perception are most illuminating, and show a remarkable convergence with the approach of S. F. Nadel. Nadel states, "We can express more sharply the variability of the actor as against the constancy of the contribution expected of him by describing the latter as a part meant to be played. Which is precisely what the role concept is designed to do."[1] This analogy between roles and actors, parts and performances, becomes Goffman's central theme.[2] Goffman is equally interested in actor and

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1. S. F. C. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), p. 21.

2. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959.

• 12| audience. Both actors and audience perceive one another as members of social categories, and each anticipates appropriate behavior from the other. Each actor guides his own behavior by the "presentation" he seeks to make and in accordance with his judgment of how it is perceived by others. If his judgments are correct, expectations are met and the interaction continues because it is understood by both participants. Goffman is particularly interested in the manner in which the actor initially presents himself, the impression that he conveys to others (the audience, from his point of view--but actors too, in the interaction), and the social categories into which others will place him. An interesting problem is that of the pertinent cues in any culture on the basis of which these judgments are made, for these cues determine the categories into which others are placed and, consequently, one's obligations to those individuals as well as one's expectations of how they will behave.

One may present a paradigm at this point. Given a particular social context which several individuals approach with desired goals, the factors entering into the choice of appropriate behavior for each of the participants would be as follows:

a) the individual's perception of himself (or the self which he wishes to present);

b) his perception of alter in the same social context;

c) his perceptions of sanctions and rewards which can proceed from each of several roles in his role-set that he might choose from;

121 d) his choice of appropriate behavior, in accordance with his perceptions, for achieving the goals with which he approached the situation.

One can choose innumerable examples to illustrate this process. The easiest to imagine is the encounter of adolescent boy and girl, in any culture.

For most encounters and interactions of this sort, the rewards are no more specific than the continuation of the interaction; sanctions of the severest sort may be brought about by abrupt termination of the interaction by alter. Sometimes sanctions of this sort are desired, by either ego or alter, as when one snubs someone or cuts someone dead. At other times sanctions occur because ego (or alter) has not perceived some aspect of the situation appropriately. "Bad" manners may be due to either possibility. The introduction of the notion of sanctions when expectations of what is appropriate are not met is central to the view of social structure presented here. The threat of sanctions is one of the forces which maintains the operation of any social organization.

The central problem of the present study is the delineation of social groups and categories of the community under study, and the identification of some of the distinctive role-sets of each group and category in terms of the obligations and expectations which make up the roles. It is necessary also to know something of how the members of these groups and categories perceive themselves, and those in other categories.

121 Lastly, it is important to know the goals, the rewards, and the sanctions in Kanuri culture. In terms of this set of basic concepts the functioning of certain aspects of Kanuri culture will be viewed through the interactions and relationships between social groups and social categories in the community of Geidam.

2. Concepts dealing with acculturation.

The view of acculturation put forth here hinges upon the idea of choices or alternatives discussed by Firth. In a recent article, Leach has used this as his central concept in analyzing Sinhalese social organization. Leach concludes by saying, "... social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules."[1] In the above quote Leach is using social structure to describe what Firth would term social organization. Murdock, in his introduction to the volume in which Leach's essay appears, comments that "... jural rules themselves are the 'outcome of multiple individual choices' in situations where one kind of choice is likely to be appreciably more strongly or regularly rewarded than possible alternative choices.... Leach's position seems to me to have the enormous advantage of making possible the utilization

1. E. R. Leach, "The Sinhalese of the Dry Zone of Northern Ceylon," in Social Structure in Southeast Asia, edited by George P. Murdock (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960), pp. 123-124.

• (2) of psychological principles and of scientific knowledge concerning the dynamics of cultural change in the interpretations of cultural systems."[1]

Alternatives are probably present in all cultures to some extent, and a degree of variation is implied in Leach's statement that social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices. Indeed, one can view deviants in a culture from this point of view, as individuals who have chosen behavioral alternatives which differ from the cultural norm. In the present study, however, we are concerned with alternatives which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with external sources. It is clear from the picture of Kanuri culture presented above that these alternatives have been introduced as possibilities in certain aspects of Kanuri culture, and to certain groups and categories but not to others. The groups and categories which are most affected are those which are in regular interaction with the sources of outside influence.

New alternatives are presented to these groups and categories, and when members of these groups and categories exercise choices which have become newly available to them, variations in behavior are introduced. When choices and decisions represent variations that are consistently in one direction, away from cultural norms, then culture change is occurring in

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1. George P. Murdock, "Cognatic Forms of Social Organization," ibid., p. 9.

121 that group. If the consistent acceptance of new choices continues for a sufficiently long period, or involves the introduction of radically new alternatives, it will alter the relationship between that group and other groups and categories in the culture. It may even lead to the formation of new social groups or categories. In either case we would say that the social structure itself would then have become altered.

In such a group or category undergoing acculturation, roles are undergoing expansion and change. This implies that the obligations and expectations of its members are also changing. It was noted above that the choice of a particular role in a role-set was dependent on the "others" with whom the individual in question was interacting, that furthermore it depended on the view of the "self" that he wished to present, the view of "others" that he held in relation to himself, and the view of himself that he thought others might see and believe. In an acculturation situation each of these conditions is undergoing change. The individual's view of himself is no longer a stable one, since, as his position in relation to others changes, his view of himself changes. The self that he wishes to present to others may consequently not be clear either to himself or to them, and he will be even less sure of how credible this "self" will be to others, whether they will accept it and act on it.

An acculturation situation therefore is one in which errors in perception of many sorts are possible. The relationship between groups and categories is undergoing change, and

121 members of differing groups are no longer secure in their expectations from others. Though the larger cultural goals may continue to operate, groups may find that previously unattainable goals are now within reach. Though the nature of sanctions may remain the same, individuals are uncertain when they might anticipate sanctions. In choosing a particular path to achieve his goals, an individual may find that his behavior towards others brings about sanctions. He then must determine whether he can achieve his goals despite these sanctions, and whether the goals are worth the difficulties which are thus brought about, or whether he must abandon behavior of that sort.

B. The Nature of the Data.

12 The data on which the present study is based lie along two dimensions, social structure and acculturation. The manner in which data was chosen for study and collected for each of these variables will be discussed in the following section.

1. Delineating community social structure.

124 Eight groups and categories were selected for analysis. These certainly do not exhaust the total number of social groups and categories to be found in the community of Geidam. They merely represent eight clearly definable social units, each operating within a distinctive sphere of Kanuri culture. These eight groups and categories are themselves resultant from the interaction of variables which bring about community social

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant. 125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

125 or category within the social structure. There are five miscellaneous questions at the end of the interview.

C. The Relationship between Social Structure and Acculturation.

• 121 An individual's position as a member of a social group or social category is considered to be the independent variable in the present study. The manner and the rate in which he becomes acculturated is considered to be dependent on his position in the social structure. It is possible to derive several general hypotheses from this basic view. These are:

1. Groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation.
2. Groups and categories in the social structure acculturate in differing areas of culture at different rates. These differences are determined by the relation of the particular group or category to a given aspect of culture (economics, political organization, etc.).

The above hypotheses are straightforward and easily tested by comparing various groups as to their relative degree of acculturation in several areas. They derive directly from the position that new behavioral alternatives are made available to certain groups and categories in the social structure, so that these groups show evidence of acculturation long before others. Furthermore, members of groups and categories become aware of new alternatives in certain areas of culture because their role

• 12 behavior falls largely in these areas. They may therefore become acculturated in certain behavioral areas but not in others.

3. Groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in others.

A group which has become very acculturated has altered its relationship to other groups within the social structure. As it continues to deviate further and further, it ceases to meet the expectations of others who begin to exert sanctions against the deviant group. Unless that group leaves the culture, which is always a possibility, it must respond to the sanctions. The predicted method of response will be to reaffirm their acceptance of group opinion by adhering even more strictly to the cultural norms in some other behavioral area.

The nature of the sanctions which operate in the above situation depend on the acculturating group and its relationship to other groups. Sanctions arise as this group interacts with others in the social structure. The principles which govern the relationships between groups and categories continue to operate in a situation of rapid culture change, preventing any single group from changing radically so long as it continues to remain part of the same social structure, by the exercise of various forms of sanctions, which may be extremely subtle in character.

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Table XV.

124 Age distribution of the sample and of each of the eight groups

	Mean age	Range
NA Malams	32.67	25-44
Talaka	36.5	22-51
Low-status Individuals	37.75	25-47
Aristocracy	39.4	24-56
Entire sample median = 40	39.55	22-60
Craftsmen	40.0	30-57
Koranic Malams	43.67	30-56
Canteen Operators	43.67	40-47
Kabuna	45.67	35-60

for each of the eight groups which are compared in this chapter are also given in Table XV. The means of six of the eight groups are within four years of the mean age of the entire sample. The two extreme groups, the NA Malams (mean age = 32.67) and the kabuna (mean age = 45.67) are in one case somewhat younger and in the other case somewhat older than the en-
• [121] tire group. This age difference might be expected to have some effect on the hypotheses advanced earlier, since one might expect younger individuals to be more acculturated than older
[632] individuals. Unfortunately, the NA Malams as a group tend to be young, so that the head-master of the school is only twenty-five years old. Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, is forty-four years old and has been included in the sample. He is
124 probably the oldest NA Malam in the town. Conversely, the Ka-
*634 buna tend to be an older group, and the thirty-five and thirty-

124 seven year old Kabuna are probably among the youngest members
*634 of the entire group. This is because Yerima Mustapha will keep potential Kabuna in minor positions for some years before he feels that they are ready for the responsibility of performing
• [121] a Kabuna's role and gives them a horse. Although age is probably a variable in determining an individual's degree of acculturation, it is secondary to his position within a given group or category as will be demonstrated in the succeeding
*634 pages of this section. Though the Kabuna are older as a
*177 group, they nevertheless tend to be acculturated in specific areas. Though the NA Malams are younger as a group, they tend to be acculturated in certain areas and not in others. Age as a variable will be examined in detail in a later section.

A. Analysis of Responses to the Thirty Acculturation Measures.

*177 The first acculturation measure to be discussed is knowl-
191 edge of languages other than Kanuri, presented as Table XVI. Twenty-seven members of the sample speak some Hausa; 18 speak Hausa well; 9 speak a little Hausa. Sixteen speakers of Hausa
*[865] are found in three groups: Aristocracy (4), Canteen Operators
*[463] (6), NA Malams (6). This is clearly related to the importance of the Hausa language in two spheres of activity: trade and
*177 administration. All of the traders speak some Hausa; this is
191 because Hausa is widespread as the trade language throughout
441 Northern Nigeria. Europeans in trade learn to speak Hausa rather

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

128 *177 to a consideration of age as a variable in acculturation. The acculturation measures have all been discussed so that it is now possible to examine them in relation to the ages of responding individuals.

• 121 *177 In terms of the theoretical orientation presented in Chapter IV, relative age of individuals would be expected to effect their degree of acculturation and the behavioral areas in which they exhibited acculturation in a general way. Age categories in any culture represent one of the universal forms of status differentiation, and age differences may be equated with status differences in Kanuri culture. Roles therefore also differ with age--younger individuals within a larger status category have different roles from older individuals within that same status category. Thus expectations and obligations of younger people differ from those of older people, and a younger person might be expected to seek to present a different "self" from an older person merely because of the difference in their ages. Much of the difference in role behavior between young and old people may be attributed to the time required to adequately learn complex roles, so that young people may be allowed much leeway in their behavior and this may be explained as due to their not yet having learned behavior appropriate to mature roles.

In the light of the differences in role between younger and older individuals postulated above, one might expect differences in acculturation. Since a basic assumption throughout has been that acculturation proceeds more rapidly in segments of

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121 the acculturating society which interact with agents of contact
#177 in the course of the performance of their normal roles, it can be predicted that the freedom of behavior permitted to younger people would result in more exploratory behavior on their part and greater interaction with agents of Western culture. This increased contact in turn would result in a greater degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas. However, an interesting question arises here. Does the acculturated behavior of younger people persist as they grow older, or does their increasing age require them to give up acculturated sorts of behavior in favor of traditional behavior which is more appropriate to older status? Some of the indices of acculturation noted in younger people may become sources of acculturation throughout the culture, while others may represent temporary phases in the life-cycle which drop out in later years.

128 In order to examine the effect of age on acculturation,
#177 the individuals making up the sample were divided into two groups. The younger group is made up of individuals below the median age for the entire sample. There are 23 individuals in this group, and their ages range from 22 to 40. The older group is made up of individuals above the median age, and their ages range from 41 to 60. There are only 21 individuals in the older group (compared with 23 in the younger), because the frequency at the median did not permit an even split. These two groups were then compared as to degree of acculturation for the thirty acculturation measures which have already been described in order

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*177 when traveling. One item discussed in the text, occupations
128 in which individuals wish to be engaged (Table XXXII), could not be included in the acculturation profiles as the answers to that question did not permit expression as simple percentages.

*121 Several points emerge clearly from a consideration of the
*177 acculturation profiles. First of all, it is apparent that some groups are generally more acculturated than other groups--most of their responses fall within the acculturated column. Others are generally unacculturated and their responses cluster in the unacculturated column. Secondly, in no group do we find that all responses, in every behavioral area, are acculturated or unacculturated. Each group has behavioral areas in which it appears most acculturated, others in which it is close to the entire sample, and still others in which it appears unacculturated. Finally, from a comparison of the eight acculturation profiles, one can derive a measure of the relative stability of
[128] each group. A stable group is determined by the consistency of responses. A group would be said to be stable when (a) the items within any one behavioral area are consistently in one direction, and (b) the size of the differences between acculturated and unacculturated responses is not very great.

*177 1. Aristocracy. The acculturation profile of the Aris-
565 tocracy is presented in Table XL. The Aristocracy are obviously an acculturated group on the whole, as almost all of their responses fall on the acculturated side of the baseline. In

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121 The present study approached the problem of acculturation in the Kanuri community of Geidam through community social structure. From the theoretical position put forth in Chapter IV several hypotheses were derived. Data were then offered through which these hypotheses might be examined. While one could not claim that these hypotheses were "proved" by the data presented here, they were nevertheless upheld throughout.

121 *177 The first hypothesis stated that groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation. The general degree of acculturation of each of the eight groups and categories can be readily ascertained from the acculturation profiles presented in Chapter V, and the groups can be ranked in the following manner:

1. Acculturated groups:	NA Malams Aristocracy
2. Intermediary groups:	Canteen Operators Talaka
3. Unacculturated groups:	Kabuna Low-status Individuals Koranic Malams Craftsmen

The extent of difference between the acculturated and the unacculturated groups above would tend to verify hypothesis 1.

The second hypothesis stated that groups and categories in the social structure would acculturate in different behavioral areas at different rates. An examination of the acculturation profiles reveals that this is generally the case. The most acculturated groups (NA Malams and Aristocracy) re-

*121 *177 veal areas in which they are unacculturated; the most unacculturated groups similarly reveal areas of behavior in which they are acculturated. That these differences in degree of acculturation are determined by the relation of a given group or category to that area of behavior, as is stated in the second sentence of hypothesis 2, is readily apparent from the data. Explanations of these differences in the above discussion have repeatedly sought to relate them to the roles of the group concerned. If these explanations have been convincing, then hypothesis 2 may be said to have been upheld.

It is somewhat more difficult to discuss the implications of the data which have been presented above for hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 states that groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in other areas. The position of a group within the existing social structure plays an important part not only in determining the areas in which acculturation is likely to occur but also in determining those behavioral areas in which acculturation would not be expected to occur--i.e., those areas in which the group reaffirms traditional behavioral norms.

This may be illustrated by selecting three of the groups whose profiles have been presented in the previous chapter for comparison. The three groups are the following:

a) NA Malams - acculturated and stable.
b) Canteen Operators - intermediary in acculturation and unstable.
c) Craftsmen - unacculturated and stable.

*177 634 156 The NA Malams are the most acculturated group of the eight which have been described. How would one account for the fact that

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177 of marrying an educated woman, but extremely conservative about
441 permitting her to work as a school-teacher. In fact, their
156 response to this question seems to be exaggerated in its adherence to upper class traditional Kanuri norms.

121 The behavior of the group of Canteen Operators, compared
177 to that of the NA Malams and the Craftsmen, is entirely consist-
441 ent with the predictions made in hypothesis 3. They have be-
156 come acculturated in certain behavioral areas as a result of the interactions brought about by their roles in trade. Their new status in the community has resulted in further acculturation in still other areas (attitudes towards arbitration of disputes, attitudes towards generosity and charity). But their need to reaffirm their Kanuri identity and to validate their new positions in Kanuri society has led them to underline their affirmation of traditional Kanuri values, frequently by assuming exaggerated poses. Their behavior lends support to the third hypothesis advanced earlier.

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121 The theoretical significance of the present study is in the view of acculturation which has been put forth. Heretofore, acculturation studies have relied heavily on two types of approach: (1) the relationship between acculturation and personality variables (as exemplified by the writings of Hallowell, Wallace, Caudill, Vogt and Mead), and (2) the attempt to delineate which areas of culture change most rapidly as a result of contact and which areas of culture remain resistant to change.

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|2| The view adopted in the present study is that culture contact does not occur through the meeting of two amorphous and cloud-like masses, which is the underlying assumption of the approaches indicated above. To assume that certain personality types are receptive to culture change while other personality types are resistant to change is to imagine the contact situation in entirely unstructured terms, in which individuals of one personality type gravitate towards agents of contact while individuals of still a different personality type shrink from the agents of contact and thus remain unacculturated. Similarly, an approach which attempts to isolate those aspects of culture which change most rapidly (technology, for example) from still other aspects of culture (religion, social organization) which are most resistant to change, also assumes an unstructured contact situation in which two amorphous entities come into contact and bring about changes in areas most susceptible to change.

These simplistic views of acculturation overlook an elementary anthropological lesson. Culture and society are equally present, and society implies structure. Every ongoing society functions through a system of social organization, and in every case of culture contact two social structures are to be found in interaction. In recent years several anthropologists have realized the weaknesses in the common approach to acculturation problems, and have advocated an emphasis on so-

12 cial structure.[1] However, only Raymond Firth has put forth a systematic view of social structure which is inclusive enough to be useful in analyzing situations of culture change.[2]

The approach suggested by Firth in several of his works has provided the basis for the conceptual framework of the present study. This has been elaborated somewhat by borrowing from other writers (notably Linton, Nadel, Merton, Goffman, and Leach) in order to construct what might be called a rudimentary role theory. The theoretical approach put forth here is sufficiently broad to be able to handle problems in several fields, among them: social structure, deviance and social control, and socialization. In the present study it was applied to a problem of acculturation.

It is hoped that the analysis of Kanuri acculturation which has been presented here has succeeded in shedding light on the general process of culture change. If this has been the case, then the theoretical approach will have been validated.

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1. Edward H. Spicer, Edward P. Dozier, and George C. Barker, "Social Structure and the Acculturation Process," American Anthropologist, 60, No. 3 (1958), 433-455.

   Robert F. Maher, "Social Structure and Cultural Change in Papua," American Anthropologist, 62, No. 4 (1960), 593-602.

2. Raymond Firth, "Social Organization and Social Change," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 84 (1954), 1-20.

Introduction

• 121 In studying a significant theoretical problem in a previously unstudied society, the anthropologist finds himself trying to cope with several problems at the same time. As a scientist he must focus his attention on those phenomena which deal specifically with his own sphere of study. As a field anthropologist he must also record data on the society and culture of a hitherto unrecorded, and often unique, segment of mankind using the skills of his discipline to ensure the reliability of this information. Difficulties may emerge because his theoretical problem often calls for a narrowing of observation, while the recording of new cultural and social data spreads the focus across the entire gamut of soci-cultural phenomena.

The present study is the writer's attempt at a compromise between these conflicting interests. The specific area of research upon which attention has been narrowed is that of change. The study as a whole seeks to describe and explain the trends of social change which have operated and are operating at present in the Kanuri society of Northern Nigeria. The general ethnographic problem arises from the fact that Kanuri culture and society have not been documented in the anthropological literature. In the pages to follow the reader is given a sufficiently wide view of the society in question so that the specific problem of change can be intelligibly linked to an understandable framework of social life as it is practised among the Kanuri.

To accomplish this rather broad objective, some limitations of scope are necessary which means that criteria of selection have to be imposed on the data. Put another way, any scientific enquiry is based upon assumptions. These direct the study along certain channels while

• 12.1 setting boundaries for the omission of what are hoped to be irrelevant materials. In the present work we have assumed the analytical separability of cultural and social phenomena and focused the enquiry on the latter. Culture is here defined as "transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour and the artifacts produced by behaviour".(1) Society or the social system designates "the specifically relational system of interaction among individuals and collectivities".(2) Parsons and Kroeber regard these distinctions as necessary and claim that neither should be directly reduced to terms of the other.(3) This means that the order of relationships within each can be treated as analytically independent from that in the other. Applied to the material at hand, it has been decided to remain within the level of the social system relating and describing phenomena at this level while for the most part omitting the cultural. The one important exception to this rule occurs in Chapter IX where patterns of consumption and distribution pertaining to such cultural materials as clothing, implements, and house types are systematically described and related to the social system. This has been deemed necessary because of the important relation which production and consumption bear to change in the society.

Using these self-imposed limits what emerges in the pages to follow is in no sense the "holistic" approach often attributed to anthropology. Thus very little is said of religion, witchcraft, techniques of pottery making, folk-lore, or the content of ceremonialism. Although the writer has gathered data on all these subjects they fall outside the limited scope of the present work.

(1) Kroeber, A.L. and Parsons, Talcott, The Concepts of Culture and Social System, ASR, 23, 5, 1958, p. 583
(2) Ibid: p. 583
(3) Ibid: p. 582

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Kanuri society is a social system whose boundaries are herein defined by the extent of the political boundaries of the Kanuri state known as Bornu Emirate. As a language and a culture, Kanuri transcends these borders but for present purposes the social system is defined by its political limits. Social relations within this system are hierarchically arranged for many of the most important functions of social life and it can be seen in the pages to follow that within the framework of the superior/subordinate relationship there is a high degree of opportunism which characterizes these social relations. Superior/subordinate relations are governed strongly by factors of power and authority. These variables make up a type of human action called governmental and Smith's view is adopted here that such behaviour is possible at all levels of human social organization.(1) Since it is relationships which are being described a two-sided definition is useful for analytical purposes. Looking at the relationship from the superior's point of view, power is the ability to order action and make decisions about the kind of action to be taken, and authority in the same direction is the ability of the superior to secure performance of the action ordered. On the other side of the relationship, power and authority refer to the subordinate's sensitivity and response to the power and authority of superior(s).

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Whether or not a particular theory of society is espoused by a writer, his work very often tends to support some contemporary conceptions while contradicting others. It should be emphasized that the writer had no pre-conceived notions about Kanuri social relations, nor was he attempting to support, refine, or negate one social system theory

(1) Smith, M. G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, JRAI, 86, 1957, p. 50.

121 as against another. The data have been described as they were observed rather than as test data for any theory of society. Nevertheless the material to follow suggests that there may be more to the so-called "market modal view"[1] of the social system than its recent discreditors have led us to believe. This view emphasizes social relationships and roles as objects of choice in terms of the net satisfactions expected. The market model has been criticized because it tends to portray social interaction as overly contractual and overly rational. Furthermore it is claimed that social relations must be analyzed in relation to the values defining current role obligations or those internalized in personality, while economic relations are independent of such references.[2] However the data to follow indicate that in Kanuri society many non-economic as well as economic relations are governed by what is most aptly described as "investment" and "return". Individuals perform certain roles for socially defined returns. When the performance of obligations is judged as insufficient then dissatisfaction arises which may result in a shift in social relations or a change in the performance within the relationship. The reader must judge for himself whether or not this is merely a "metaphorical construction",[3] or an adequate description of Kanuri social life.

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114 123 The methods used in gathering data in the field fall into three categories: qualitative, quantitative and documentary. Qualitative methods of participant observation were used exclusively during the first eight months of field work. The writer and his wife lived in

(1) Hopkins, Terence K. Sociology and the Substantive View of the Economy in Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Polanyi, K., Arensburg, C.M. and Pearson, H. W. (eds.) p. 283.
(2) Ibid: p. 284
(3) Ibid: p. 284

614 origin story, often associating the founder with the Prophet. For example, the following story was related by an informant about the origins of the thra clan:

> One day a barber was shaving the Prophet's head. The man made a mistake and cut the Prophet's scalp. Blood came out and the barber drank it. Everyone who comes from that barber is thra. They are not connected with chiefs, they are common people but they are close to the Prophet -- they are sherib, fire will not burn them.

Some informants felt that in the old days there may have been a tendency for clan endogamy, not as a sanctioned custom, but as a matter of mere frequency. No one ever heard of any exogamous rules, or ever connected the clans to any natural species of flora and fauna.

613 614 565 Among some of the high status groups and some of the very high status families of Bornu, not only clan membership is known but also a series of maximal lineages within the clan to which the name of an original founder (not mythical as in the case of the clan) is attached. Most Kanuri have heard of the Sefuwa lineage of the Magumi clan. This was the royal lineage of pre-nineteenth century Bornu. No rules of marriage were elicited for this grouping.

614 829 Questions about clan to younger Kanuri and even older ones in some cases often brought out (after tribal affiliation) residential associations. Thus, a peasant informant would relate how his daughter had been married to a man whose clan was Kanuri. Continued questioning on the same point would bring out the reply that the son-in-law's sub-clan was Maiduguri; in other words, the name of his town.

613 614 121 On the basis of this data, it is concluded that Kanuri clans and maximal lineages have very little, if any, functioning significance in the contemporary society.

64 nificance in the contemporary society. It should be noted that for
121 purposes of the present study, the term "clan" refers to extra-lineage connections between persons with some understanding of common ancestry from an original mythical founder. As Africanists have used this term, clan does not necessarily refer to exogamous groups.

CHAPTER VI [p. 148]

The Life Cycle

• 121 In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialised.

561 As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the [571] only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organization is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

844 At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (sartèma). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as [846] other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

582
162 This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygynous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

121

Maturity

885 The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184] A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.

[831] When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as zairo (any person who has not been married,

428 always be considered as getting some preference, although a surviving son who is of age (18-20) gets the largest share. When two sons of a deceased father have the same mother the younger son has no orthodox rights, since it is considered that the older brother is now replacing the father. However, it is customary that, if both are of age, the rule of two parts to one in favour of the senior in relation to junior holds sway, with the father's compound going to the senior. Three full brothers in Magumeri cut up the estate of their father in two parts at his death. Half the estate plus the compound went to the eldest brother while the other half was divided in two between the two younger brothers. A fourth younger brother was about thirteen years old at the time and living in another town - he received nothing. If the sons are from different mothers and both of age, the rules require equal sharing of the property, with the father's house going to the eldest.

A man is not free to dispose of his property to whomsoever he chooses. It must follow the rules of inheritance. However, he may before he dies ask a relative in front of witnesses to give [693] some special possession to a friend after his death. All cases of inheritance disputes that are adjudicated give ten per cent of the inheritance value to the court making the successful judgement.

121 Inheritance customs in any society are an attempt to give continuity and stability to existing social relationships as they refer to rights and prerogatives, given the fact of potential dislocation of the ongoing relational system by loss of membership through death. The universality of inheritance disputes or animosity developing from inheritance transactions recorded from all over the world attest to the inevitable conflicts which arise no matter what variety

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
578 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a
613 major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have more rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

Chapter VII

Social Stratification

128 The material on Kanuri interpersonal relations has been presented in order to depict and examine some of the primary modes of social interaction in the society. The present chapter and those to follow will attempt to tie together the foregoing discussion of interpersonal relations with the historical material presented earlier, by indicating the overall organizational framework within which this social and historical experience has been carried on. In order to do this, it is necessary to be more explicit about what has up until this point been implicit concerning stratification and its manifestations in Bornu.

• 121 As a working definition it is to be understood in the following discussion that social stratification refers to a system of agreed upon rankings of persons, whereby statuses are accorded differential values along some dimension of judgment such as power, occupation, birth or achievement. When there is enough differentiation among various groups in the society along any of these dimensions, so that one group persists in its relations to other groups in its recognized possession of any of these qualities, then the society may be said to be stratified. Social mobility consists of the modes of behaviour necessary for movement from one position to another along any of the dimensions which go to make up the constituents of stratification in the society. It should be noticed that in this sense there is no such thing as an "unstratified" society since all social organizations have some persistent differentiation of statuses even if it is only on the bases of age and sex. That is to say, using this definition there is no basic dichotomy between stratified and unstratified societies, but rather a difference in degree

121 and complexity of stratification.[1] Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt [829] here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

229 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as 582 563 can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely 191 endogamous,[2] although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or woman which included Non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

369 Another difference noticeable immediately to the 216.
342 stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live
829 in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush" the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several of the rich leaders in Bornu were building, under private contract, city houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity, and cement floors.

369 In Maguseri, complaints against rural people are always heard
829 from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never carry a "bush" girl.
[585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town, the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the dignitaries of Maguseri were of such a low quality that it became a standing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared, respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids the civil servantin the bush, unless his confidence is won over through continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

121 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

• 121 notion of class becomes a somewhat knotty one for the researcher. This is because it lacks the precision of his analytically derived status dimensions and yet it demands discussion, for the very good empirical reason that the people themselves recognize class distinctions. The theoretical answer lies in the nature of the concept of class as distinct from status. Class is a more inclusive category which cuts up an entire society into only a few segments. In so doing it incorporates many of the status dimensions by correlating them into ranges so that all the high statuses of dimensions a, b, c, d, . . . n, are unified into a large segment of the population, while the same thing may occur at other ranges along the status dimensions, giving the society one, two or more classes. When these segments are present, the outward signs such as differentiation in language, dress, manners and other social and cultural characteristics of class membership, become another status dimension to that recognizable membership in any class confers varying status upon the individual. Because of the noticeable sub-cultural differences between class segments, recognizability and imitation often blur the distinction and widen the scope for social mobility. Nevertheless, in order to actually obtain continuous high status in the society, the person must be seen and judged as having high rankings along the dimensions already discussed above. In the following discussion, this theoretical framework can be seen as the process underlying Kanuri class distinctions.

556 In the every day life of Bornu, the life spans of different
565 individuals in the population are lived out within differing ranges of
829 experience (which may change through time). This rather abstract statement can easily be explained by an illustration drawn from the judgements made by a young peasant in Magumeri on the subject of wealth. He reported that there were very few wealthy people in Magumeri village itself,

Chapter IX

[p. 265]

The Economic Life

592 For purposes of consumption and production the basic unit among the Kanuri is the household group consisting of a man, his wife
128 or wives, and their children. Since the external and internal social relations of household groups has formed a major part of the study up to this point these data are omitted from the present discussion. This allows us to deal with the "bare bones" of economic activity and to ask questions about the patterns of consumption, production and distribution of goods and services. Where economic activities are set into heretofore unmentioned forms of social organization such as occurs in the distributive sector, then these structures are described and related to the economic activity being analysed.

121 For purposes of the present analysis, consumption is operationally equated with all behaviour pertaining to those things acquired through the expenditure of capital resources as these are known to the Kanuri; production refers to those activities from which income is derived in cash and kind, excluding trade; and distribution includes those activities by which the movement of goods and services is accomplished from producers to consumers.

829 It should be noted here that this classification is an arbitrary one in terms of Bornu culture. To the Kanuri, consumption comes under the linguistic rubric of awo manyen (things we need), while production and distribution are lumped together as sanya (occupations). Where an individual has two occupations such as farmer and craftsman, or farmer and trader, he most often reports his non-farming activity as his sanya.

000 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant

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[P. 21]

The Success that Failed: An Experiment in Culture Change in Africa

By RONALD COHEN*

The economic and political development going on at this moment in the non-European areas of the globe is one of the truly monumental social revolutions in man's history, ranking in importance with both the neolithic and the urban 'revolutions' of the past. By the end of the present century, the standards of living of about two-thirds of the world's population will very likely have risen between five and ten times present level. The educational, political, religious, and social changes which will in all probability accompany this revolution are almost staggering to the imagination. However, that it is taking place is a simple fact. 121

At the core of this development are the changes and innovations in basic economic activities in the every day lives of people the world over, for these hum-drum practices are the foundation stones upon which higher living standards are built. Central planning, financial and technical assistance, and political policies, all make crucial contributions to economic development. However the full measure of cultural changes, and in this case technological innovation, requires the painstaking description and analysis which is the hallmark of anthropological research techniques. Like other social sciences, anthropology uses the data of man's social life for its empirical basis. But unlike other social scientists, the anthropologist observes the data of the human experience through his intimate face-to-face contact with the people from day to day throughout his field

* The field work for this paper was carried out between January, 1956, and August, 1957, with the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation Area Training Fellowship Programme. The writer expresses his appreciation to Professor J.W. VanStone for helpful comments and suggestions, and to Professor C.W.M. Hart under whose guidance field research among the Kanuri was planned and carried out.

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4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
[131] many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[642] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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[829]

own farm plot. This added to the general impression of the fertilizer as an intrusive item, and one which had no practical value under local conditions.

Conclusion

The human side of innovation has often been emphasized as being just as important as the technological. The Magumeri experience reiterates the fact that the social and psychological context of innovation requires careful analysis so that variables affecting innovation may be isolated and prepared for before any development programmes are put into action. If the place of social relations, as compared to technology, in farm production had been taken into account, the results of this experiment might well have been less disappointing. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that all technology is imbedded in a welter of cultural accretions. It is the responsibility of the innovator to isolate cultural characteristics of technology which are necessary to its successfull operation, from those which are simply there because of the cultural origins of the item. This is what lies at the root of flexibility as opposed to rigidity in the introduction of western technology to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

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The fieldwork on which this book is based has been carried out in two periods: one in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Area Fellowship Program, and again in the summers of 1964 and 1965 with financial help from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Science Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is because of the generosity of these agencies that I have been able to develop and continue my understanding of the Kanuri people and their complex culture. Altogether I have spent over twenty-six months among the Kanuri and a number of years reading historical documents dealing with their pre-colonial kingdom in the Chad basin.

Over the years I have become indebted to a host of people who have contributed to my expanding knowledge of Bornu so that it would be impossible to give a complete list of those whose share in this book is a significant one. Professor C. W. M. Hart first encouraged and guided my work, and his approach to anthropology has colored and given direction to my own. In Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, G.C.O.N., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.B., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has through the years helped to make my visits to Bornu fruitful and intellectually exciting. The Bornu Native Authority and the Bornu Provincial Government have extended the warmest hospitality and courtesy to myself and my wife and encouraged us in our work. Their forbearance with my research and their constant willingness to cooperate has helped to make Bornu into what some of them have called "my second home." I cannot claim to know everything about Kanuri society and culture; what I have learned is due not only to the kindness of Bornu officials but to the friendship of hundreds of Kanuri who have never failed to answer my unending questions and sometimes naïve curiosity with patient explanation. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Rosman who were also out in Bornu in 1957 carrying out field research gave invaluable aid as colleagues interested in many of the same problems. At closer range, both in Bornu during my first field trip, and later after we returned to North America in 1957, my wife has served as a constant critic and discussant of almost every fact and interpretation put forward in this book and in my other publications on Bornu. In a very real way I owe her a debt as my collaborator and fellow researcher. Finally I am indebted to Professor John Middleton and David Spain who have read and made many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this book.

R. C.

Evanston, Illinois
November 1966

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there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit. 632 184

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake-infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source. 115 114 123 (634)

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless. 114 122 (115)

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming. 114 123

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

Acknowledgments

122 The field research on which the present study is based was financed by a Foreign Area Training Fellowship granted by the Ford Foundation. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Ford Foundation for enabling him to carry out the research, though he alone bears responsibility for the conclusions reached in this study.

A number of people at Yale University assisted the author at various stages of the research. Professor Edward M. Bruner helped in formulating the problem which served to orient the study. Professor George Peter Murdock initially acted as adviser for the dissertation. This role was later assumed by Professor Sidney W. Mintz, under whom the dissertation was completed. Professor John V. Murra read the completed manuscript. To all of these people the author expresses his thanks.

114 To the Kanuri people of Bornu Province the author owes a special debt of gratitude. Yerima Mustapha, the District Head of Geidam District, showed remarkable understanding of the author's purposes and assisted him in innumerable ways. To his many informants, and to the people of Geidam, the author expresses his thanks.

Dr. Bernice Rosman, the author's wife, shared in every step of the research, from the rigors of the field to the rigors of the dissertation. The author's debt is beyond expression.

128 Mrs. Evelyn Middleton, who typed the manuscript, has aided greatly in bringing it to its final form.

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant. 125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

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Preface

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Field work for this study was carried out in Bornu Province, Nigeria, from January 1956 to August 1957. The author is grateful to the Ford Foundation Area Training Program under whose financial support the field work was carried out. Through a grant from the Knapp Fellowship Fund of the University of Wisconsin, the writer was allowed an unencumbered year following the field work in which to analyse and write up the material.

Although the author takes full responsibility for the following pages, they could not have reached their present form without the generous help of a number of people. Prof. C. W. M. Hart helped plan and guide the field work as well as reading and advising on earlier drafts of the present study. His intellectual stimulus has served as a major impetus in the development of the writer's approach to the study of society. Professors D. A. Baerreis and M. L. Barnett have given encouragement and advice throughout the course of the project and helped the writer in innumerable ways both administratively and in matters of scholarship.

Periodic conversations in the field with Mr. and Mrs. A. Rosman, graduate students at Yale University, helped clarify many points about the Kanuri as well as indicating areas of uncertainty and ignorance which required further work. To Mallam Abdullah Yajuwa of the Bornu Department of Agriculture I owe a sincere debt of gratitude for his interest in the project and his well run surveys. His patience and forbearance with the insatiable curiosity of an anthropologist deserve special mention. The Wazirí, the Yerima and the Digma of Bornu also deserve special acknowledgement as men of affairs who spared us their

114
/22 valuable time and used their influence on our behalf. Many others deserve some mention for the generous contributions they made not only to our work but to our well being. Amont these were the Provincial Education Officer, Mr. H. O. H. Vernon-Jackson, Mr. Tony May, of the United Africa Company, Mallam Alhaji Damboa, headmaster of the Kagumeri Junior Primary School and his colleagues, Lawan Mina, the Village Head of Kagumeri, the Bornu Provincial Government for their cooperation in putting the public records of the Emirate at our disposal, and many others whose friendships and cooperation made our stay in Bornu not just the operationalizing of a research project, but a rich personal experience.

114 My wife has contributed so much in the form of criticism, encouragement, editing, and information, both in the field and during the write-up, that there is no specific help for which she can be acknowledged, for she shared it all.

634 Like other district capitals,
[621] Nagumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
[368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an infrequently used District Council House, and a district office in which the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in the diagram below.

361 Diagram Map of Nagumeri Village
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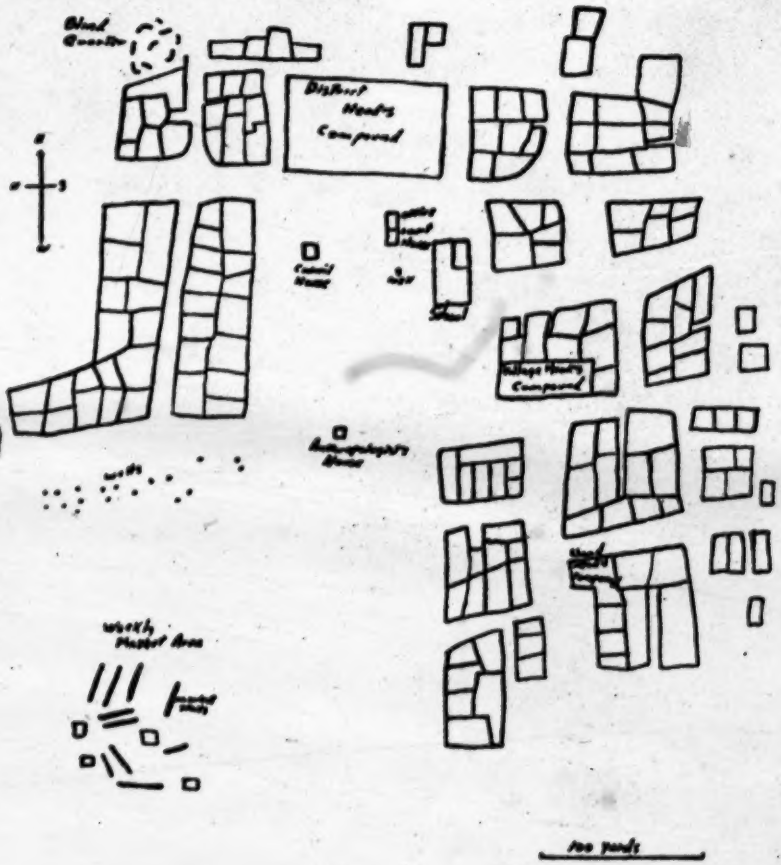

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The Success that Failed: An Experiment in Culture Change in Africa

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The economic and political development going on at this moment in the non-European areas of the globe is one of the truly monumental social revolutions in man's history, ranking in importance with both the neolithic and the urban 'revolutions' of the past. By the end of the present century, the standards of living of about two-thirds of the world's population will very likely have risen between five and ten times present level. The educational, political, religious, and social changes which will in all probability accompany this revolution are almost staggering to the imagination. However, that it is taking place is a simple fact. 121

At the core of this development are the changes and innovations in basic economic activities in the every day lives of people the world over, for these hum-drum practices are the foundation stones upon which higher living standards are built. Central planning, financial and technical assistance, and political policies, all make crucial contributions to economic development. However the full measure of cultural changes, and in this case technological innovation, requires the painstaking description and analysis which is the hallmark of anthropological research techniques. Like other social sciences, anthropology uses the data of man's social life for its empirical basis. But unlike other social scientists, the anthropologist observes the data of the human experience through his intimate face-to-face contact with the people from day to day throughout his field

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit. 632 184

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source. 115 114 123 [634]

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless. 114 122 [115]

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming. 114 123

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 "the Europeans of Magumeri." This pattern involved interviewing and visiting
• 123 households in Magumeri and its surrounding hamlets during the morning, asking
124 questions about household life, farming, and the social relations within the household and between its members and the wider community. Along with attendance at ceremonies, these morning activities came to be defined locally as my "work." My wife, not a trained anthropologist, visited a number of her women friends in the mornings, and looked after household matters. However, she was a part of Magumeri women's society, and we gained insights from her friendships that would have been difficult for a man to achieve by himself. In the afternoon we very often visited with a group of the young men who were associates of the school teacher. They became our intimate friends, and were defined locally as such. During these sessions, we participated in the conversation, or listened, often breaking in to ask questions about the meaning of some event being discussed. Sometimes data collected elsewhere in the mornings, would be discussed with our friends—hiding the identity of the informant when possible—in order to more fully understand what it was that had been collected.

114 This rather regular schedule was punctuated with visits to see the district head, visits to other villages, and a trip into Maiduguri, the capital, every month for a day or two to obtain supplies for the household. Special events such as the visit of another chief, or a touring British official, also broke the regularity of our days. But in general time stopped. We were without newspapers, radio, television, and even our mail was collected only when we went in once a month to the city. In this way, news from the world outside Bornu reached us first through Kanuri perspectives. Thus when the Suez crisis began in 1957 we heard of it from a young cattle inoculator who was living in Magumeri and had brought a battery radio with him. He told us and a large crowd that the British had attacked and "were killing the Muslims," but that the Russians and the Chinese were supporting the Muslims and were going to kill all the British. For days we were asked the relative population figures of Great Britain, Russia, and China, and really did not get the story straight ourselves for a day or so.

114 Later, after more than ten months of fieldwork, I began thinking of gather-
125 ing some questionnaire data on farming, marketing, status rating of occupations,
124 and family budgets. The latter was attached to morning visits and became a part of the work in each household. A field assistant already trained in gathering statistical data on crops asked a set of questions of seventy-five farmers in three villages, including Magumeri, where he was carrying on a fertilizer demonstration. Later this same young man did some work collecting information on kinship behavior among a number of people throughout Bornu. Much later still, after we moved to the capital, we asked school officials there to allow us to question the Maiduguri school children which we did *en masse* using the help of school teachers and Dr. and Mrs. Rosman. All the pupils were asked questions about the status rating of occupations, and about their marriage preferences with particular ethnic groups. These questionnaire data were extremely useful since they could be utilized to check some major conclusions concerning a whole series of attitudes, as well as economic and kinship behavior which involved a great deal of variation across the population. However it is important to note that such highly selective data collection had to be done at the end of the field trip when we knew what questions to ask and could interpret answers in light of our broader understanding of the cultural context.

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These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be 611 settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court nor- 613 mally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance 671 dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court 428 at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal 692 grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he 578 can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is 672 legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime 602 against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations 602 through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin 611 (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are consid- 613 ered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their 829 lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always [578] some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not [554] just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a cer- 554 tain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take 123 him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers 829 or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might 613 be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate 848 613

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tives, usually female relatives, in the name of the groom; these are called the *kwororam,* or the asking-a-question payments. Secondly, there are the formally recognized payments. The first of these is a large one called the *luwaliram,* given to the *luwali,* or the man who officially gives the bride to the groom and to whom she will return if she ever runs away or separates from her husband. This is followed several weeks later by a *sada'u,* a small fee given to the girl's family through her *luwali* on the morning of the wedding day. And thirdly there are a number of small payments paid out to the girl and her young friends, to the female relative(s) who accompany her to the groom's house, and to any unmarried sister she has left behind. The groom receives a few small gifts from the girl's family, and on the morning of the wedding day when the *sada'u* is paid, he receives gifts of money, clothes, and even on occasion a horse. He never knows beforehand, however, just how much or how little this "rebate" will come to in relation to his own outlay for the marriage. 583

When the status of the two families is similarly low, as it is in the vast majority of rural marriages, then there is very little worry over bridewealth. Generally it is not very high and almost standardized for the locality. An important man always pays more bridewealth because everyone believes he can afford it. Paying more for everything he does, including marriage, is one of the ways he validates or proves his higher social rank. An interesting insight is also gained when it is realized that not only is the status of the person getting married taken into account, but also the status of those whom he is associated with and whom he can count on for help. In our little town of Magumeri many people tried to have their daughters marry members of my household because, as they laughingly admitted, they knew I would help my household members with bridewealth, and my apparently wealthy status in Magumeri meant that payments could be set a good deal higher than usual for such a marriage. 583 554 583 554 123

No matter what the status of the two families may be, girls who have not been married before command a much higher set of bridewealth payments, and more of them. The magnitude is often three to five times as much and in extreme cases it goes even higher than that. Men tend to give more as they grow older and can afford it, while conversely women often receive less as they go from one marriage to the next. Kanuri say that a woman who has been married many times has been used a great deal and is therefore worth much less than others who have not had so many marriages and been used as much. On the other hand, if she remained with previous husband(s) for longer periods, has a reputation for quiet obedience, and staying inside the household, then the groom feels more confident about her and will pay more. Similarly if the women has borne children and has demonstrated her fertility, she is also worth more. Although some men know practically nothing about their wives to be, others investigate them and inquire into the reasons for previous marriage break-ups and so on. Was it because her previous husband beat her, or because she was an adulteress, or was excessively jealous of co-wives? Did she not perform her wifely duties properly, or show proper respect to her husband? Certainly some men like to know what kind of wife they are getting and this affects their willingness to pay bridewealth. However, it is not uncommon for a Kanuri man to say that he knew a particular wife for only a week, or perhaps just a day or two before they were married. In this case the woman's marital record is 58 562 581

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The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

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241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
571 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give
[123] them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

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and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

[GEIDAM]

796 Ngumori Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
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441 78 others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Alhaji henceforth), fasting, etc.

*177 75 *829 Still another area which was used as a measure of acculturation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: mus- [792] cular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called alo. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only [792] seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of *[354] these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are mem- • [123] bers of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

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121 as against another. The data have been described as they were observed rather than as test data for any theory of society. Nevertheless the material to follow suggests that there may be more to the so-called "market model view"[1] of the social system than its recent discreditors have led us to believe. This view emphasizes social relationships and roles as objects of choice in terms of the net satisfactions expected. The market model has been criticized because it tends to portray social interaction as overly contractual and overly rational. Furthermore it is claimed that social relations must be analyzed in relation to the values defining current role obligations or those internalized in personality, while economic relations are independent of such references.[2] However the data to follow indicate that in Kanuri society many non-economic as well as economic relations are governed by what is most aptly described as "investment" and "return". Individuals perform certain roles for socially defined returns. When the performance of obligations is judged as insufficient then dissatisfaction arises which may result in a shift in social relations or a change in the performance within the relationship. The reader must judge for himself whether or not this is merely a "metaphorical construction",[3] or an adequate description of Kanuri social life.

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The methods used in gathering data in the field fall into three categories: qualitative, quantitative and documentary. Qualitative methods of participant observation were used exclusively during the first eight months of field work. The writer and his wife lived in

(1) Hopkins, Terence K. Sociology and the Substantive View of the Economy in Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Polanyi, K., Arensburg, C.M. and Pearson, H. W. (eds.) p. 283.
(2) Ibid: p. 284
(3) Ibid: p. 284

114 (1)
• 123 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language and making contacts among the local residents.

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantita-
114 tive techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires
125 were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Geidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Dematuru districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small
[184] hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

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124 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then departed leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local
191 school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

571 602 In interpersonal relations in the society at large aman or trust is most often used in the patrilateral sense of the word when 571 592 [123] social organization is involved. Thus, in the anthropologist's household, one of the members who developed yearnings for the women of the other household members, and was suspected of taking ways, became increasingly estranged from the general corpus of the household personnel. The comments about him, most often muttered under their breaths by the others, were "aman ba", no trust, and "shim ngundu" narrow eyes, i.e. no proper feelings of shame and respect. That is to say, he neglected or rejected the proper rules of trust behaviour which should be practised by a person living in a household unit. Thus aman (trust) in the 571 602 patrilateral sense is the working mechanism of bàrzum (respect). Bàrzum as a formal or structural behaviour norm can often be tied to nona, to pay one's respects to a superior, but when it includes aman it is a more functional and purposeful interaction and is tied into the successful or unsuccessful operation of interpersonal relations. Consequently, when the two are linked together, i.e. when a respect relationship also involves patri-aman, its neglect or infringement causes a judgment of lack of "proper" respect to be placed on the head of the individual offender who breaks faith. To the Kanuri then, the best respect, the real respect relationship involves aman, and without this essential feature the relationship is more formal than functional. Here again the concept of a continuum is useful in filling out the complex variability of the respect relation. In terms of utility, the respect relation runs from extremely little, which is symbolized in nona, (paying one's respects to a superior), through to aman, (trusting a superior and being loyal to him), in return for the support and maintenance he can bestow. The value of these different aspects of respect both functionally to the

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organization with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents, will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for pol-
125 itical reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

837 established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of re-
628 lationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the marketing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually the wives of their close friends and relatives.

586 It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the contrary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to [123] be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order to re-unite separated couples.

581 This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the
585 formalization ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the marriage. After the fatiha prayer (1) has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for [829] the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior status, but because European marriages are well known for their durability. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

581 Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, preferential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that
586 their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

463 554 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par-
[613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from
[428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it,
602 one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community
[123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

556 571 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 183 What this means is that the ideal of kere (wise generosity) is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption. [454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings, which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation (123) and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
183
[123] questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
[251] and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
[152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this confict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

643 The Shehu is
793 also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
796 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
• [123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

In Maiduguri, there
443 is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles
[698] all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Nguru. In Magumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Magumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage
[123] of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's
[435] "followers" (tada njima) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

[162] In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Geidam and Nguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open
[805] every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 "the Europeans of Magumeri." This pattern involved interviewing and visiting
123 households in Magumeri and its surrounding hamlets during the morning, asking
124 questions about household life, farming, and the social relations within the house-
hold and between its members and the wider community. Along with attendance at ceremonies, these morning activities came to be defined locally as my "work." My wife, not a trained anthropologist, visited a number of her women friends in the mornings, and looked after household matters. However, she was a part of Magumeri women's society, and we gained insights from her friendships that would have been difficult for a man to achieve by himself. In the afternoon we very often visited with a group of the young men who were associates of the school teacher. They became our intimate friends, and were defined locally as such. During these sessions, we participated in the conversation, or listened, often breaking in to ask questions about the meaning of some event being discussed. Sometimes data collected elsewhere in the mornings, would be discussed with our friends—hiding the identity of the informant when possible—in order to more fully understand what it was that had been collected.

114 This rather regular schedule was punctuated with visits to see the district head, visits to other villages, and a trip into Maiduguri, the capital, every month for a day or two to obtain supplies for the household. Special events such as the visit of another chief, or a touring British official, also broke the regularity of our days. But in general time stopped. We were without newspapers, radio, television, and even our mail was collected only when we went in once a month to the city. In this way, news from the world outside Bornu reached us first through Kanuri perspectives. Thus when the Suez crisis began in 1957 we heard of it from a young cattle inoculator who was living in Magumeri and had brought a battery radio with him. He told us and a large crowd that the British had attacked and "were killing the Muslims," but that the Russians and the Chinese were supporting the Muslims and were going to kill all the British. For days we were asked the relative population figures of Great Britain, Russia, and China, and really did not get the story straight ourselves for a day or so.

114 Later, after more than ten months of fieldwork, I began thinking of gather-
125 ing some questionnaire data on farming, marketing, status rating of occupations,
124 and family budgets. The latter was attached to morning visits and became a part of the work in each household. A field assistant already trained in gathering statistical data on crops asked a set of questions of seventy-five farmers in three villages, including Magumeri, where he was carrying on a fertilizer demonstration. Later this same young man did some work collecting information on kinship behavior among a number of people throughout Bornu. Much later still, after we moved to the capital, we asked school officials there to allow us to question the Maiduguri school children which we did *en masse* using the help of school teachers and Dr. and Mrs. Rosman. All the pupils were asked questions about the status rating of occupations, and about their marriage preferences with particular ethnic groups. These questionnaire data were extremely useful since they could be utilized to check some major conclusions concerning a whole series of attitudes, as well as economic and kinship behavior which involved a great deal of variation across the population. However it is important to note that such highly selective data collection had to be done at the end of the field trip when we knew what questions to ask and could interpret answers in light of our broader understanding of the cultural context.

121 members of differing groups are no longer secure in their expectations from others. Though the larger cultural goals may continue to operate, groups may find that previously unattainable goals are now within reach. Though the nature of sanctions may remain the same, individuals are uncertain when they might anticipate sanctions. In choosing a particular path to achieve his goals, an individual may find that his behavior towards others brings about sanctions. He then must determine whether he can achieve his goals despite these sanctions, and whether the goals are worth the difficulties which are thus brought about, or whether he must abandon behavior of that sort.

B. The Nature of the Data.

12 The data on which the present study is based lie along two dimensions, social structure and acculturation. The manner in which data was chosen for study and collected for each of these variables will be discussed in the following section.

1. Delineating community social structure.

124 Eight groups and categories were selected for analysis. These certainly do not exhaust the total number of social groups and categories to be found in the community of Geidam. They merely represent eight clearly definable social units, each operating within a distinctive sphere of Kanuri culture. These eight groups and categories are themselves resultant from the interaction of variables which bring about community social

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[441] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

6. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

124 565 463 gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet perform some non-skilled activity in addition to farming. Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

[559] 8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

124 The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and categories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions 125 of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing 124 with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115	1. Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
• 124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]	2. Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zamabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]	3. Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]	4. NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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[634]

5. Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. Talaka: (8)	Adamu-	a tabarma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Fərashəma-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

115 551 554 124 463

6. Low-status Individuals:

(4)	Bukar Mandalma-	a tanner.
	Yahuda Gundama-	a praise-singer and drummer.
	Mastapha Mandalma-	a tanner.
	Abdu Gurzam-	a butcher.

Total: 44 individuals.

124 category which they were to represent. It was required that an informant be a full-time specialist in the activities which characterize any group or category. It is evident that a Koranic Malam, an NA Malam, a Kabuna, a Craftsman, or a member of the Low-status group (tanners, butchers and praise-singers) are members of a clear-cut group or category. Individuals with ambiguous roles were not included in the sample. In the case of the Aristocracy, the Canteen Traders, and the Talaka, judgments were involved in the selection of informants. A decision had to be made as to whether the Aristocrats in Geidam were restricted solely to Yerima Mustapha or whether the group might be enlarged to include others as well who were far below Yerima in social prestige. A decision had to be made which separated the category of Canteen Traders from the many less successful tradesmen in Geidam. A decision also had to be made concerning the defining criteria for the category designated as "Talaka" in the study.

Once individuals were singled out who met the criteria for membership in the eight groups and categories, they were contacted through intervening people, and a relationship with them was established. In time this led to the use of the selected individual as an informant in the study. Every effort was made to avoid choosing acculturated individuals in those categories where it was predicted that greater acculturation would occur, and unacculturated individuals where they would be predicted to occur. Indeed, it will become clear that biased selection on

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant. 125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

[BEIDAN]

128 The data elicited by the questionnaire-interview form the basis of the present chapter. They will be presented in the form of tables, each of which is discussed in the text. The tables are grouped according to areas of information with which they deal. They will be presented in the following order:

Table XV.	Age distribution of the sample.
Table XVI.	Knowledge of other languages.
Table XVII.	Ability to read.
Table XVIII.	Western Material Goods: possession.
Table XIX.	Western Material Goods: knowledge about material items.
Table XX.	Western Material Goods: ideas about usefulness.
Table XXI.	Western Material Goods: comparison of horse and bicycle.
Table XXII.	Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer.
Table XXIII.	Western Material Goods: wearing shoes and trousers.
Table XXIV.	Religious Behavior: fasting during a minor fast.
Table XXV.	Religious Behavior: wearing charms.
Table XXVI.	Western Medicine: going to a doctor; effectiveness of medicine.
Table XXVII.	Western Medicine: treatment of six diseases.
Table XXVIII.	Arbitration of disputes: before the Lowan or in court.
Table XXIX.	Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger.
Table XXX.	Education: sending son or daughter to school.
Table XXXI.	Education: sending son to Koranic Malam or to school.
Table XXXII.	Desired Occupation: for self.
Table XXXIII.	Desired Occupation: choice of four occupations.
Table XXXIV.	Desired Occupation: aspirations for son.
Table XXXV.	Marriage: willingness to marry out.
Table XXXVI.	Marriage: willingness to marry an educated woman.
Table XXXVII.	Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work.

124 The entire sample of 44 individuals has a mean age of 39.55 (see Table XV), and a range from 22 to 60 years. The mean ages

[BEIDAN]

Table XV.

• 124 Age distribution of the sample and of each of the eight groups

	Mean age	Range
NA Malams	32.67	25-44
Talaka	36.5	22-51
Low-status Individuals	37.75	25-47
Aristocracy	39.4	24-56
Entire sample median = 40	39.55	22-60
Craftsmen	40.0	30-57
Koranic Malams	43.67	30-56
Canteen Operators	43.67	40-47
Kabuna	45.67	35-60

for each of the eight groups which are compared in this chapter are also given in Table XV. The means of six of the eight groups are within four years of the mean age of the entire sample. The two extreme groups, the NA Malams (mean age = 32.67) and the kabuna (mean age = 45.67) are in one case somewhat younger and in the other case somewhat older than the en-
[121] tire group. This age difference might be expected to have some effect on the hypotheses advanced earlier, since one might expect younger individuals to be more acculturated than older
[632] individuals. Unfortunately, the NA Malams as a group tend to be young, so that the head-master of the school is only twenty-five years old. Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, is forty-four years old and has been included in the sample. He is
124 probably the oldest NA Malam in the town. Conversely, the Ka-
*634 buna tend to be an older group, and the thirty-five and thirty-

*124 *634 seven year old Kabuna are probably among the youngest members of the entire group. This is because Yerima Mustapha will keep potential Kabuna in minor positions for some years before he feels that they are ready for the responsibility of performing [121] a Kabuna's role and gives them a horse. Although age is probably a variable in determining an individual's degree of acculturation, it is secondary to his position within a given group or category as will be demonstrated in the succeeding *634 *177 pages of this section. Though the Kabuna are older as a group, they nevertheless tend to be acculturated in specific areas. Though the NA Malams are younger as a group, they tend to be acculturated in certain areas and not in others. Age as a variable will be examined in detail in a later section.

A. Analysis of Responses to the Thirty Acculturation Measures.

*177 191 The first acculturation measure to be discussed is knowledge of languages other than Kanuri, presented as Table XVI. Twenty-seven members of the sample speak some Hausa; 18 speak Hausa well; 9 speak a little Hausa. Sixteen speakers of Hausa * [365] * [463] are found in three groups: Aristocracy (4), Canteen Operators (6), NA Malams (6). This is clearly related to the importance of the Hausa language in two spheres of activity: trade and *177 191 441 administration. All of the traders speak some Hausa; this is because Hausa is widespread as the trade language throughout Northern Nigeria. Europeans in trade learn to speak Hausa rather

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

114 (1)
123 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language and making contacts among the local residents.

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantita-
114 tive techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires
125 were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Geidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Dematuru districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small
[184] hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

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124 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then departed leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local
191 school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilised rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tilo (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bàrzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and numkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarizes the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin.(1)

[115] 602 • 124 128

(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

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TABLE I

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Response to the Category*

**	Par. & Par-Coll	Ego's Coll	G/Par & G/G/Par	Affines of Par-Coll	Senior in-laws	Junior in-laws
shame	48.8	5.8	0	26.1	89.8	14.6
respect	82.4	33.8	14.9	97.5	96.4	42.1
joking	1.9	2.4	100.0	0	2.3	66.0
friendship	12.9	76.4	0	7.0	16.6	26.6
total number of responses	262	233	87	157	168	233

* The figures are percentages of the total response; thus 48.8% of the 262 responses given to parents and parents' collaterals were mungu (shame). They have been reduced to percentages in order to make them comparable with other columns in which total responses add up to different numbers.

** Par. = Parents; Coll. = Collaterals.

Shame (mungu)

Mungu is a general category of behaviour which describes relationships that are restricted in some way by rule. Under this general rubric there are two distinct kinds of action which hold for two different categories of relatives. Firstly, shame-avoidance

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* 124
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informants, especially in the cases of extreme aberrancy (if any such existed). Consequently in order to be as conservative as possible, it would be wise to conclude that the questionnaire material represents an attempt to obtain a picture of real kinship behaviour, which has most likely had its sharply deviant content rounded off by the ideal patterns of the culture.

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[124] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who attempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for approaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master, and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad", causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
229 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment buildings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables operating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 "the Europeans of Magumeri." This pattern involved interviewing and visiting
123 households in Magumeri and its surrounding hamlets during the morning, asking
124 questions about household life, farming, and the social relations within the household and between its members and the wider community. Along with attendance at ceremonies, these morning activities came to be defined locally as my "work." My wife, not a trained anthropologist, visited a number of her women friends in the mornings, and looked after household matters. However, she was a part of Magumeri women's society, and we gained insights from her friendships that would have been difficult for a man to achieve by himself. In the afternoon we very often visited with a group of the young men who were associates of the school teacher. They became our intimate friends, and were defined locally as such. During these sessions, we participated in the conversation, or listened, often breaking in to ask questions about the meaning of some event being discussed. Sometimes data collected elsewhere in the mornings, would be discussed with our friends—hiding the identity of the informant when possible—in order to more fully understand what it was that had been collected.

114 This rather regular schedule was punctuated with visits to see the district head, visits to other villages, and a trip into Maiduguri, the capital, every month for a day or two to obtain supplies for the household. Special events such as the visit of another chief, or a touring British official, also broke the regularity of our days. But in general time stopped. We were without newspapers, radio, television, and even our mail was collected only when we went in once a month to the city. In this way, news from the world outside Bornu reached us first through Kanuri perspectives. Thus when the Suez crisis began in 1957 we heard of it from a young cattle inoculator who was living in Magumeri and had brought a battery radio with him. He told us and a large crowd that the British had attacked and "were killing the Muslims," but that the Russians and the Chinese were supporting the Muslims and were going to kill all the British. For days we were asked the relative population figures of Great Britain, Russia, and China, and really did not get the story straight ourselves for a day or so.

114 Later, after more than ten months of fieldwork, I began thinking of gather-
125 ing some questionnaire data on farming, marketing, status rating of occupations,
124 and family budgets. The latter was attached to morning visits and became a part of the work in each household. A field assistant already trained in gathering statistical data on crops asked a set of questions of seventy-five farmers in three villages, including Magumeri, where he was carrying on a fertilizer demonstration. Later this same young man did some work collecting information on kinship behavior among a number of people throughout Bornu. Much later still, after we moved to the capital, we asked school officials there to allow us to question the Maiduguri school children which we did *en masse* using the help of school teachers and Dr. and Mrs. Rosman. All the pupils were asked questions about the status rating of occupations, and about their marriage preferences with particular ethnic groups. These questionnaire data were extremely useful since they could be utilized to check some major conclusions concerning a whole series of attitudes, as well as economic and kinship behavior which involved a great deal of variation across the population. However it is important to note that such highly selective data collection had to be done at the end of the field trip when we knew what questions to ask and could interpret answers in light of our broader understanding of the cultural context.

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128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
• [125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[651] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it-
[662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

124 565 463 gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet perform some non-skilled activity in addition to farming. Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

[559] 8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

124 The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and categories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions 125 of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing 124 with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant. 125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 2461

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XIV

Acculturation Measures in the Questionnaire

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1. What languages beside Kanuri do you speak?
2. Can you read? In what script can you read?
3. Do you have: a wrist watch, a bicycle, a radio, photographs of yourself, a horse?
4. Can you ride a bicycle?
5. Can you tell time?
6. What is the use of a wrist watch?
7. Which is more useful, a horse or a bicycle? Why?
8. Which would you rather have, a horse or a bicycle?
9. Do you smoke cigarettes?
10. Do you drink beer?
11. Do you fast during Ashem (Ramadan)?
12. Do you fast during Tsuro Mbulo (a minor fast)?
13. Do you wear charms (laya)?
14. Do you wear European-made shoes?
15. Do you wear European trousers?
16. Would you go to a European doctor if you were ill?
17. Which is more effective in curing disease, European medicine or drinking the ink which was used to write verses of the Koran (alo)?
18. Does a Kanuri doctor know how to set bones better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat jaundice better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat snake bite better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat head ache better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat small-pox better than a European doctor?

Table XIV (continued)

125
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Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat internal pain better than a European doctor?

19. If you had a complaint against a man, would you take him to court or would you take him before the Lowan or Ajia for sholo (arbitration)?

20. If you became rich and a man came to you and said that he needed a new kulugu (gown), would you give it to him?

21. Would you send your daughter to the European school?

22. What sort of work would you most like to do, if you could do anything you desired?

23. Which would you rather be: a truck driver, a Lowan, a dispenser (or doctor), or a Malam of the Koran?

24. Would you marry a woman who was not Kanuri?

25. Would you marry a Hausa woman? a Fulani woman? a Moslem Babur woman? a Moslem Yoruba woman?

26. Would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English?

27. Would you let your wife go to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher?

28. Would you want your sons to attend the European school?

29. Would you rather have them go to a Koranic Malam or to the European school to study?

30. What would you most want your son to become?

125 sion, use, and knowledge of Western material culture; evalua-
177 tions of the usefulness of such items; religious behavior; attitudes toward Western medical practices and the effectiveness of such treatment; attitudes toward traditional ways of arbitrating disputes and towards traditional forms of Kanuri generosity; attitudes toward preferred types of occupations for the individual being questioned and for his sons; attitudes toward Western education for both sons and daughters; attitudes toward marriage with women outside Kanuri culture and with acculturated women; attitudes toward behavior which should be permitted one's wife.

125 The forty-five remaining questions in the questionnaire-interview are concerned with various facets of the individual's life history. The initial twenty-five questions deal with the individual's wives and children, family of orientation and fam-
125 ily of procreation, and his household. The information ob-
128 tained from a number of these questions provide the basis for many of the tables in the previous chapter, particularly those on kinship and household, where the sample used is that de-
125 scribed in the present sections. Many of the earlier questions provide important information on the relative positions of the groups and categories. Thus information on number of wives, whether they were kalə yaskəs or zogors, size of yal, etc. reveal a great deal about each group and category. Fifteen other questions are concerned with friendships, visiting patterns, and eating arrangements, all factors in the position of a group

125 or category within the social structure. There are five miscellaneous questions at the end of the interview.

C. The Relationship between Social Structure and Acculturation.

121 An individual's position as a member of a social group or social category is considered to be the independent variable in the present study. The manner and the rate in which he becomes acculturated is considered to be dependent on his position in the social structure. It is possible to derive several general hypotheses from this basic view. These are:

1. Groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation.
2. Groups and categories in the social structure acculturate in differing areas of culture at different rates. These differences are determined by the relation of the particular group or category to a given aspect of culture (economics, political organization, etc.).

The above hypotheses are straightforward and easily tested by comparing various groups as to their relative degree of acculturation in several areas. They derive directly from the position that new behavioral alternatives are made available to certain groups and categories in the social structure, so that these groups show evidence of acculturation long before others. Furthermore, members of groups and categories become aware of new alternatives in certain areas of culture because their role

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*177 radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost
207 unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English
191 (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from
*[631] possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

*177 Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once
215 again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and
441 radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case
[788] of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of
the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca,
and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photo-
[792] graphs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams,
*[634] the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photo-
*[554] graphs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight
*[565] has had his photograph taken.

*177 The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previ-
492 ous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of
[125] western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison
with some of the Western items previously discussed, particu-
larly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found
*[565] individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka
have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka
*[634] owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned
horses and it is clear that for members of this group the ex-
pense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor
as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams
own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little
use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bi-
cycles.

#177
#829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion
805 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen
#463
#565 Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the
#177 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case
825
#829 the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle
492 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were
493 then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bi-
[125] cycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

114 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language (1) and making
123 contacts among the local residents.

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantita-
114 tive techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires
125 were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Geidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Dematuru districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small
[184] hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

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124 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then departed leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local
191 school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organization with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents, will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for pol-
125 itical reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

595 iram to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-iram), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

595 632 162 [589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are a-typical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of [125] the population than is commonly the case. The following table on num-[361] ber of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Ngubura, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

563 Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with
829 Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hos-
[554] pitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arziyi, see below pp.225 -228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the
[555] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

125 Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven (1)
563 Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from
829 the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank

(1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

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829 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the following instructions, which were given in Kanuri.[1]

(1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?

(2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a fero (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.

(3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.

(4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

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[128] It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tubo and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

(1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Roman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[text continues on p. 195]

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high 128 463 554 position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wazirí indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these 125 data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

[BEIDAN]

*177 one individual offered several reasons as to why a wrist watch
805 was useful, and his answers may have fallen into several cate-
*829 gories. The total number of responses in Table XX is therefore greater than the number of individuals in the sample.

Column A includes responses which indicate that the individual has no knowledge as to the usefulness of a wrist watch. [126] In superscript[*a] following the table itself, a number of verbatim responses are presented to indicate the nature and some of the variety in this category of responses. These include definite statements that a wrist watch has no use, and vague statements that it's nice to know the times of the day. Several individuals indicated that they understood that there was some use to a wrist watch, and that if the anthropologist would impart this knowledge to them they would then know. Implicit in the statements by the two Craftsmen is that though they realize that a wrist watch has some use, they have not been sufficiently interested to find out its use from someone who knows. The last statement by a Talaka is interesting in that it inverts the relationship between owning a thing and knowing about its usefulness. The order of events which he presents is not likely to occur; he would hardly get a wrist watch before knowing what its use was. Of the ten responses in column A indicating a [634] [463] [565] lack of knowledge of the usefulness of a wrist watch, seven occur in three groups: Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. This response did not occur at all in two categories: Aristocracy and NA Malams.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

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184 of another anthropologist, Mr. A. Rosman, who spent a large part of his field work time in the town of Geidam. Periodic conversations with Mr. Rosman, plus the exchange of visists and information contributed enormously to our understanding of the generality of some Kanuri traits as against the local peculiarities of others.

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• [127] During the final three months of field work, the writer and his wife moved into the capital and devoted part of the time to an analysis of all available government records covering the colonial period in the area. Ethnographic work at the court of the Shehu and in Maiduguri as a whole was carried on at the same time. However, it is painfully evident that much more work in the capital, using the methods of urban sociology as well as anthropology, is needed to complete a study which the present work has only begun.

128 The work is in three parts. The first part introduces the people and the locality giving pertinent information of population, geography and ecology. Also included in this section is an historical sketch of the pre-British period as well as an account of the significant changes introduced by the colonial era.

The second part deals with interpersonal relations. Here kinship behaviour norms are related to social interaction in the community at large, and these are described as they operate in the local residence groups. Marriage relations illustrate how the norms of behaviour operate between groups and individuals in the husband-wife relationship. The life cycle material then documents the manner in which individuals are recruited into and live within the small and large scale social structures of the society.

The third part deals with the wider scaled forms of social life. Stratification by various status dimensions is discussed and it

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The political organization of the 19th century was almost completely overhauled by Rabeh. Fiefs were re-constructed with new boundaries and given to his own followers, while the old fief holders were often killed. But it should be stressed that complete chaos was not the rule of the day, as many writers have assumed. Rabeh was establishing a state under a new and alien leadership. It had been done by Laminu at the beginning of the 19th century, albeit with much less internal turbulence. It is most probable that had history given him the chance Rabeh would have founded the third dynasty of the Bornu empire and linked its relations much more closely to the east. It was European events that impaired the direction of this development. Rabeh's triumph and abortive attempt at empire building was cut short because in the European world the "scramble for Africa" had come to Nigeria and was rapidly closing in on the would-be king.

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The presence of a good sized literature on pre-British Bornu, including travellers's accounts, the extant collections of early Kanuri records, especially the historical writing of Ahmed ibn Fartua,(1) and the so-called "District Notebooks" of early 20th century British Colonial Officers who tried to reconstruct the pre-Rabeh political organisation and tax structure of Bornu, enable us to say something about the life of the Emirate in its pre-European period. To this list of sources can be added the oral traditions of contemporary Kanuri, especially some of the older men in and around the Shehu's court.

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Very little remains at present (besides the archeological material) to record the life of Bornu in the early pre-Muslim days of the

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua; op. cit.

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schools, a few more roads were built or improved and once in a while extended, local European trading Companies reported "steady progress" in business volume, living conditions in the province for European staff "steadily improved", medical facilities "steadily expanded" and so on. Certainly there always seemed to be a rather high turn over in chiefs, but this came to be part of the expected regularity of life in Bornu.

What in effect had occurred was an adjustment. The British administration had set up the organization of its indirect rule and the task of each new Resident Officer in Bornu was to implement Lord Lugard's policies to the best of his abilities. The general methods of resistance to the English administration were well known by both the Kanuri and the English and no jarring outside influence entered the scene to upset the gentlemanly tug-of-war which characterized the colonial contacts as a kind of game in which everyone knew the rules and the conditions of play, while the over-all techniques of the players did not change much through time.

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Now the "game" was played at the political level can be seen in the following example of the deposition of a chief, taken from the provincial records at Maiduguri, concerning the District Head of Mobber between 1929 and 1931.(1) Mobber District is in the extreme northeast of Bornu Emirate on the border between Nigeria and French West Africa. Its relative isolation from British surveillance contributed to the maintenance of officially prohibited practices well into the late 1920's.

During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that

(1) c.f. Mobber District File; Provincial Office, Maiduguri.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Ronald Cohen received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Wisconsin in 1960. He has taught anthropology at the University of Toronto from 1958 to 1961, at McGill University from 1961 to 1963, and from 1963 to the present at Northwestern University where he is a member of the Program of African Studies and Associate Professor of Anthropology and Political Science. He has carried out fieldwork in Nigeria and in the Mackenzie Valley, Northwest Territories, Canada. He is interested in social and political change as well as problems of theory and method in the social sciences. Professor Cohen has published papers on aspects of Kanuri society and history, Athabascan culture change, and a number of theoretical and methodological problems in anthropology.

About the Book

This case study has a clear central focus. The author shows us how the various sectors of Kanuri social life build upon and interrelate to the basic unit of Kanuri society, the household organization. He claims the basic theory of their society is not his own but that of the Kanuri themselves as they have tried to explain their society to him. In doing so they continually refer back to the household. The household, or compound, is the basic political unit; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. The economic system is dependent upon the household, since the business of getting a living is organized within it, and households link together through their head men to form larger organizations for the produc-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 tion of goods or for trade. Family life is carried on in the household, and ways of
128 behaving that are acceptable and necessary in Kanuri life are learned there.

The descriptive analysis of these interdependent relationships centering upon the household is far from mechanistic. Though the structural features of groupings and the modal patterns of activities are made very clear, there is a sense of immediacy in their description. Actual behavior is described and vignettes of individuals and their behaviors, relevant to various sectors of life, are included.

This case study is notable in a number of other ways, but particularly in the sense of history conveyed. In a necessarily brief but informative historical sketch the author shows us how the emirate of Bornu, established in the late fifteenth century, survived insurrection, warfare, colonialism, and even today survives within the framework of national independence as a viable social and political entity. The author ends his historical overview with these questions: "Why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times?" The case study is, in one of its dimensions, an answer to these questions.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Stanford, California
November 1966

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Acknowledgments

The fieldwork on which this book is based has been carried out in two periods: one in 1956 and 1957 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation Area Fellowship Program, and again in the summers of 1964 and 1965 with financial help from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the National Science Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is because of the generosity of these agencies that I have been able to develop and continue my understanding of the Kanuri people and their complex culture. Altogether I have spent over twenty-six months among the Kanuri and a number of years reading historical documents dealing with their pre-colonial kingdom in the Chad basin.

Over the years I have become indebted to a host of people who have contributed to my expanding knowledge of Bornu so that it would be impossible to give a complete list of those whose share in this book is a significant one. Professor C. W. M. Hart first encouraged and guided my work, and his approach to anthropology has colored and given direction to my own. In Nigeria, Sir Kashim Ibrahim, G.C.O.N., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.B., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has through the years helped to make my visits to Bornu fruitful and intellectually exciting. The Bornu Native Authority and the Bornu Provincial Government have extended the warmest hospitality and courtesy to myself and my wife and encouraged us in our work. Their forbearance with my research and their constant willingness to cooperate has helped to make Bornu into what some of them have called "my second home." I cannot claim to know everything about Kanuri society and culture; what I have learned is due not only to the kindness of Bornu officials but to the friendship of hundreds of Kanuri who have never failed to answer my unending questions and sometimes naïve curiosity with patient explanation. Dr. and Mrs. Abraham Rosman who were also out in Bornu in 1957 carrying out field research gave invaluable aid as colleagues interested in many of the same problems. At closer range, both in Bornu during my first field trip, and later after we returned to North America in 1957, my wife has served as a constant critic and discussant of almost every fact and interpretation put forward in this book and in my other publications on Bornu. In a very real way I owe her a debt as my collaborator and fellow researcher. Finally I am indebted to Professor John Middleton and David Spain who have read and made many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this book.

R. C.

Evanston, Illinois
November 1966

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Family and Household in Bornu

AFTER SUMMARIZING the historical background and the setting of Kanuri life, I can now proceed to analyze the society as a working, on-going whole, in other words as a process. Anthropologists generally do this by dividing the society up into what they consider to be its most significant parts. They then describe each part and try to show how these parts are related to one another, and to the functioning of a whole society. The manner in which such an analysis proceeds—what is left out, what is included, and what comes first or last—is the product of the author's "functional theory" of the society, his idea of how it works.

For Kanuri society I have chosen to start with kinship and the household as the first parts of the whole to be described and understood. First, the household is where the Kanuri themselves begin to learn of their own society and how they must act to become full-fledged participants. Secondly these parts, especially that of the household, form the basic units of Kanuri social structure such that almost all other social life in Bornu can be analyzed and understood once these particular parts are described. To start with a description of any other part of the society such as the economic or the political organization would require explanations and references to family and household life in order to make the material understandable to the reader. It is better to start the analysis at this point—that of kinship and household—then proceed to build up a picture of the society having first looked at what I consider to be its crucible, the kinship system, and its cornerstone, the household.

The Kinship System

The kinship system of any society involves three categories of behavior that may overlap one another but are always different from each other. They are as follows:

(a) Genealogical relations—the links between individuals which are based upon biological reproduction.

(b) Descent relations—the links between individuals which are based upon

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[Introductory, p.iv]

ABSTRACT

Social Structure and Acculturation among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria

by Abraham Rosman

105 The Kanuri people are the dominant element of the population of Bornu Province, in northeastern Nigeria, bordering on Lake Chad. At one time the Kanuri had a powerful state, known as the Empire of Bornu. At the time that the field research for the present study was carried out (1956-1957), they were under British colonial rule. Since the beginning of this century Kanuri culture has been changing as a result of contact with the industrial West. The present study focuses on these changes, as they have been channeled through Kanuri social structure.

• 128 Chapter I provides the ethnographic and historical background for the material which follows. Chapter II describes the general features of Kanuri culture, Chapter III describes the community of Geidam in which the study was carried out. These chapters present the broad outlines of Kanuri culture and the social structure of an urban community, in order to provide a framework for the data on acculturation.

Chapter IV presents the theoretical orientation of the acculturation study, describes the sample of informants, and presents the measures of acculturation which were used. Three hypotheses concerning the relationship between social structure and acculturation are proposed.

The data on acculturation are derived from a questionnaire-interview which was given to forty-four informants, who are representative of eight distinct social categories in the Geidam community. Chapter V presents the analysis of these data. The final chapter, Chapter VI, discusses the data in the light of the hypotheses advanced earlier, and examines some of the theoretical implications of the findings.

Forty-seven tables and four figures are presented in the text, and a glossary of Kanuri words is provided.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Acknowledgments

122 The field research on which the present study is based was financed by a Foreign Area Training Fellowship granted by the Ford Foundation. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Ford Foundation for enabling him to carry out the research, though he alone bears responsibility for the conclusions reached in this study.

000 A number of people at Yale University assisted the author at various stages of the research. Professor Edward M. Bruner helped in formulating the problem which served to orient the study. Professor George Peter Murdock initially acted as adviser for the dissertation. This role was later assumed by Professor Sidney W. Mintz, under whom the dissertation was completed. Professor John V. Murra read the completed manuscript. To all of these people the author expresses his thanks.

114 To the Kanuri people of Bornu Province the author owes a special debt of gratitude. Yerima Mustapha, the District Head of Geidam District, showed remarkable understanding of the author's purposes and assisted him in innumerable ways. To his many informants, and to the people of Geidam, the author expresses his thanks.

Dr. Bernice Rosman, the author's wife, shared in every step of the research, from the rigors of the field to the rigors of the dissertation. The author's debt is beyond expression.

128 Mrs. Evelyn Middleton, who typed the manuscript, has aided greatly in bringing it to its final form.

121 ground for the activities of groups making up the social structure, so that the social structure of the community can be seen in its larger cultural context.

121 128 In the section immediately following, an overall picture of Kanuri culture will be presented, stressing the general features of Kanuri social organization. This will be followed by a section on the community of Geidam.

Lastly, the problem which was studied will be presented. This final section will include the theoretical orientation of the study, the manner in which the data were collected, the data on acculturation with their analysis, and the implications of the findings in relation to existing theory.

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[931] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

• 128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
[125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[451] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town itself. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be as-
[662] signed land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 76 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [181] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

[GEIDAN]

796 second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-
431 tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this
[565] time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away
[777] kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of
[602] the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili
796 with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the
[789] sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water stor-
[783] age pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.
[515] On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those
[788] present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-
[535] jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in
[857] a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

[782] The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

128 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

[GEIDAM]

128 within that community. This section, then, is a particularization of the section on social organization in the preceding chapter. It will deal with kinship in an urban community; the data on which the present discussion is based are taken from a sample of individuals (the construction of which will be discussed later) chosen from the community of Geidam. It should be considered against the more general background provided earlier.

Much of the data in this section are presented in the form of tables, wherein individuals are grouped into categories which are contrasted with each other. There are eight groupings in all, and each stands for a category within Kanury social structure which is significantly represented in the town of Geidam. At this point in the discussion, all of the categories should be readily recognizable since their roles in the community have previously been described and discussed. In the following chapter, Chapter IV, they will be considered in yet another context as the problem of acculturation will be treated in terms of categories in Kanuri social structure. At that time, the manner in which the various categories were selected, and the choice of individuals who make up the categories will be described in detail.

1. Marriage.

582 It had been mentioned earlier that boys in the small vil-
[369] lages marry earlier than they do in the cities. It may be seen

125 177 sion, use, and knowledge of Western material culture; evaluations of the usefulness of such items; religious behavior; attitudes toward Western medical practices and the effectiveness of such treatment; attitudes toward traditional ways of arbitrating disputes and towards traditional forms of Kanuri generosity; attitudes toward preferred types of occupations for the individual being questioned and for his sons; attitudes toward Western education for both sons and daughters; attitudes toward marriage with women outside Kanuri culture and with acculturated women; attitudes toward behavior which should be permitted one's wife.

125 The forty-five remaining questions in the questionnaire-interview are concerned with various facets of the individual's life history. The initial twenty-five questions deal with the individual's wives and children, family of orientation and family of procreation, and his household. The information obtained from a number of these questions provide the basis for many of the tables in the previous chapter, particularly those on kinship and household, where the sample used is that described in the present sections. Many of the earlier questions provide important information on the relative positions of the groups and categories. Thus information on number of wives, whether they were kala yaskas or zogors, size of yal, etc. reveal a great deal about each group and category. Fifteen other questions are concerned with friendships, visiting patterns, and eating arrangements, all factors in the position of a group

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2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1968 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[BEIDAN]

• 128 The data elicited by the questionnaire-interview form the basis of the present chapter. They will be presented in the form of tables, each of which is discussed in the text. The tables are grouped according to areas of information with which they deal. They will be presented in the following order:

Table XV.	Age distribution of the sample.
Table XVI.	Knowledge of other languages.
Table XVII.	Ability to read.
Table XVIII.	Western Material Goods: possession.
Table XIX.	Western Material Goods: knowledge about material items.
Table XX.	Western Material Goods: ideas about usefulness.
Table XXI.	Western Material Goods: comparison of horse and bicycle.
Table XXII.	Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer.
Table XXIII.	Western Material Goods: wearing shoes and trousers.
Table XXIV.	Religious Behavior: fasting during a minor fast.
Table XXV.	Religious Behavior: wearing charms.
Table XXVI.	Western Medicine: going to a doctor; effectiveness of medicine.
Table XXVII.	Western Medicine: treatment of six diseases.
Table XXVIII.	Arbitration of disputes: before the Lowan or in court.
Table XXIX.	Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger.
Table XXX.	Education: sending son or daughter to school.
Table XXXI.	Education: sending son to Koranic Malam or to school.
Table XXXII.	Desired Occupation: for self.
Table XXXIII.	Desired Occupation: choice of four occupations.
Table XXXIV.	Desired Occupation: aspirations for son.
Table XXXV.	Marriage: willingness to marry out.
Table XXXVI.	Marriage: willingness to marry an educated woman.
Table XXXVII.	Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work.

124 The entire sample of 44 individuals has a mean age of 39.55 (see Table XV), and a range from 22 to 60 years. The mean ages

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*177 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which
• 128 have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use
*177 is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX
493 that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen
*565 Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them,
[441] many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one-
*[634] half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two
*177 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the
805 sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread
*[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two
*[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather me-
805 chanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the
*829 hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

*177 805 *829 788 helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

[792] The four types of response to the question concerning the *177 usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness 805 of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of ac- *829 culturation. *128 Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave *[634] work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have [792] offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting *[554] that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a Low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (*c) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

*177 Dispenser--if someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab
805 wound, you write down the time he was brought in. This answer
*829 indicates that the respondent sees the use of a wrist watch sole-
• 128 ly in terms of its use in helping one to perform various bureau-
cratic tasks. Responses of this sort do not reveal a deeper un-
derstanding of the uses of a watch, though they do reveal an
understanding of the relation between watches and aspects of
Western culture and are therefore acculturated responses.

Complex ideas about the usefulness of telling the time
have been noted in column D. In all there were eleven such
responses, only one more than the responses in column A. Seven
of these responses concern travel, and the advantages of being
able to calculate rates of travel in order to determine when
to leave a particular place and when to arrive at one's destina-
tion. The remaining four concern the use of synchronized time
by two individuals to coordinate their activities. These re-
sponses reveal a deeper understanding of the advantages of
*[565] possessing a watch. Four of the five Aristocrats offered re-
*[634] sponses of this sort, as did three of the eight Talaka; only
[441] one NA Malam answered in this fashion, and none of the Canteen
Operators offered this reason.

*177 In comparing the eight groups with respect to the answers
*829 presented in Table XX, several points emerge. The Aristocracy
805 offer a number of complex responses (D). The Koranic Malam
*565 are divided, but low in the number of responses referring to
*554 prayer time (B) when compared to the sample in general. The
*463
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*177 Canteen Operators tend to offer prayer times (B) as their typical response. The NA Malams offer reasons connected with their work (C) more often than do other groups. The Kabuna offer prayer times (B) largely. A higher proportion of the Craftsman group state that they do not know (A) than does any other group. The Talaka and the Low-status Individuals offer a variety of responses of which the most common by far is knowing of prayer times (B). Rating the four categories of response as to degree of acculturation by assigning a value of 1 to responses in column A, a value to 2 to responses in column B, a value of 3 to responses in column C, and a value of 4 to the responses in column D, one can arrive at a score for the average responses in each of the eight groups, and can thus compare their degree of acculturation with respect to this particular measure. The average ranks for the groups fall in the following order, beginning with the least acculturated:

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1. Craftsmen - average response value = 1.86
2. Koranic Malams - = 2.0
3. Kabuna - = 2.0
4. Canteen Operators - = 2.13
5. Low-status Individuals - = 2.33
6. Talaka - = 2.47
7. NA Malams - = 2.58
8. Aristocracy - = 2.9

The Craftsmen, with their high proportion of "don't know" (A) responses thus are revealed as the least acculturated group in

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*177 *829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion 805 *463 *565 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

• 128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the *177 825 *829 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle 492 493 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were [125] then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

*829 cifically mention farming in addition to trade (*d) as if to
*554 accentuate their Talaka origins and their tie to the soil as
[441] the ultimate provider of sustenance. Three of the NA Malams
*[634] prefer to do NA work, and one (*e) specifically states that he would like to be an Ajia (see Table XXXIII). Three Kabuna indicate a preference for the work of retainer, while one would
*[463] like to be a Lowan (*g)--see Table XXXIII. Three Craftsmen chose the general category of trade, while two preferred to
*[565] be craftsmen. Four Talaka chose trade, while the remaining four chose a variety of occupations (*m). The Low-status individuals divide into several categories, though two prefer to remain in the same low-status crafts which they now perform.

*128 Column 9 lists the number of individuals in each group who
*554 chose as their desired occupation the same occupation in which
*829 they are presently engaged. This number is then expressed as
*463 the percentage of the total group. The groups may then be ranked to indicate the satisfaction of each group with its present occupation. They are ranked in the following order:

Koranic Malams - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

Canteen Operators - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

NA Malams - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Kabuna - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Low-status Individuals - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Craftsmen - 40 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Talaka - 38 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Aristocracy - 20 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

*177 ing an educated woman, whereas they are almost equally unani-
593 mous in not being willing to allow her to work. The explana-
*829 tion for this inconsistency is to be sought in the poor defini-
441 tion of their roles. It has been noted that they are a rising
*554 group, emerging as a wealthy and powerful segment of community social structure. They actively seek means to increase their prestige, and one way of doing this would be through marriage with an educated woman (particularly since many well educated young women come from aristocratic families). Still another way of increasing their prestige is to be strict about religious observance, and keeping wives secluded falls into this category of behavior. They therefore indicate that they would all be willing to marry an educated woman, but would not permit her to work as a school-teacher. What appears as an inconsistency in their behavior is explainable in terms of the nature of their roles in the social structure. In fact, it becomes possible to characterize the roles of this particular group in terms of the inconsistencies which they exhibit.

B. Age as a Variable in Acculturation.

*128 The introductory paragraphs to the present chapter pre-
*177 sented the mean age of the sample of individuals on which the study is based, and compared the means of the ages of the eight groups in the sample.[1] Two of the groups were found to vary somewhat from the sample as a whole, and the effect of relative age was considered briefly in that context. We may now return

[1] [For the age distribution of the sample, see category 116, page 250. - Analyst]

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128 *177 to a consideration of age as a variable in acculturation. The acculturation measures have all been discussed so that it is now possible to examine them in relation to the ages of responding individuals.

121 *177 In terms of the theoretical orientation presented in Chapter IV, relative age of individuals would be expected to effect their degree of acculturation and the behavioral areas in which they exhibited acculturation in a general way. Age categories in any culture represent one of the universal forms of status differentiation, and age differences may be equated with status differences in Kanuri culture. Roles therefore also differ with age--younger individuals within a larger status category have different roles from older individuals within that same status category. Thus expectations and obligations of younger people differ from those of older people, and a younger person might be expected to seek to present a different "self" from an older person merely because of the difference in their ages. Much of the difference in role behavior between young and old people may be attributed to the time required to adequately learn complex roles, so that young people may be allowed much leeway in their behavior and this may be explained as due to their not yet having learned behavior appropriate to mature roles.

In the light of the differences in role between younger and older individuals postulated above, one might expect differences in acculturation. Since a basic assumption throughout has been that acculturation proceeds more rapidly in segments of

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121 the acculturating society which interact with agents of contact
*177 in the course of the performance of their normal roles, it can be predicted that the freedom of behavior permitted to younger people would result in more exploratory behavior on their part and greater interaction with agents of Western culture. This increased contact in turn would result in a greater degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas. However, an interesting question arises here. Does the acculturated behavior of younger people persist as they grow older, or does their increasing age require them to give up acculturated sorts of behavior in favor of traditional behavior which is more appropriate to older status? Some of the indices of acculturation noted in younger people may become sources of acculturation throughout the culture, while others may represent temporary phases in the life-cycle which drop out in later years.

*128 In order to examine the effect of age on acculturation,
*177 the individuals making up the sample were divided into two groups. The younger group is made up of individuals below the median age for the entire sample. There are 23 individuals in this group, and their ages range from 22 to 40. The older group is made up of individuals above the median age, and their ages range from 41 to 60. There are only 21 individuals in the older group (compared with 23 in the younger), because the frequency at the median did not permit an even split. These two groups were then compared as to degree of acculturation for the thirty acculturation measures which have already been described in order

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• 128 to determine in which behavioral areas the younger group proved
*177 to be the more acculturated.

*177 Table XXXVIII presents 15 items in which the younger group
561 was more acculturated than the older. The responses of members
128 of the older group may be compared with those of the younger group by examining columns a and b. Table XXXIX lists 8 items in which little or no difference was detected between the two groups. Examining each of the items in Table XXXVIII, it is
*177 apparent that one half involve Western material goods. Item
561 1: more young men own watches and bicycles; more older men own horses. Item 2: more young men can ride a bicycle and can tell time. Item 3: both young and old say that a horse is more useful than a bicycle, but of those who say "bicycle" there are more young than old. Item 4: more young men would rather own a bicycle than a horse, while the older group would rather own a horse. This is a response which well might shift with age. When this same group of young men grows older, might they not then prefer to own a horse? Item 5: more young men smoke cigarettes and drink beer than do the older men. This type of behavior might also drop out with increasing age. Item 6: more young men have European shoes; more old men state that they would not wear them. Item 7: only members of the young group have European-style trousers; most of the older group state that they would refuse to wear them. It is clear that in the area of behavior involving Western material goods, and attitudes towards these things, the younger group appears to be the more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 334]

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*177 561 riage partner. On the other hand, no differences were detected in areas involving important traditional Kanuri values: religious behavior, charity, arbitration of disputes, education of children, and willingness to permit a wife to work.

C. Degree of Acculturation of the Eight Groups and Categories.

•128 *177 Having considered each of the acculturation measures in turn, and having discussed the relative acculturation of each group with respect to that measure, it is appropriate now to consider each of the eight groups and categories in turn, examining the behavioral areas in which that group demonstrated a high degree of acculturation when compared to the other groups as well as the behavioral areas in which that group proved to be less acculturated than the others.

The method adopted for the presentation of each group so that it might be compared with the other seven groups, was to take all the measures of acculturation used in the study, of which there were forty-three (that is, forty-three distinct questions), and to give the proportion of acculturated responses on all forty-three questions for each group in turn. However, in order to judge how each group compared with the total sample, it was necessary to compare the proportion of acculturated responses in each individual group with the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample for each question. Thus the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample was considered as a baseline, from which each of the eight

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*177 • 128 groups deviated--some in the direction of greater acculturation (i.e., a higher proportion of acculturated responses), others in the direction of conservatism (i.e., a smaller proportion of acculturated responses).

These deviations have been presented in the form of graphs, one for each of the eight groups, so that one can readily see the "acculturation profile" of each group, as it were. The zero point on the graph represents the baseline, the proportion of acculturated responses for the entire sample for each question. A higher percentage of acculturated responses for a given group is indicated by a black bar extending to the right from the base line; a lower percentage of acculturated responses for a given group (compared to the entire sample) is indicated by a black bar extending to the left. For example: question 1 measures the percentage of individuals in each group who speak Hausa (Table XVI, above). We note that 18 individuals in the sample speak Hausa; 17 do not; 9 individuals state that they speak a little Hausa. Individuals who said that they speak a little Hausa were not included entirely with either acculturated or unacculturated responses, but were divided equally into both (this was the procedure adopted throughout for intermediary responses). Thus, according to this method of calculation, 51 per cent of the sample speak Hausa. Turning now to the eight groups individually, 4 of the 5 members of the Aristocracy (80 per cent) speak Hausa. The difference between 51 per cent and 80 per cent represents the deviation between this group and the

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*177 entire sample, and is indicated in question 1, Table XL by
• 128 a black bar extending to the value of 29. The direction is towards greater acculturation as the percentage in the group of Aristocracy exceeds that of the entire sample. Only one of 3 Koranic Malams (33 per cent) speaks Hausa, therefore the black bar extends to 18 (51-33) in the direction of unacculturated responses in the first item of their acculturation profile (Table XLI). And so on for each of the eight groups.

The forth-three questions used to construct the profile have been grouped to present behavioral areas. Several of these questions are not acculturation measures at all, but have been included nevertheless for comparative purposes. Thus, knowledge of other languages (3), ability to write in Arabic script (5), and possession of a horse (10) are not to be considered as indices of acculturation when it appears that a high proportion of individuals in any group exhibit these responses. However, such responses (possession of a horse, for example) do shed light on other responses (possession of a bicycle).

One item, ideas about the usefulness of a wrist watch (Table XX), required a different scoring of responses since each type of response had to be given a score as to degree of acculturation--responses in column A were scored 0; those in column B were scored 1; those in column c were scored 2; and those in column D were scored 3. Item 21, concerning the wearing of charms, was broken in three categories: those who wore many charms, those who wore a few, and those who wore charms only

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*177 when traveling. One item discussed in the text, occupations
• 128 in which individuals wish to be engaged (Table XXXII), could not be included in the acculturation profiles as the answers to that question did not permit expression as simple percentages.

121 Several points emerge clearly from a consideration of the
*177 acculturation profiles. First of all, it is apparent that some groups are generally more acculturated than other groups--most of their responses fall within the acculturated column. Others are generally unacculturated and their responses cluster in the unacculturated column. Secondly, in no group do we find that all responses, in every behavioral area, are acculturated or unacculturated. Each group has behavioral areas in which it appears most acculturated, others in which it is close to the entire sample, and still others in which it appears unacculturated. Finally, from a comparison of the eight acculturation profiles, one can derive a measure of the relative stability of
[128] each group. A stable group is determined by the consistency of responses. A group would be said to be stable when (a) the items within any one behavioral area are consistently in one direction, and (b) the size of the differences between acculturated and unacculturated responses is not very great.

*177 1. Aristocracy. The acculturation profile of the Aris-
565 tocracy is presented in Table XL. The Aristocracy are obviously an acculturated group on the whole, as almost all of their responses fall on the acculturated side of the baseline. In

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184 of another anthropologist, Mr. A. Rosman, who spent a large part of his field work time in the town of Geidam. Periodic conversations with Mr. Rosman, plus the exchange of visists and information contributed enormously to our understanding of the generality of some Kanuri traits as against the local peculiarities of others.

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[127] During the final three months of field work, the writer and his wife moved into the capital and devoted part of the time to an analysis of all available government records covering the colonial period in the area. Ethnographic work at the court of the Shehu and in Maiduguri as a whole was carried on at the same time. However, it is painfully evident that much more work in the capital, using the methods of urban sociology as well as anthropology, is needed to complete a study which the present work has only begun.

128 The work is in three parts. The first part introduces the people and the locality giving pertinent information of population, geography and ecology. Also included in this section is an historical sketch of the pre-British period as well as an account of the significant changes introduced by the colonial era.

The second part deals with interpersonal relations. Here kinship behaviour norms are related to social interaction in the community at large, and these are described as they operate in the local residence groups. Marriage relations illustrate how the norms of behaviour operate between groups and individuals in the husband-wife relationship. The life cycle material then documents the manner in which individuals are recruited into and live within the small and large scale social structures of the society.

The third part deals with the wider scaled forms of social life. Stratification by various status dimensions is discussed and it

128 is shown how these link together to form the segmentation of society into a two class system. Along with this description, changes and potential changes in the status system are pointed out. Political organization is then discussed from the point of view of the distribution of power and authority throughout the society as a whole. Changes produced by colonialism and Western contact in general are described and the adjustments to these are analyzed.

Finally, the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services in a changing culture are discussed and analyzed in order to show how the standard of living is related to the operation of Kanuri social structure. In addition, the distributive system is shown to be intimately related to other forms of social organization in the society as a whole.

The last chapter summarizes the findings and gives an analysis of the changes occurring in the Bornu today. This allows for a tentative statement concerning the future of the present social structure.

104 In the typed text, the letter ɔ is the phonetic ɔ and is pronounced as the oo in look or cook.

113 References to anthropological journals are as follows:

AA - American Anthropologist

SWJ - Southwest Journal of Anthropology

JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

Chapter IV

[p.50]

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

Kinship Terminology (1)

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In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kasai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouses's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilised rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tile (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bàrzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and numkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarizes the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin. (1)

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(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

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TABLE I

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Response to the Category*

**	Par. & Par-Coll	Ego's Coll	G/Par & G/G/Par	Affines of Par-Coll	Senior in-laws	Junior in-laws
shame	48.8	5.8	0	26.1	89.8	14.6
respect	82.4	33.8	14.9	97.5	96.4	42.1
joking	1.9	2.4	100.0	0	2.3	66.0
friendship	12.9	76.4	0	7.0	16.6	26.6
total number of responses	262	233	87	157	168	233

* The figures are percentages of the total response; thus 48.8% of the 262 responses given to parents and parents' collaterals were nungu (shame). They have been reduced to percentages in order to make them comparable with other columns in which total responses add up to different numbers.

** Par. = Parents; Coll. = Collaterals.

Shame (nungu)

Nungu is a general category of behaviour which describes relationships that are restricted in some way by rule. Under this general rubric there are two distinct kinds of action which hold for two different categories of relatives. Firstly, shame-avoidance

informants, especially in the cases of extreme aberrancy (if any such existed). Consequently in order to be as conservative as possible, it would be wise to conclude that the questionnaire material represents an attempt to obtain a picture of real kinship behaviour, which has most likely had its sharply deviant content rounded off by the ideal patterns of the culture.

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571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalised in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

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585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman,(1) and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

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584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] [595] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

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five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

Chapter VII

Social Stratification

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The material on Kanuri interpersonal relations has been presented in order to depict and examine some of the primary modes of social interaction in the society. The present chapter and those to follow will attempt to tie together the foregoing discussion of interpersonal relations with the historical material presented earlier, by indicating the overall organizational framework within which this social and historical experience has been carried on. In order to do this, it is necessary to be more explicit about what has up until this point been implicit concerning stratification and its manifestations in Bornu.

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As a working definition it is to be understood in the following discussion that social stratification refers to a system of agreed upon rankings of persons, whereby statuses are accorded differential values along some dimension of judgment: such as power, occupation, birth or achievement. When there is enough differentiation among various groups in the society along any of these dimensions, so that one group persists in its relations to other groups in its recognized possession of any of these qualities, then the society may be said to be stratified. Social mobility consists of the modes of behaviour necessary for movement from one position to another along any of the dimensions which go to make up the constituents of stratification in the society. It should be noticed that in this sense there is no such thing as an "unstratified" society since all social organizations have some persistent differentiation of statuses even if it is only on the bases of age and sex. That is to say, using this definition there is no basic dichotomy between stratified and unstratified societies, but rather a difference in degree

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829 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the following instructions, which were given in Kanuri.(1)

(1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?

(2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a fero (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.

(3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.

(4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

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[128] It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tubo and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

(1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Roman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[text continues on p.195]

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TABLE V

Tribal Choices (Social Distance) of Urban Kanuri Schoolboys (aged 13-19)

* Ordinal	Choice Cardinal	Tribe	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Remarks
I (1-3)	1	Arab	3.24	1.73	Rich traders, people of the Koran. Considered to be good-looking. Own-tribe.
	2	Kanuri	3.49	2.01	
II (4-6)	3	Europeans	3.89	2.17	The highest political authority
	4	Shuwa	4.21	1.95	Beautiful women, Arabic-speaking, Muslims, acculturate easily.
	5	Hausa	4.45	1.95	A Muslim Emirate, much historical contact
III (7-9)	6	Fulani	6.57	2.24	Muslims, nomads, sometimes good, sometimes bad relations.
	7	Yoruba	8.60	2.44	Part Muslim, not much contact with this group.
IV (10-12)	8	Babur	9.66	2.65	Part Muslim, some contact, increasing today.
	9	Bolewa	9.94	2.63	Part Muslim, some contacts
	10	Kanembu	10.03	2.96	Muslim, but raided the Kanuri in the past. Some acculturation.
	11	Mandara	10.85	2.58	Pagan, very little contact
	12	Tubo	11.70	3.00	Muslim, raided the Kanuri until quite recently
	13	Magari	11.90	2.46	Pagan, very little contact socially
	14	Ibo	12.30	2.88	Christian-Pagan, contact as a separate ethnic group in cities.
V (13-15)	15	Tuareg	13.75	2.07	Muslim, much feared for their raiding
	16	Tiv	14.08	2.16	Pagans, known to be naked, very little contact.
VI (16-18)	17	Banana	15.69	1.75	Both groups are pagan, many of whom live as a minority group
	18	Gwoza	16.34	1.84	among the Kanuri as labourers and brewers of beer

* The Ordinal choices in Roman numerals I-VI are calculated from categories of mean choices; e.g. I-1 to 3, II - 4 to 6, III 7 to 9, etc.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high 128 463 554 position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wazirl indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these 125 data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

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TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys *

School: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Wazirl of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Wazirl of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.52	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kaigama (a D.H. today) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kaigama	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

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School: Senior Primary (younger) / Secondary (elder)

Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2	23	Trader(with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5	24	Village Head	23.94	7.3
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0	25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5	26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9	27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Village Head	27.75	7.1	28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9	29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	Building contractor	28.80	11.1	30	N.A. councillor	29.61	9.4
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6	31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5	32	Kachella Shehube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8	33	Building contractor	31.90	9.6
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4	34	Carpenter	31.94	7.8
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9	35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1	36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Kachella Shehube	35.82	10.4	37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7	38	Small retainer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Trader	36.20	9,4	39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8	40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4	41	Horsedservant	38.62	6.1
42	Horsed servant	38.16	7.5	42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6	43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0	44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0	45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

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School:	Senior Primary (younger)			Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4	46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2	47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0	48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0	49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9	50	Weaver	42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0	51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4	52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1	53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8	54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2	55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N - 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7				N - 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

* Using Spearman's rank order correlation (Rho) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).

** The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

178 463 554 [184] ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 463 554 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 554 [171] It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that (1) young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

Chapter IX

[p. 265]

The Economic Life

592 For purposes of consumption and production the basic unit among the Kanuri is the household group consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their children. Since the external and internal social relations of household groups has formed a major part of the study up to this point these data are omitted from the present discussion. This allows us to deal with the "bare bones" of economic activity and to ask questions about the patterns of consumption, production and distribution of goods and services. Where economic activities are set into heretofore unmentioned forms of social organization such as occurs in the distributive sector, then these structures are described and related to the economic activity being analysed.

121 For purposes of the present analysis, consumption is operationally equated with all behaviour pertaining to those things acquired through the expenditure of capital resources as these are known to the Kanuri; production refers to those activities from which income is derived in cash and kind, excluding trade; and distribution includes those activities by which the movement of goods and services is accomplished from producers to consumers.

829 It should be noted here that this classification is an arbitrary one in terms of Bornu culture. To the Kanuri, consumption comes under the linguistic rubric of awo manyen (things we need), while production and distribution are lumped together as sanya (occupations). Where an individual has two occupations such as farmer and craftsman, or farmer and trader, he most often reports his non-farming activity as his sanya.

000 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant

12 in choosing households.(1) An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of
592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Itd economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

462 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the house-
592 hold, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking
[434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

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[114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

241 their surplus crop at the local markets.
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Although not exact, because of the exclusion of non-cultivators from the sample, some measure of the variation in crop production is shown in the following table of average productivity among the cultivators of the farm survey.(1)

TABLE XI

Table of Average (calculated) Yields for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	Millet (bags, threshed)ø	Groundnuts (bags, decorticated)ø
Farmers	22	9
Craftsmen	17	5
Traders	7	4
Political and Religious Specialists	5	2

ø One bag of threshed millet, average weight - 190 lbs.
ø One bag of decorticated groundnuts, average weight - 200 lbs.

Increases or decreases in production from previous years were reported by 24 (32%) of the 75 cultivators. The following are the reasons given for this variation:

TABLE XII

	N
1) Increase or decrease in number of wives	8
2) Other activities interrupted farm work during the growing and harvest season	7
3) Sickness	6
4) More help in the compound (male)	1
5) Soil depleted	1
6) Damage by smut	1
Total:	24

Thus increase or decrease in number of wives, non-farming activities, and sickness during the growing season seem to be the larg-

[128] (1) These figures are constructed from the acreage of each farmer, multiplied by the average yield per acre in the sample. Reported yield figures on millet (not groundnuts) were so at variance with calculated yield that their reliability is extremely questionable. This may not be due entirely to deliberate falsification by respondents, since they were asked to estimate yields in bags, whereas for the most part this crop is stored in large underground pits, or aboveground storage shelters.

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TABLE XIV

Table of Average Non-agricultural Income for 75 Cultivators #

Occupation	Annual income from non-agricultural pursuits (pounds sterling)	% of total annual income in cash and kind
Farmers	0	0
Craftsmen	31	43
Traders	44	67
Political and Religious Specialists	55	84

[128] # These annual figures are constructed from estimates made by each respondant in answer to questions concerning his earnings per week, (a) in the dry season, (b) in the wet season. The percentages are calculated by adding the figures in this table to those obtained for crop production after converting crop figures to cash values.

Increase or decreases in income from non-agricultural pursuits were reported by 26 (34%) of the sample. The reasons given for such changes are shown below.

TABLE XV

loss or gain of tada njima per household	16
sickness	3
better or worse income from membership in an extended household organization	2
loss or gain in wives	2
raise in salary (N.A.)	1
a new wholesale source or loss of an old one	3
	26

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The table on income indicates what degree of specialization away from sedentary agriculture various segments of the Kanuri population have achieved. Craft workers, it should be noted, are slightly more dependant upon agriculture than craft work, while trader, political and religious specialists are much more dependent upon non-agricultural activities for their incomes. This means that the crop producers

434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of prop-
556 erty by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Magumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

Consumption

511 In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards
128 for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

264 For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male
262 head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of
264 millet flour (penisetum typhoideum) made into porridge or dumplings (buri argumbe) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 21]

The Success that Failed: An Experiment in Culture Change in Africa

By RONALD COHEN*

The economic and political development going on at this moment in the non-European areas of the globe is one of the truly monumental social revolutions in man's history, ranking in importance with both the neolithic and the urban 'revolutions' of the past. By the end of the present century, the standards of living of about two-thirds of the world's population will very likely have risen between five and ten times present level. The educational, political, religious, and social changes which will in all probability accompany this revolution are almost staggering to the imagination. However, that it is taking place is a simple fact. 121

At the core of this development are the changes and innovations in basic economic activities in the every day lives of people the world over, for these hum-drum practices are the foundation stones upon which higher living standards are built. Central planning, financial and technical assistance, and political policies, all make crucial contributions to economic development. However the full measure of cultural changes, and in this case technological innovation, requires the painstaking description and analysis which is the hallmark of anthropological research techniques. Like other social sciences, anthropology uses the data of man's social life for its empirical basis. But unlike other social scientists, the anthropologist observes the data of the human experience through his intimate face-to-face contact with the people from day to day throughout his field

* The field work for this paper was carried out between January, 1956, and August, 1957, with the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation Area Training Fellowship Programme. The writer expresses his appreciation to Professor J.W. VanStone for helpful comments and suggestions, and to Professor C.W.M. Hart under whose guidance field research among the Kanuri was planned and carried out. 101 122 128.

13 Vegetation is open orchard bush with fine-leaved thorny trees predominating over an occasional broad-leaved variety. The terrain although very gently undulating here and there is for the most part flat and low lying (elevation 1,000 feet) with a more or less continuous short feathery grass cover. The loose, deep, easily worked sandy soil is excellent for cultivation while the lack of a thick vegetation cover makes the clearing of new farmland a relatively easy task.

241 The main cereal crop is millet and a considerable amount of guinea corn (sorghum) is grown, especially in the southern portions of the Emirate. In addition to the grain staples, beans, maize, cassava, cucumber, tomatoes, and squashes are also cultivated, while groundnuts
242 are used as the cash crop. In recent years, the agricultural department has been introducing fruit trees into the southern portions of the Emirate and scattering small orchards here and there through the northern bush with the idea of developing a local fruit industry.

101 [197] The people we are concerned with refer to themselves as Kanuri and speak a langugage of the same name. They call their territory Bornu and sometimes refer to themselves as kam Bornube (the people of Bornu). Among Hausa speakers in Nigeria the Kanuri and their language are known as Beri-Beri, but the Kanuri rarely use this term unless they are away from Bornu.

144 [142] Racially the Kanuri are difficult to place. Like other people at the southern rim of the Sahara they vary from negroid to caucasoid in appearance and in skin colour from coppery brown to very
143 dark. Studies by Chalmers on blood group characteristics have shown
144 that when lumped with other northern Muslim peoples the Kanuri indicate considerable similarity in ABO, MNS, and Rhesus blood groups, to

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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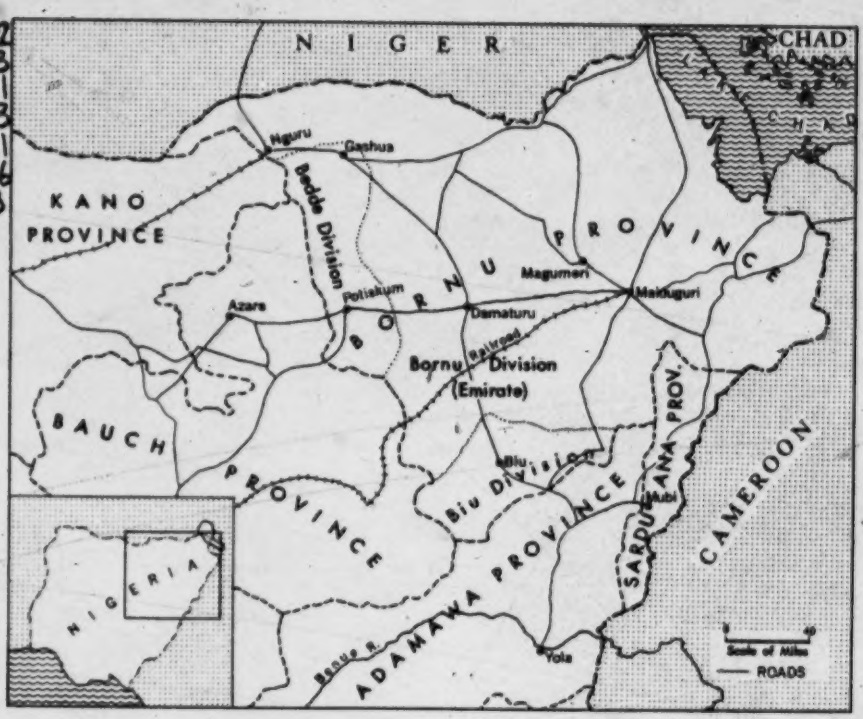

[P.ii]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

101 This study was carried out among the Kanuri people of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The writer and his wife were in Nigeria from August, 1956 until October, 1957. Almost all of that time was spent in the town of Geidam, in the northern part of the province.

A. Geography

131 1. Major geographic features.

Bornu Province is in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. It is bounded to the north by what was then Niger Territory, French West Africa (now the independent Republic of the Niger). [133] To the east lie the marshy shores of Lake Chad and, south of the lake, Cameroons, trusteeship territory administered as part of Bornu Province. The Yobe River, largest of the rivers flowing through Bornu into Chad, forms the northern border of the [161] province for much of its length. Maiduguri, the provincial capital, population 56,740, lies roughly in the geographic cen- [191] ter of the province. The main road through the province runs from Jos through Maiduguri and then on to Fort Lamy in Chad. [196] The railroad barely penetrates into Bornu, running from Kano and ending in the northwest tip of Bornu at Nguru, the second largest town in the province.

133 Bornu is a huge sandy plain, contrasting sharply with the rugged country of the Bauchi Plateau, which rises steeply to the southwest. South of the plain is the hilly area of Biu which is in Bornu Province. The flat plain extends eastward,

[text continues on p. 3]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

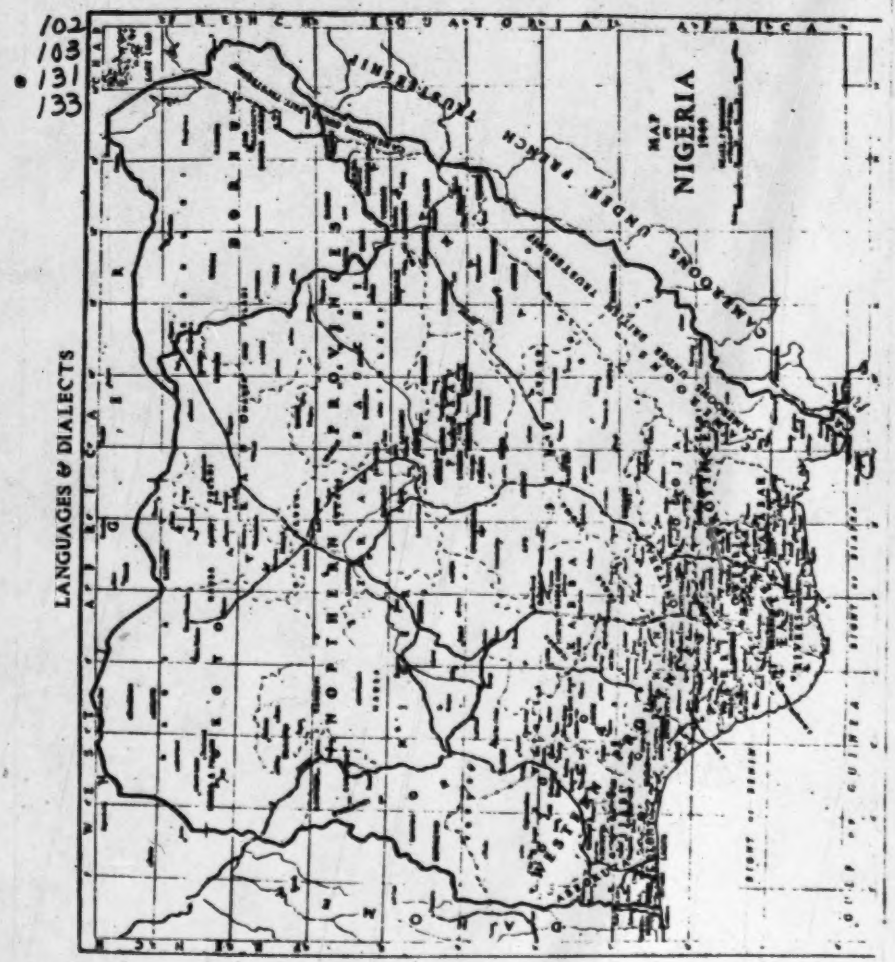

Figure 1 - Map of Nigeria

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
• 131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town
134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 197 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

[GEIDAM]

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
[137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[361] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
• 131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it
[496] marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos.
Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade
with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with
Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It
would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went
by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south
from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total dis-
131 tance covered amounts to 170 miles. Though distances are great
49 and the condition of the roads is very poor, trade is dependent
438 on trucks which are the life-line of the country. Goods come
into Geidam by truck from both Maiduguri and Nguru. They are
then distributed throughout the countryside by merchants and
tradesmen, using camels and donkeys to transport their goods.
[366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri vil-
lages north of Geidam, nor do roads lead east along the Yobe
River to the villages and towns there, Geidam is an important
regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location
is therefore an important factor in determining the nature of
the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles
[366] west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1958-1967) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14
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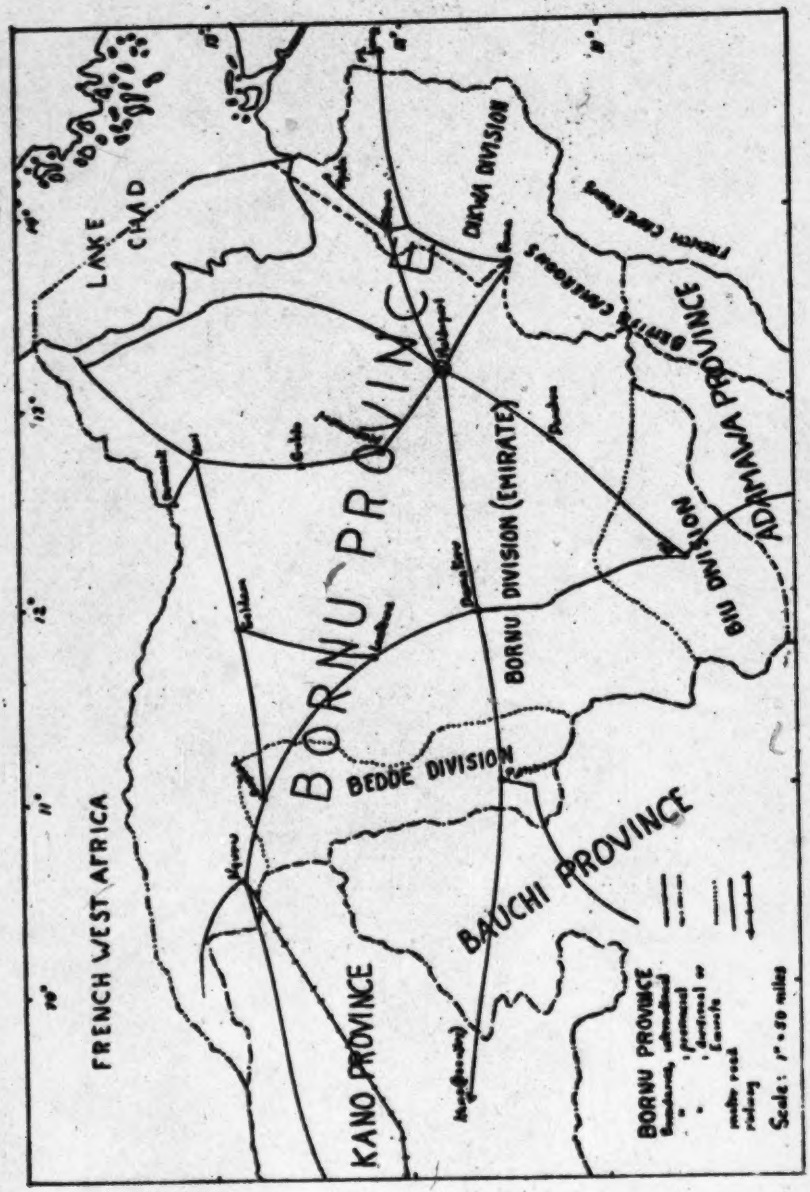

(frontispiece)

Chapter I

The Setting

[1]

101 For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. [178] Bornu is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an [631] ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Bornu 162 Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has [131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of [161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are Fulani and Shuwa nomads.(1) The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

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J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.01	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

175 642 [131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli.(1) Friendship was contracted with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time.(2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo.(3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Ishah al Kanemi".(4)

175 648 [779]

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travellers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones.(5)

173 669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

(1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit.Vol.II, p. 641.)
(2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
(3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
(4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
(5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans.H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

173 669 ing fashion. The legend claims[1] that Dunama, the great 17th Mai of Kanem (1221-1259 A.D.) "laid the foundation for the ensuing disaster of the Empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu", for it (the talisman) called forth and provoked every powerful man to ambition and intrigues, and there followed after this reign a period of civil wars, and rapid changes in the monarchy, often involving regicide. It was at this time that the vassal state of the Bulala on the eastern boundary of Kanem grew towards an ever stronger independence, and finally toppled the Kanuri kingdom. We are told in the Chronicle translated by Barth that during the reign of the 27th Mai, Daud (1377-1386 A.D.) the Kanuri were decisively [131] beaten by the Bulala.[2] By 1394 A.D., the 31st Mai, Omar (1394-1398 A.D.) finally gave up Kanem and came to Bornu proper to set up a kingdom in retreat somewhere between the present city of Maiduguri and the town of Gujba.

There followed a period of unrest and internal strife for about 75 years, during which many kings took the throne and were in turn overthrown or murdered. The kingdom was in a constant state of civil war 175 648 within and set upon by enemies from without. Palmer[3] in his researches has found references to a letter sent at this time to Cairo from the Kanuri monarch, asking the Caliph to order the Arabs of Wadai to stop helping the Bulala raid amongst the Kanuri for slaves, since they (the Kanuri) were all good Muslims, and not infidels to be treated as potential slaves for the taking. More evidence of the "Sturm und Drang" quality of the period is indicated by the fact that a Mai of this time lived away from Bornu in the Hausa city of Kano which had been in the past a vassal state of the Kanuri empire.

(1) Barth, H., op. cit. Vol. II; King list, pp 633-671.
(2) Ibid; p. 634.
(3) Palmer, H. The Bornu Sahara and Sudan, (London) 1936, p. 218

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[131] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual
[177] trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

132 The rainfall ranges from twenty-two to twenty-seven inches, in normal years, and is heavier as one moves from north to south. The important point that must be kept sight of is the fact that ninety percent of the rain falls in June, July, August, and September, while the months from October through June are almost totally dry. Indeed even within the four-month rainy season, about eighteen inches of the annual rainfall comes during July and August, so that in exceptionally dry years, June and September can easily turn out to be rainless months.

The various seasons are tied closely to the basic facts of rainfall and lati-
137 tude. As the rain begins in June the dry sandy soil suddenly comes to life with large stretches of new grass and new leaves on the died-up thorn bushes. From atop one of the Bornu ridges, or from the roof of a house, the entire landscape, as far as the eye can see, starts to change color from yellow-brown to a soft green. The weather cools delightfully, the rains become more frequent, and the short daily
221 storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by
821 far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for every-
136 body because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust
751 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morning, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind.
221 The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter"
241 but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees
821 seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

137 courses are marked increasingly by dum palm trees (Cucifera Thebaica), and this heightens the impression that the border of the great Sahara desert lies not far away.

133 Because of the flatness of the land, rain water does not drain readily into streams and rivers. Low areas become marshes, roads become quagmires, and towns are completely cut off. The Yobe, a slow, meandering river, flows throughout the year though it may dwindle to a width of twenty-five feet in the dry season. At some time in July its flood reaches Geidam and it then swells to a width of half a mile.

3. Rainfall and Temperature.

132 The agricultural productivity of the region is determined completely by the amount of rainfall. The rainy season begins in early May and lasts until October. Sporadic rains mark its beginning. During its height it may rain every other day, usually at evening time for half an hour to an hour.. The storm clouds can be seen gathering in the east in the late afternoon. A strong warning wind precedes the rain, which descends in sheets. At times during the rainy season, from a slight rise of ground, one can see several distinct storms on the horizon, the distant columns of mist falling from their individual clouds. During this time of the year the temperature is moderate and pleasant.

The rains steadily decrease in frequency and come to a halt in October. A brief hot season follows, lasting until December when the cold sets in. For several months the temperature drops

132 nightly, often approaching freezing. This is also the time of the harmattan, a strong wind bearing down from the desert, carrying with it silt and fine white sand. The sand stings the face and chaps the lips. It penetrates all cracks and openings, covering everything with fine powder. The mornings are cold but the noon sun is always strong and brilliant.

This period is followed by the long hot season. For months the temperature ranges between ninety and one hundred degrees F., often soaring to one hundred and ten degrees. Clouds never appear and the glaring sun is reflected and intensified by the shimmering sand. Beneath the unrelenting sun the countryside withers and turns brown.

B. History

175 [101] The name 'Bornu' refers to the ancient empire of Bornu which existed here for more than a thousand years. The Kanuri people, builders of the empire of Bornu, moved into the plain of Bornu from the still more arid reaches north and east of Lake Chad. According to the historical sources, the Sefawa, a part of the Zaghawa tribe, allied themselves with the Teda in the neighborhood of Kawar at about 850 A.D. and proceeded to the southwest, organizing the early kingdom of Kanem, with its capital, Birni Njimi, near the northeastern edge of Lake Chad. Bornu was then the most southerly province. In 1389 the Sef dynasty, as it had then become, was expelled from Kanem and moved to Bornu. From that time onward Bornu became the center

Chapter I
The Setting

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175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged. 175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village. 175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

Production

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Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

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The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

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In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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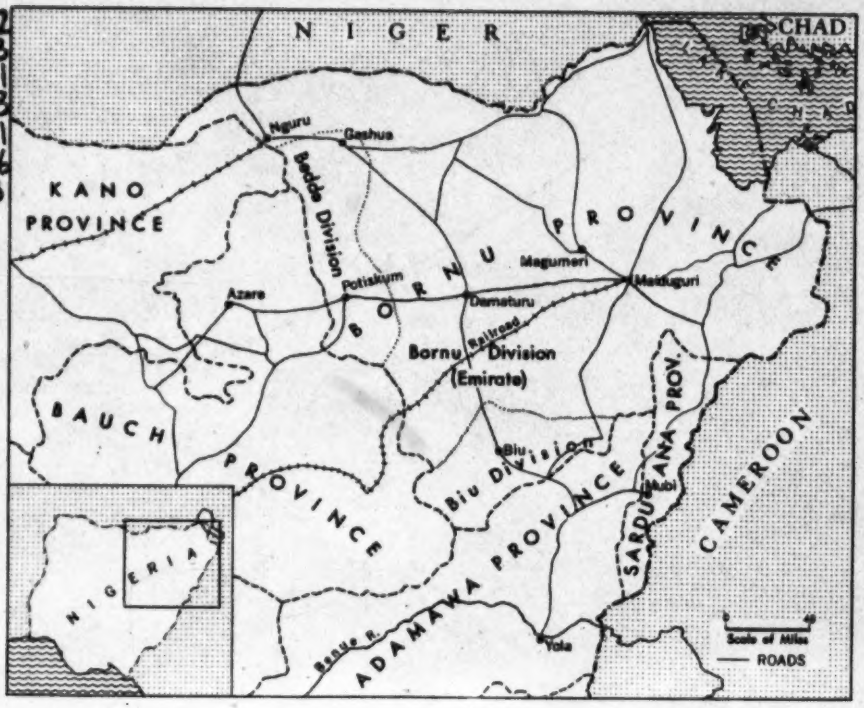

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Setting

The Land and the People

FOR AT LEAST a thousand years the drama of empires rising, falling, expanding, and shrinking has been played out in an immense area of Africa at the southern edge of the Sahara known as the Sudan. These states, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Hausa kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, and others like them, from the upper Senegal River basin to the upper Nile, form a band from east to west across Africa. Their histories provide some of the most resplendent grandeur of Africa's past. Many of these states have now been consigned to the history books; Ghana and Mali have disappeared although modern countries have resuscitated their names; Songhai was destroyed by the Moroccans at the end of the sixteenth century; the Hausa states were altered as they came under the hegemony of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and little is known as yet about the early states to the east of Lake Chad. On the other hand, Bornu in the northeastern corner of Nigeria has continued its sovereignty in the Chad Basin throughout a millennium of tribulations and triumphs and it goes on today organized as a separate emirate within Bornu Province. 101 175 648

Like most of the Sudan, Bornu is open savannah country, generally quite flat except for a few stable dunes covered with scrub in the north and several long low ridges running northwest to southeast in the southern part of the country. The ridges are probably ancient lake-shores of a great inland sea whose contemporary remnant is Lake Chad—a large shallow fresh water lake into which flow a number of rivers from the south and west. The soil is sandy and covered with scrub bush grass, and scattered trees, mostly thorny ones, except for the large spreading baobab, which dots the horizon here and there. In the 1930s the Nim, a hardy shade tree from India that thrives on the semi-desert conditions of northern Nigeria, was introduced to provide some forest preserves and year round shade in the villages. Here and there, especially at the bottom of the ridges, are large flat surfaces of hard clay that turn into gray-black mud during the rainy season. These provide clay for building materials and pottery, as well as water holes for the cattle of local villages and wandering nomads. 133 137 134 137 [245]

101 This study was carried out among the Kanuri people of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The writer and his wife were in Nigeria from August, 1956 until October, 1957. Almost all of that time was spent in the town of Geidam, in the northern part of the province.

A. Geography

131 1. Major geographic features.

Bornu Province is in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. It is bounded to the north by what was then Niger Territory, French West Africa (now the independent Republic of the Niger). [133] To the east lie the marshy shores of Lake Chad and, south of the lake, Cameroons, trusteeship territory administered as part of Bornu Province. The Yobe River, largest of the rivers flowing through Bornu into Chad, forms the northern border of the [161] province for much of its length. Maiduguri, the provincial capital, population 56,740, lies roughly in the geographic cen- [191] ter of the province. The main road through the province runs from Jos through Maiduguri and then on to Fort Lamy in Chad. [196] The railroad barely penetrates into Bornu, running from Kano and ending in the northwest tip of Bornu at Nguru, the second largest town in the province.

133 Bornu is a huge sandy plain, contrasting sharply with the rugged country of the Bauchi Plateau, which rises steeply to the southwest. South of the plain is the hilly area of Biu which is in Bornu Province. The flat plain extends eastward,

[text continues on p. 3]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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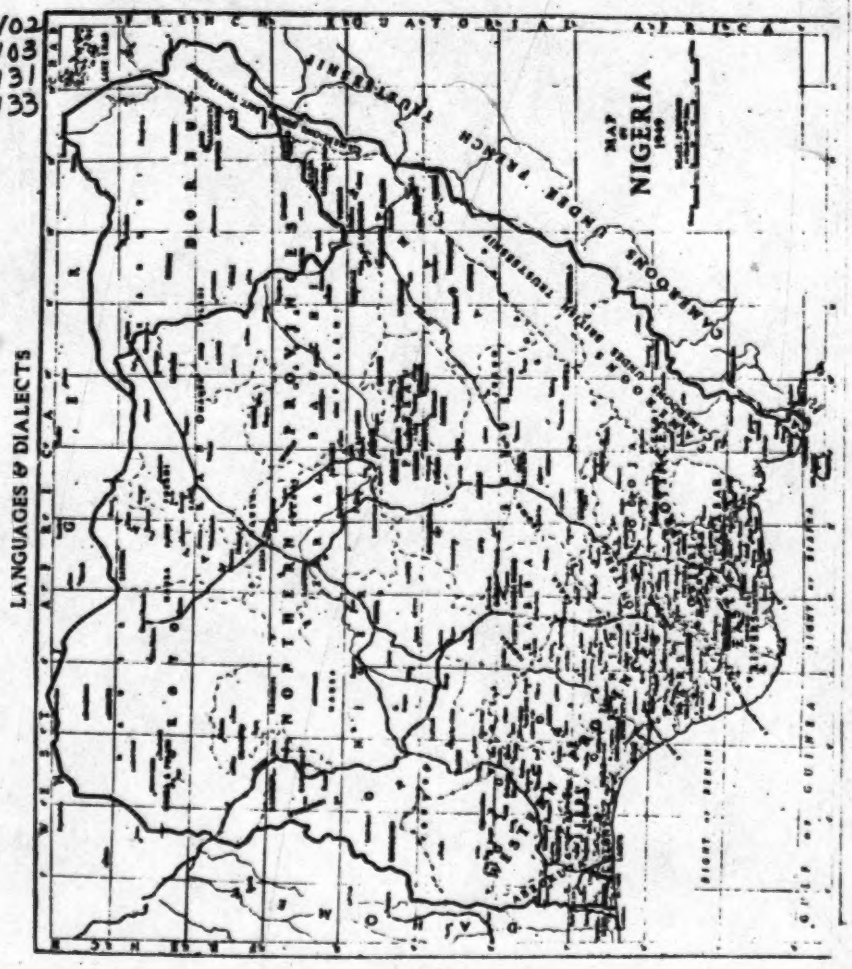

Figure 1 - Map of Nigeria

133 south of Lake Chad, into the Cameroons. Here the fingertips of the great Cameroon highland range, steep and impenetrable, extend into the flatlands.

2. The Nature of the Land.

The sweep of the horizon, as one travels in Bornu proper, is unbroken by hills. But as one goes north from Maiduguri toward Geidam, the land perceptibly rises and falls, and in the neighborhood of the town of Geidam these rises become steep. On close examination one notices that the rises are really no more than dunes, their inner consistency concealed by the cov-
137 ering vegetation. The natural vegetative cover here is sparse, limited largely to a profusion of low shrubs and bushes, most of them thorny. Much of the year the grass is brown and parched.
[134] However the sandy soil is fertile. Immediately following the beginning of the rains, early in May, the new shoots begin to grow and soon the thick, coarse grass covers everything. Like the low bushes, the grass brings its harvest of burrs and thistles. In heavily watered places one may see copses of trees, but by far the most impressive tree characteristic of the area is the baobab or kuka (Adansonia digitata). Baobabs are relatively tall, but their huge thickness of trunk gives them a distorted appearance which is heightened by gnarled, twisted, stunted limbs. They grow in solitary splendor, and are used as land marks because of their prominence against the flat line of the horizon. Again, traveling north toward Geidam, one notices that the water

137 courses are marked increasingly by dum palm trees (Cucifera Thebaica), and this heightens the impression that the border of the great Sahara desert lies not far away.

133 Because of the flatness of the land, rain water does not drain readily into streams and rivers. Low areas become marshes, roads become quagmires, and towns are completely cut off. The Yobe, a slow, meandering river, flows throughout the year though it may dwindle to a width of twenty-five feet in the dry season. At some time in July its flood reaches Geidam and it then swells to a width of half a mile.

3. Rainfall and Temperature.

132 The agricultural productivity of the region is determined completely by the amount of rainfall. The rainy season begins in early May and lasts until October. Sporadic rains mark its beginning. During its height it may rain every other day, usually at evening time for half an hour to an hour. The storm clouds can be seen gathering in the east in the late afternoon. A strong warning wind precedes the rain, which descends in sheets. At times during the rainy season, from a slight rise of ground, one can see several distinct storms on the horizon, the distant columns of mist falling from their individual clouds. During this time of the year the temperature is moderate and pleasant.

The rains steadily decrease in frequency and come to a halt in October. A brief hot season follows, lasting until December when the cold sets in. For several months the temperature drops

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 197 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

[GEIDAM]

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
[137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[36] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
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633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
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175
177 been left out of the historical accounts of the area or have been played down so considerably that the reader finds it easy to forget that the Sudan is geographically adjacent to the Guinea coast. Lady Lugard[1] set the style for this kind of thinking when she described the Sudan as "facing north". Yet the gold, the slaves, and the lowly kola-nut, which became popular as an article of consumption from Kano to Tripoli, all required well established relationships and contacts between the peoples of the Sudan and those to the south of them from very early times.

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197 Evidence on the early beginning of the Kanuri people is scant. Linguistically they belong to the central Saharan group of languages which extends like a boot into modern northeastern Nigeria, but for the most part takes up the area of the central Sahara, reaching north to include a good portion of Fezzan, all of Tibesti, and stretching eastward in the desert until it meets the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, the so-called Hamito-Semitic group.[2] Greenberg comments on the distinctiveness of the central Saharan group of tongues, and we may safely attribute to them a
174 respectable time depth. Gautier[3] has shown that Lake Chad delivered water
a 133 into the Berku region in past times. According to another writer[4] the whole territory northeast of Lake Chad was a great swampy shallow area until the early centuries of the Christian era. This was maintained by the overflow through a river valley (the Bahr el Ghazal) which is now only a dry depression. The surplus Chad water still flows along this passage today beneath the soil. Less than a century ago, Nachtigal[5] saw the first

(1) Shaw, F.L. (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency (London), 1905, p.3.
(2) Greenberg, J.H., Studies in African Linguistic Classification: IV Hamito-Semetics, SWJ, 6, 1950.
(3) Gautier, E.F., Sahara the Great Desert, (London) 1935, pp.68-69.
(4) Tilho, J., in Geographic Journal LVI, 1920, quoted in Carpenter, Rhys, A Trans-Saharan Caravan route in Herodotus, Americal Journal of Archeology, Vol. 60, 1956, p. 240.
(5) Nachtigal, G., Sahara und Sudan, p. 77ff

174 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal
133 swamps. Carpenter[1] feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fezzan rather than the Niger that Etearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems reasonable to suppose that as these enormous wet lands dried up central Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated more densely in this geographically favourable area.

175 Until more historical and archeological research has been carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanciful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings".[2]

175 797 Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D. speaks of the people of Kanem as idolators.[3] However it is most likely that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older
[173] texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king) Hume (1085-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu.[4]

[177] Urvoy feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributaries.[5] Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies
175 642 already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Rhys, op.cit. p. 239.
(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857, p. 643.
(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.
(4) Urvoy, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.
(5) Urvoy, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IFAN, 7, 1949, p.36

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

1

The Setting

The Land and the People

FOR AT LEAST a thousand years the drama of empires rising, falling, expanding, and shrinking has been played out in an immense area of Africa at the southern edge of the Sahara known as the Sudan. These states, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Hausa kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, and others like them, from the upper Senegal River basin to the upper Nile, form a band from east to west across Africa. Their histories provide some of the most resplendent grandeur of Africa's past. Many of these states have now been consigned to the history books; Ghana and Mali have disappeared although modern countries have resuscitated their names; Songhai was destroyed by the Moroccans at the end of the sixteenth century; the Hausa states were altered as they came under the hegemony of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and little is known as yet about the early states to the east of Lake Chad. On the other hand, Bornu in the northeastern corner of Nigeria has continued its sovereignty in the Chad Basin throughout a millennium of tribulations and triumphs and it goes on today organized as a separate emirate within Bornu Province.

Like most of the Sudan, Bornu is open savannah country, generally quite flat except for a few stable dunes covered with scrub in the north and several long low ridges running northwest to southeast in the southern part of the country. The ridges are probably ancient lake-shores of a great inland sea whose contemporary remnant is Lake Chad—a large shallow fresh water lake into which flow a number of rivers from the south and west. The soil is sandy and covered with scrub bush grass, and scattered trees, mostly thorny ones, except for the large spreading boabab, which dots the horizon here and there. In the 1930s the Nim, a hardy shade tree from India that thrives on the semi-desert conditions of northern Nigeria, was introduced to provide some forest preserves and year round shade in the villages. Here and there, especially at the bottom of the ridges, are large flat surfaces of hard clay that turn into gray-black mud during the rainy season. These provide clay for building materials and pottery, as well as water holes for the cattle of local villages and wandering nomads.

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178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Ni-
134 geria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 571 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

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[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

[GEIDAM]

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[GEIDAM]

491 dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the
[366] European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds
across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town
361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has
no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In
three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded
by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying
compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe,
but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the
[249] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found
[134] garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly
[36] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering
[232] area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the
town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is
648 the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the
colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where
Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart
from the African town. In this case, the sole government build-
ing is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high
on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house,
remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years
ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied
by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during
a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied
by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

132 The rainfall ranges from twenty-two to twenty-seven inches, in normal years, and is heavier as one moves from north to south. The important point that must be kept sight of is the fact that ninety percent of the rain falls in June, July, August, and September, while the months from October through June are almost totally dry. Indeed even within the four-month rainy season, about eighteen inches of the annual rainfall comes during July and August, so that in exceptionally dry years, June and September can easily turn out to be rainless months.

The various seasons are tied closely to the basic facts of rainfall and lati-
[137] tude. As the rain begins in June the dry sandy soil suddenly comes to life with large stretches of new grass and new leaves on the died-up thorn bushes. From atop one of the Bornu ridges, or from the roof of a house, the entire landscape, as far as the eye can see, starts to change color from yellow-brown to a soft green. The weather cools delightfully, the rains become more frequent, and the short daily
[221] storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by
[82] far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for everybody because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra
[136] unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust
[951] 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morning, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind.
[221] The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter"
[241] but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees
[82] seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
• 136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

241
433 est factors affecting crop fluctuations from year to year. The seven cases of loss in crop which resulted from inattention to farm work because of other activities, refer mainly to economic pursuits, especially retail and wholesale trade, which took the man away from his household during the growing season. The one exception to this rule was a man who had been to Maiduguri with his family in order to fight a court case.

The table on occupation and crop production reveals the pattern of crop production among the various groups in the community. The increases and decreases in production give some measure of the amount of variation that may be expected from year to year. What follows is a discussion of the factors that affect this variation.

[164] The growing season is also a time of general biological in-
[136] crease in Bornu. The rain not only brings the blessing of fertility to the land, it also initiates a period of increased malaria, guinea worm and other plant and animal infestations, as well as the arrival of cattle nomads whose herds may stray into a cultivator's plots, and periodic hordes of locusts. These factors may at any time reduce a farmer's yield and add a constant element of uncertainty to his life. It is no wonder that prayers, charms, and divinatory practices are utilized in combination with the more "rational" agricultural techniques.

The amount of land under cultivation, and its location close to, or far away, from the settlement varies with the kind of primary occupational interest of the farm owner. This is easily seen in the table of average yields above, in which farmers and craftsmen have much larger yields than traders or religious and political specialists. These figures point up the fact that in Bornu a man's non-farming activities especially if they are in trade, politics or religion, tend to impinge

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[221] storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by
[82] far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for every-
[136] body because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust
[151] 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morning, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind.
[221] The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter"
[241] but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees
[82] seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

133 south of Lake Chad, into the Cameroons. Here the fingertips of the great Cameroon highland range, steep and impenetrable, extend into the flatlands.

2. The Nature of the Land.

The sweep of the horizon, as one travels in Bornu proper, is unbroken by hills. But as one goes north from Maiduguri toward Geidam, the land perceptibly rises and falls, and in the neighborhood of the town of Geidam these rises become steep. On close examination one notices that the rises are really no more than dunes, their inner consistency concealed by the cov-
• 137 ering vegetation. The natural vegetative cover here is sparse, limited largely to a profusion of low shrubs and bushes, most of them thorny. Much of the year the grass is brown and parched.
[134] However the sandy soil is fertile. Immediately following the beginning of the rains, early in May, the new shoots begin to grow and soon the thick, coarse grass covers everything. Like the low bushes, the grass brings its harvest of burrs and thistles. In heavily watered places one may see copses of trees, but by far the most impressive tree characteristic of the area is the baobab or kuka (Adansonia digitata). Baobabs are relatively tall, but their huge thickness of trunk gives them a distorted appearance which is heightened by gnarled, twisted, stunted limbs. They grow in solitary splendor, and are used as land marks because of their prominence against the flat line of the horizon. Again, traveling north toward Geidam, one notices that the water

137 courses are marked increasingly by dum palm trees (Cucifera Thebaica), and this heightens the impression that the border of the great Sahara desert lies not far away.

133 Because of the flatness of the land, rain water does not drain readily into streams and rivers. Low areas become marshes, roads become quagmires, and towns are completely cut off. The Yobe, a slow, meandering river, flows throughout the year though it may dwindle to a width of twenty-five feet in the dry season. At some time in July its flood reaches Geidam and it then swells to a width of half a mile.

3. Rainfall and Temperature.

132 The agricultural productivity of the region is determined completely by the amount of rainfall. The rainy season begins in early May and lasts until October. Sporadic rains mark its beginning. During its height it may rain every other day, usually at evening time for half an hour to an hour. The storm clouds can be seen gathering in the east in the late afternoon. A strong warning wind precedes the rain, which descends in sheets. At times during the rainy season, from a slight rise of ground, one can see several distinct storms on the horizon, the distant columns of mist falling from their individual clouds. During this time of the year the temperature is moderate and pleasant.

The rains steadily decrease in frequency and come to a halt in October. A brief hot season follows, lasting until December when the cold sets in. For several months the temperature drops

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Gei-
dam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of
cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves
of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-
time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages
and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men.
In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is car-
ried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by
a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, net-
ted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the
Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market,
where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the
products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited
regional exchange is effected through the market. External

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 197 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

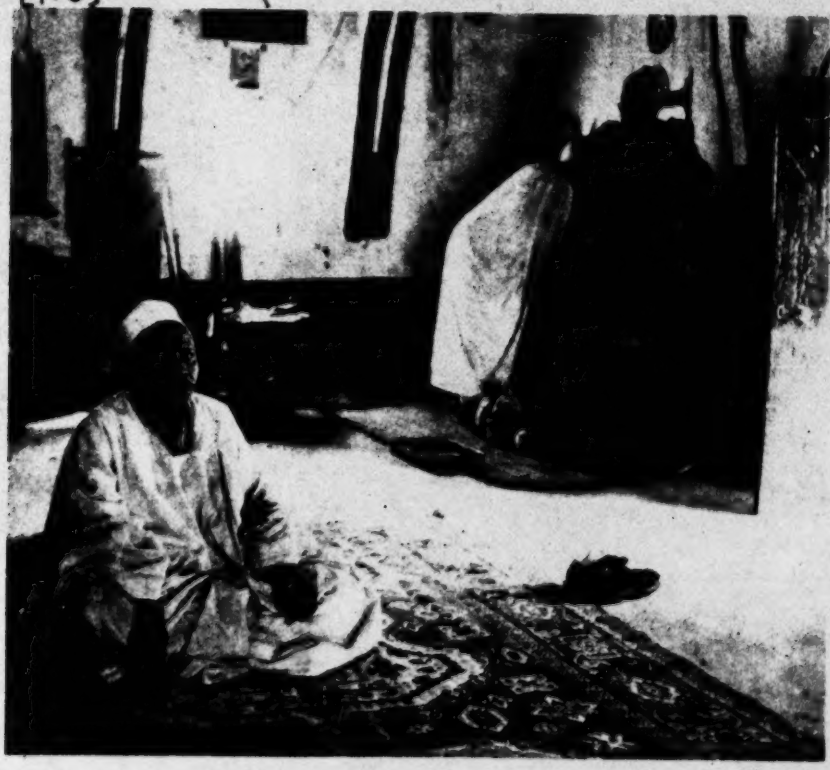
131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain with scrub vegetation which becomes increasingly more

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
• [137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam
lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe
River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri
language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into
Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams
and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and
then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to
continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced
to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the
river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad
on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of
Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital
of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[36] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still
further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages
and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is
significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 3]



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(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

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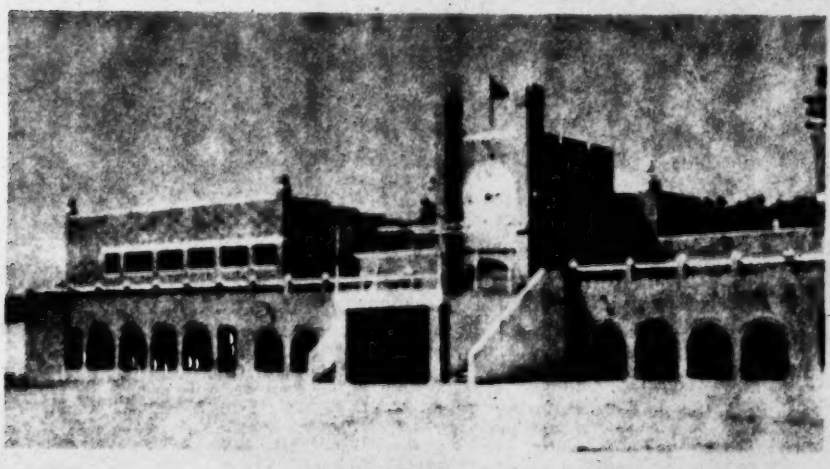

13 Vegetation is open orchard bush with fine-leaved thorny trees predominating over an occasional broad-leaved variety. The terrain although very gently undulating here and there is for the most part flat and low lying (elevation 1,000 feet) with a more or less continuous short feathery grass cover. The loose, deep, easily worked sandy soil is excellent for cultivation while the lack of a thick vegetation cover makes the clearing of new farmland a relatively easy task.

241 The main cereal crop is millet and a considerable amount of guinea corn (sorghum) is grown, especially in the southern portions of the Emirate. In addition to the grain staples, beans, maize, cassava, cucumber, tomatoes, and squashes are also cultivated, while groundnuts
242 are used as the cash crop. In recent years, the agricultural department has been introducing fruit trees into the southern portions of the Emirate and scattering small orchards here and there through the northern bush with the idea of developing a local fruit industry.

101 [197] The people we are concerned with refer to themselves as Kanuri and speak a langugage of the same name. They call their territory Bornu and sometimes refer to themselves as kam Bornube (the people of Bornu). Among Hausa speakers in Nigeria the Kanuri and their language are known as Beri-Beri, but the Kanuri rarely use this term unless they are away from Bornu.

144 [142] Racially the Kanuri are difficult to place. Like other people at the southern rim of the Sahara they vary from negroid to caucasoid in appearance and in skin colour from coppery brown to very
143 dark. Studies by Chalmers on blood group characteristics have shown
144 that when lumped with other northern Muslim peoples the Kanuri indicate considerable similarity in ABO, MNS, and Rhesus blood groups, to

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144 southern Nigerians. The comparatively high frequency of Rho (cDe) chromosome, characteristic of other African populations south of the Sahara, is also present among the Kanuri.(1)

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162 The Kanuri are sedentary agriculturalists and live in various sized settlements scattered homogeneously throughout the Emirate. In their language they distinguish three kinds of settlements primarily on the basis of size. The largest category, birni (city) refers to centers of population containing 12,000 to 15,000 and over. Besides Maiguguri, the capital, there are only two or three other centers of such large proportion. Villages (bala) form the most numerous category and vary in population from a few hundred to about ten thousand. The last category, hamlets (baladea), contain from fifteen to twenty up to several hundred. For political purposes and the gathering of national census data hamlets are lumped in with villages and called village areas. This makes it difficult to tell from census data what proportion of the population of these village areas live in the village itself as compared with the number living in the surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. Village area tax rolls from one district (Magumeri) indicate that about one-half the population listed for any village area actually live in hamlets around the village included in its jurisdictional area.

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[361] At first sight the Bornu countryside appears to be quite thickly populated. When travelling through the bush on horseback or truck, settlements and their encircling farms follow one another after intervals of bushland with unending regularity. This first impression is misleading however for most of the area is uncultivated, unpopulated bushland and the population density is only forty to sixty per square mile. This conclusion

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6: Buchanan K-5 (ca. 1952)1953 MS12 Hausa MS12

Tiv FF57
Fulani MS11
Kanuri MS14
Nupe FF52

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FIG. 11—Hausa villagers, Zaria Province. The Hausa are numerically the major tribal group in the Region; racially, they show a predominance of sudanic Negro elements.

FIG. 12—A pagan hunter of the Jos Plateau. These primitive people appear to have some Negrito elements.

FIG. 13—Nupe villagers, Niger Province. This group from one small village reflects racial complexity of parts of the Region—tall sudanic Negro, stocky forest Negro, and persons of Arab descent.

FIG. 14—Tiv of Benue Province. The Tiv, predominant people of the Middle Belt, appear to have racial affinities with the peoples of the southeastern forest rather than with the peoples of the northern plains.

FIG. 15—A Kanuri of Borno Province. The Kanuri are a hybrid group, of mixed Negro-Caucasian origin.

FIG. 16—Fulani of the Bauchi region. Fulani ancestry is Caucasian, reflected in brown skin, wavy hair, and narrow nose. Today they show results of intermarriage with Negro neighbors.

262 [264] [782] where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, occra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet.(1)

511 In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 zaka(2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half zaka per person. Using the zaka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 [435] lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Nagumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 zaka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

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[146] (1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

[804] (2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A zaka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quantities of grain, beans and nuts. Four zaka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one sa (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 sa per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 zaka per buhu. Zaka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

511 and services at current Bornu prices, which a family needed to occupy a normal place in the culture during 1956-57. In America, the average rural family requires about fifteen to twenty times as much in cash values at North American prices. Or put another way, the Kanuri peasant family has relatively few wants; food, clothing, shelter, tools, entertainments, cosmetics, ceremonials, some form of status in the community, self respect, are perhaps the major components of Kanuri socio-economic life. In comparison, an American wants a multitude of government services, schools, electricity, protection against foreign aggression, old age pensions, unemployment insurance etc., regular holidays, job security, and a host of other items which the Kanuri are not aware of yet, but which seem like necessities to North Americans.

It should also be noted that the Kanuri, although backward materially, are not at all faced with the hardships presented to the people of the overpopulated regions of the world. Thus in India, caloric intake per capita is estimated to be 24.4% below a calculated re-
[146] quirement of 2250 per day. As we have seen, the Kanuri are not generally underfed, although there is a seasonal variation in food supply, and their diet lacks certain nutrient requirements in vitamins and protein.

434 The consumption data should not be construed to suggest that because 76% of Kanuri consumption is for food and clothing, it follows then that the Kanuri are inordinately interested in these items. This statistic only demonstrates again the low level of economic development in the area. For given higher incomes the proportion of total income taken up by food and clothing will decrease, as it does today among the upper classes. To the Kanuri higher income means more food and clothing, but it also means much more expensive ceremonials, better housing, and above all more subordinates who are partially supported by the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.*

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style [582]
schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tifal* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

• 152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in [431] the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after [431] him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

[451] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalə yaskə wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about <u>boye</u>, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
578
• 152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
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369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

593
595 for weekly household expenses. If one is given a gift, the other must also be given a gift of equal value. No sign of preference of a public nature may be shown. Finances of husband and wife are maintained separately. Money earned by the wife through her own activities (for example, through trading) belongs to her, and she may spend her own money as she wishes.

Though the polygamous family has a certain overall organization, particularly in the structuring of relationships between co-wives, with a senior wife as head wife, it is also evident that each nuclear family within the household exists as a separate entity. The individual distinctiveness of the nuclear family can be seen in the emphasis on separate and isolated houses for each wife, in the discreet units of time which the husband is required to spend with each wife (he sleeps with each in turn and she cooks for him on that day), and in the separate and equal treatment which he is required to give each wife (equality of market money, equality of gifts). Emphasis on the distinctiveness of each nuclear family functions to preserve the identity of each wife and to stress her worth to her husband,
593 the head of the household. It thus serves to inhibit jealousy,
595 a divisive force which, if permitted direct expression, would
• 152 shatter the unity of the household. Jealousy between co-wives finds expression in a number of less direct ways; it is not permitted to erupt into quarreling, cursing or fighting (though these certainly occur), and above all the husband must do everything in his power to avoid actions which might encourage jealousies between his wives.

000 ousies between his wives.

59 The separate nuclear families which make up the larger polygamous Kanuri family demonstrate an overall unity when one focuses attention on the household as a structural group. At the core of the household is the polygamous family, but the household may include many other individuals, both kin and non-kin.

595 855 Polygamous families also appear much more unified when one attends to the behavior of adults towards children within [152] the household. Though the presence of children is potentially the greatest source of jealousy between co-wives, particularly when one wife has borne one or more children while another has never borne a child, Kanuri attitudes and treatment of children within the household minimizes these jealousies. All women within reach of a child play with it, feed it, and watch over it. Children wander freely in and out of the houses of their father's wives (their ya chinta), and differences between co-wives are not permitted to extend to their children. In effect, children bridge rather than emphasize the gaps between co-wives and between nuclear families.

5. The Household.

592 It is a natural step to move from a consideration of the polygamous family, the central kin group in Kanuri society, to that of the household. However, though the household has the polygamous family at its core, it is not primarily a kin group.

602 elicited with little difficulty:

[682] [683] It is the father's family that is responsible for the dia (blood-money, compensation to a non-group member and his group for physical injuries or death brought about by the activity of own group members), they will support you if you get into trouble, it is from them that you get your property, if you marry and have no money, they will collect it for you, and you don't have to pay it back, but you will help them when asked for other people in the family - they are the mai durbe (king of the families).

Upper class members made the following generalisation in their statements about the father's family: they felt that the great utility of the patrilateral group is its readiness to support an individual member when he is in trouble, and of course its eventual material use to him in terms of property.

When informants were asked at some other time about the matrilateral kin group without any reference to the father's family and in the context of a conversation having to do with loans and credit, the answer was similar to the following given by a small hamlet farmer:

> Oh yes, for these things (credit) you must go to your mother's family, they will not refuse you anything, for they feel for you like a mother feels for her child.

Upper class members observed similarly that if summa kalewa (if all was well) then people like their mother's family better, it is more [184] affectionate. They also felt that it might be easier to borrow money from the matrilateral groups but were not as unanimous in this respect as the lower class member (neither class was completely unanimous).

[152] In answer to questions about jealousy (kèndulí) differences, all informants agreed that there was much more of this among the patrilateral group. One informant expanded this as follows:

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?

[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialised in a grandparent's [862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602] [553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his 603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female 553 [551] forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise 553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser- 571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

593
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[586] The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of [152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari,
888 old men) and women (kamursu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
183 questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only
[123] lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
[251] and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
[152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this confict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ə is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors. 105 593 867

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage. 881 [582]

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village. 884 585

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men. 882 883 581 156 [302]

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full. [192]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading de-
883 velopment. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
882 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
871 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[594] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
562 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
182 duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3]
[578] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
888 though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men
[826] and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen MS14 Kanuri MS14

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/For rôles of single adult males in client-patron relationships (tada njima), see category 116, pp. 48-52./

592 In addition to the formal relationships between master and slave, and between adopted son and chibuna, described above, there are informal ways through which an individual may become attached to a household. Every adult must be attached to some household. Since the minimal household is represented by a man and his wife, a divorced couple marks the end of their household. Each of them, man and woman, must now attach himself to another household. The primary reason for this is economic--and it makes itself felt immediately in the problem of food. A man without a wife has no one to cook for him. Since no Kanuri man would ever cook for himself (cooking and preparation of food are tasks confined to women), he must attach himself to the household of a friend, neighbor, or close relative, and regularly take his meals there. However, it is somewhat shameful to continue on in this position, and a man who had recently divorced his wife tends to take another wife before long, thereby re-establishing his own household. The woman, after a divorce, goes back to her luwali, and becomes a zogor who lives in his household until she remarries. She, too, becomes a temporary member of her luwali's household and takes her meals with the women of that household. The luwali has the responsibility of offering a roof to his ward after her divorce, and it is not uncommon to find a zogor living for a time as a part of a large household. Men will regularly come to court her, and in time she will remarry and leave her luwali's household.

There is still another way to become part of a large house-

592

5. Slaves--both male and female; chirs and their children.

6. Zogors and bachelors, as temporary members.

7. Tata njima--non-kin.

8. Malams of the Koran--taken in, and provided with a house and food, as an act of charity.

592 571 554 The term yal is used for members of the household who are not close kinsmen of the household head. This group, some of whom are necessarily present while others are occasionally found, some permanent and others temporary, some kinsmen and others not, forms the central social unit in Kanuri society. Its size and its composition reflects the status of the household head in the larger society, in terms of both the old and traditional system of social stratification, and in terms of present-day [156] realities and opportunities. The solidarity of the household as a unit also reflects the ability of the household head to satisfy the expectations of the various members of his household, and consequently to live up to his own view of himself and his status in Kanuri society. In order to satisfy his wives, his slaves, his tata njima, and to induce people to name sons after him, he must be in a position, economically and politically, which will permit him to meet expectations. They, in turn will labor for him, and by their labors, as well as by their very presence as part of his household, the members of his household will help the household head to validate his status in the society.

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554
463 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
[441] the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

[GEIDAM]

651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangali		3,000
haraji		41,000
	total taxes	£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663
• 156 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
[648] in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

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651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
563
662

121 *177 veal areas in which they are unacculturated; the most unacculturated groups similarly reveal areas of behavior in which they are acculturated. That these differences in degree of acculturation are determined by the relation of a given group or category to that area of behavior, as is stated in the second sentence of hypothesis 2, is readily apparent from the data. Explanations of these differences in the above discussion have repeatedly sought to relate them to the roles of the group concerned. If these explanations have been convincing, then hypothesis 2 may be said to have been upheld.

It is somewhat more difficult to discuss the implications of the data which have been presented above for hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 states that groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in other areas. The position of a group within the existing social structure plays an important part not only in determining the areas in which acculturation is likely to occur but also in determining those behavioral areas in which acculturation would not be expected to occur--i.e., those areas in which the group reaffirms traditional behavioral norms.

This may be illustrated by selecting three of the groups whose profiles have been presented in the previous chapter for comparison. The three groups are the following:

a) NA Malams - acculturated and stable.
b) Canteen Operators - intermediary in acculturation and unstable.
c) Craftsmen - unacculturated and stable.

*177 634 156 The NA Malams are the most acculturated group of the eight which have been described. How would one account for the fact that

*177 they are such a stable group then? The role of the NA Malam
634 is clearly defined. His Western education is generally ac-
• 156 knowledged as a useful thing and he is accorded prestige by
554 being called "Malam". The goals of the NA Malams are traditional Kanuri goals. This is brought home most strikingly in their choice of occupations (Table XXXIII) where four of the six NA Malams chose "Lowan." Their education, their knowledge of the English language, their general high degree of acculturation have not hindered them from attaining positions of political power, a very traditional goal in Kanuri society. On the contrary, these things have become assets. The acculturated individual is at an advantage over the unacculturated individual in rapidly rising within the political system. This state of things will remain at its present level only so long as: (a) the number of NA Malams does not rapidly increase so that many individuals are competing for a limited number of political positions, which would mean that a group of disgruntled and disappointed individuals would be created, and, (b) their degree of acculturation does not reach the point where their goals, too, will change. At present, in the community of Geidam, neither of the latter conditions have arisen. It can also be seen from their acculturation profile that the NA Malams adhere to important Kanuri values in other areas. They do not smoke or drink beer; they fast and wear many charms; they are not reluctant to give gifts of charity; and they would tend to avoid marrying an educated woman or let her work. All

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*177 of these indicate that the NA Malams have not rejected import-
634 ant Kanuri values in the course of their acculturation. Though
• 156 they are a very acculturated group, they are in no danger of drifting away from Kanuri culture and becoming deviants. Consequently they are a stable group, with clearly defined roles and mutually understood expectations and obligations. Other Kanuri can understand the NA Malam, and the NA Malam himself realizes the "self" that he wishes to convey without having to affirm his Kanuri identity through exaggerated behavior.

*177 The Craftsmen represent the opposite extreme of an unac-
463 culturated and stable group. Their primary role requires
[354] highly skilled and specialized behavior of them and their status is respected in the community. Although their activities are primarily within the economic area, the range of individuals with whom they interact is narrow and they have little or no direct contact with agents of Western society. Their knowledge of languages and of writing is slight. They have few Western goods, nor do they know much about these items. They are not very strict about fasting and drinking beer, but in other areas they adhere strongly to Kanuri values, such as taking disputes for arbitration and giving gifts of charity. They show a slight inclination to favor European doctors, and they favor Western occupations though their aspirations for their sons are strongly traditional. They are not very conservative about education generally. The overall picture of the Craftsmen is of a group that is obviously not very acculturated, but their responses,

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177 accepting attitude towards Western material goods.
441

Having accepted these new behavioral alternatives and having achieved great success in their new activities, the status of the group of canteen operators began to change. Their roles were new and strange to them; they were unclear of their obligations in the changing situation. Though they now had important statuses in the community, there was no title to accompany these statuses. A pious Moslem who becomes wealthy is able to fulfill his obligation to carry out the pilgrimage to Mecca, and this the Canteen Operators did at the first opportunity. Five of the six members of that group in the present study became Alhajis, a title by which the pilgrim is henceforth addressed. This is a means to acquire prestige in the community, but it also serves another purpose --it demonstrates that the individual concerned is a pillar of faith in the community and may be expected to uphold traditional ways.

177 The "self" which the Canteen Operators seek to communi-
441 cate to others is of an individual who is conservative, an up-
156 holder of tradition. This is in contrast to their acceptance of new sorts of behavior and to the recent changes to which they have been party within the social structure. Indeed, it is because of these things that the Canteen Operators present such a conservative "self" and in so doing they exhibit be-
[60] havior which is predicted in hypothesis 3. In the case of the Canteen Operators the sanctions involved would be the rejection

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*177 441 • 156 [681] by others of the right of the Canteen Operators to occupy important positions in the community. This would be brought about by a denial of power and prestige on the part of other community members. In order to prevent this from happening, the Canteen Operators assert their identity as part of the Kanuri community by stressing traditional Kanuri values. It is their considerable degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas, taken with their extreme conservatism, frequently in the same area of behavior, which leads to the characterization of the group as an unstable group.

Their inconsistencies, as exhibited in Table XLII, occur in almost every area of behavior. They would wear European shoes, but decidedly would not wear European trousers, thus indicating their extreme sensitivity to the difference between these two items of clothing. They fast at Tsuro Mbulo, though they rarely wear charms. They would visit a European doctor and prefer European medicine, though they prefer the Kanuri method of treatment for five of the six diseases. They would take their disputes to court and tend to place conditions on the giving of charitable gifts, and both of these have been discussed in terms of the ambiguity of expectations in their roles. They would send their son to school though they state a preference for the Koranic Malam over the Western school. They would marry a Hausa woman, though not a woman of any of the other tribes. Their most pronounced inconsistency is in the final two items of their profile. They are strongly in favor

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of marrying an educated woman, but extremely conservative about permitting her to work as a school-teacher. In fact, their response to this question seems to be exaggerated in its adherence to upper class traditional Kanuri norms.

The behavior of the group of Canteen Operators, compared to that of the NA Malams and the Craftsmen, is entirely consistent with the predictions made in hypothesis 3. They have become acculturated in certain behavioral areas as a result of the interactions brought about by their roles in trade. Their new status in the community has resulted in further acculturation in still other areas (attitudes towards arbitration of disputes, attitudes towards generosity and charity). But their need to reaffirm their Kanuri identity and to validate their new positions in Kanuri society has led them to underline their affirmation of traditional Kanuri values, frequently by assuming exaggerated poses. Their behavior lends support to the third hypothesis advanced earlier.

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The theoretical significance of the present study is in the view of acculturation which has been put forth. Heretofore, acculturation studies have relied heavily on two types of approach: (1) the relationship between acculturation and personality variables (as exemplified by the writings of Hallowell, Wallace, Caudill, Vogt and Mead), and (2) the attempt to delineate which areas of culture change most rapidly as a result of contact and which areas of culture remain resistant to change.

593 ship developing in the husband-wife relationship depending upon
[565] the stability of the union. Such friendships are aided and abetted
[586] by cousin marriage as well as by upper class position where the divorce rate does not seem to be as high.

572 Finally, an examination of the nature of friendship in
156 general excluding the grandparent-grandchild, and mother-child relations reveals some unique features which arise from its setting in the total social organization. The question can be raised as to why it is that friendship is not formalized or structured to the same extent as the other behaviours associated with the kinship system. Certainly, an immediate answer lies in the universal nature of this kind of interpersonal relationship, i.e., its affectivity and expressive content, and the concomitant emotional satisfactions which people obtain from such associations. These tend to create a large area for personality characteristics to determine exactly who among the available persons, for example age-mates in the kindred, ego will move toward in expanding and contracting his friendships. As in our society, social factors such as socio-economic status, occupation, residence patterns, ethnic background, and norms of upward mobility all enter into such choices as well. But there is more to Kanuri friendship relations than a mere addition or interaction of these idiosyncratic features of personality attraction and repulsion on the one hand and sociological variables on the other.

572 Informants were forever telling the anthropologist that someone he mentioned was a friend of theirs, although no affective or emotional or for that matter any very real social relationship existed between them. They meant, of course, that they liked

583 A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-
593 sent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most prob-
[586] ably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son
[685] over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates
• 156 from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal
583 worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value
[595] in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

581 The Kanuri recognize different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kasu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is
[832] good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

593 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a
565 higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realizes that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

593 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the
156 husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and
557 return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

885 831 but who has been circumcised, more often referring to the sexually active). In discussing this point further, informants remarked that such persons were not true zairo but they acted like them. The joking implied in this designation is not nearly as humourous to the hearers, when applied to a divorced man with no present wife (who really has many status similarities to an older adolescent) as when it is applied to a married man who is continually seeking extra-marital sexual relations. This joking reference to the married man being a zairo points up the ideal of mildly chaste behaviour property to the rashidi status.

• 156 885 Many young married men who are subordinate to elder relatives, or political and/or economic superiors in large household organizations, or who are still apprentices, refuse to be labelled as rashidi when asked, even though they are married. They plead that they are still tada gana (small boys). They feel that their subservient position and lack of achievement in the areas of behaviour mentioned above, that are considered to be characteristic of rashidi status, puts them in the position of small boys who still have to grow up, or who are under their father's control. For subservient persons whose occupation requires that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives, the criteria of marriage, children, age, own compound, and farm plots, slowly begin to change the person's concept of himself and he comes to accept a label of rashidi if it is put to him as a question. However, he understands the limits of its application in his particular case. For example, one informant of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the District Head's father and who was himself a life-long servant of the District Head, accepted a definition of himself as a rashidi (mature man), who

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885 would, he said laughingly, soon be a chiari (an old man). He explained that he had a married daughter, a farm, a compound, and a wife, who he proudly asserted had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he was a rashidi. But when asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his superior's headquarters, without instructions he quickly replied, "ato ngai wuma tada gana" (in that sense I am a small boy). In other words, in that particular area of behaviour generally associated with rashidi status I am not a participant as one who is a grown man, rather I am like a young son who must obey his father. This is not in any way shameful for the informant, since his status in the subservient relationship to the District Head is accepted by the culture.

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562 Rashidi is then more than just a description of physiological age. In general people consider that when a man has been married he should be defined as having reached adult status. But when the term is applied to an adult male who had been married, it is found that a set of achievements is used as a criterion for judging a person's age grade status. These achievements are valued attributes of adult male life as defined by the culture which are available in varying degrees to all male members of the society.

A woman who has had a child can be referred to as kuko, which means that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and has added a new member to her husband's agnatic group as well as to her own. Middle aged women (about thirty to forty) can be referred to as gudum to distinguish them from younger or older women, whether or not they have borne children. In actual practice these terms were not observed to be in common use, the woman's status and age being

554 602 was considered inappropriate as a servant and household member to a powerful newcomer to the community.

Matri-kin do not give a man much ascribed birth status one way or another. However, the matri-kin often aid the individual and if they are a powerful high status group in the society, he may derive some benefits from this relationship. But these rewards must be realized before this ascribed status is worth anything to ego in the eyes of others.

The importance of birth status was made plain during the gathering of genealogical data. A well known "arrivisto" in Magumeri, who served as the District Head's right hand man and principal link with the urban community, gave a completely trumped-up genealogy which included, patrilineally many antecedents who had been the horsed servants (ko'una) of well known nobles of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bornu. Only later, when crosschecking some of the material, was it discovered that this informant was the son of a man who used to tend camels for their owners in the Maiduguri market and that he, himself, had started life as a gatherer and seller of bush grass for horse fodder. His faked genealogy reveals his sensitivity to his low status background and his desire to give a newcomer the impression of continuity regarding his origins. His own rank at the time of the interview was that of horsed servant to the District Head of Magumeri, so that the faked genealogy indicated his desire to create for himself a family background of similar status to his present one.

554 602 156 Along with other explanations (see below pp.225 -228 , arziri) birth ascription is also used to describe the reasons for success or failure at any given role, especially among the high ranks of society where improper behaviour can be attributed to the person's rise from a

554 602 lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, dis-
• [156] reputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime. (1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants.
[178] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly cre-
[648] ating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society.
[271] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are
[369] sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in
565 the large urban centre. At the peasant level many of the craft workers
463 in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the
602 other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of bɔrzum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the a-
dult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bersum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more
important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This
is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to
the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization,
which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers
setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to
the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often
in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or co-
hesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the
opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizon-
156 tally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfort-
571 able with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State.
56 This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked" (1)
571 by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating.
178 However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the
571 system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this
369 argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford: Blackwell, 1955.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife. 581 562

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times. 58 159

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bride-wealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [387]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

58 often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and
• 159 so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose
[832] magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali*, (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

183 The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in
586 and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

592 By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great
593 deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their
512 friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

593 In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household)
562 and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave
565 the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 uses it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather
593 than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for
592 more than one generation.
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> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, "... continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances. An-
554 other informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of
592 people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

592 About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two un-
571 married adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

000 The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bər-*

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The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[8] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[8] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

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883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

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192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

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438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

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463 592 571 159 57 253 554 199 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. [428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the [241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] [964] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also [434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 592 571 253 159 434 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have [221] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has [512] unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

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farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA N JIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando,* a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

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level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alterna- 591
tives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or pa- 592
tron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus [593]
if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between house- 621
holds, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. 592
The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles [361]
southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa [162]
250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Sur- [103]
rounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworon-* [276]
go which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and [302]
cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named
Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. 621
He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled 592
with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a 159
younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons 571
left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

632 689 578 692

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

632 689 578 692 159 [571]

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

632 685 689 578 692 159

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

578 632 689 692 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

[634]

632 634 578 66

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

[166] [651]

[GEIDAM]

175 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from
634 Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kaigama Zubairu.

175 Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa kabuna who came
634 into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who
554 [167] entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. However, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili), their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were "Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab, who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar (son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house, with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu", so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the position of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Laminu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

• 159 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary
634 school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and Vac-
554 cinater in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District, where he resided first at Ngəlzerma and later at Damagum. At that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

[GEIDAM]

159 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year
634 later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha.
554 The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately
632 bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in
634 the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

[GEIDAM]

The
693 personnel who occupy positions in the judiciary, however, are
554 bound to the social system. The Alkalis of Geidam exhibit a pattern in their personal histories, and are representative of specific social strata--the Koranic malams, the Imams and the Alkalis--whose sons follow their fathers and pursue the same
693 goals. Alkali Baba Kura was the son of Imam Komi, the chief
159 Imam at Maiduguri who later became Chief Alkali. He studied the Koran, explanations of the Koran, Hadith (traditions), and Tarikh (chronicles) at his father's house and at the houses of other learned Malams in Maiduguri, and then went to study law at the Kano Law School. He was appointed Alkali for the districts of Magumeri and Gubio when he was only twenty-five years old, at the time when Yerima Mustapha was Ajia of Magumeri, and Yerima became his mentor. Alkali Baba Kura remained in Magumeri for four years. After Yerima moved to Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura was transferred to Geidam. One year later he was elected to serve in the Northern legislature at Kaduna, while continuing on as Alkali of Geidam. Then in August, 1957 he was again promoted, this time to be Inspector of Courts in Mai-
693 duguri. He and two other powerful and important Alkalis make
159
662 up the Shehu's court. This is an extremely important position
554 for so young a man, and Alkali Baba Kura owes much of his success to help which he received from Yerima, although his own family connections were still more important in helping rapidly
693 to further his career. Alkali Baba Kura's older brother is to-
554 day Imam Ibrahim, having succeeded his father as chief Imam in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

101 This study was carried out among the Kanuri people of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The writer and his wife were in Nigeria from August, 1956 until October, 1957. Almost all of that time was spent in the town of Geidam, in the northern part of the province.

A. Geography

131 1. Major geographic features.

Bornu Province is in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. It is bounded to the north by what was then Niger Territory, French West Africa (now the independent Republic of the Niger). [133] To the east lie the marshy shores of Lake Chad and, south of the lake, Cameroons, trusteeship territory administered as part of Bornu Province. The Yobe River, largest of the rivers flowing through Bornu into Chad, forms the northern border of the [161] province for much of its length. Maiduguri, the provincial capital, population 56,740, lies roughly in the geographic cen- [491] ter of the province. The main road through the province runs from Jos through Maiduguri and then on to Fort Lamy in Chad. [496] The railroad barely penetrates into Bornu, running from Kano and ending in the northwest tip of Bornu at Nguru, the second largest town in the province.

133 Bornu is a huge sandy plain, contrasting sharply with the rugged country of the Bauchi Plateau, which rises steeply to the southwest. South of the plain is the hilly area of Biu which is in Bornu Province. The flat plain extends eastward,

[text continues on p. 3]

177 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are
563 many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

• 161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 The culture of a people never remains static; it is con-
105 stantly changing in response to forces, both external and in-
177 ternal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957)
[01] Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

121 The variables which provide the conceptual basis of the present study are social structure and acculturation. Before one can single out individual groups and focus attention on behavioral patterns which are associated with those groups it is necessary to delineate the larger structural features of Kanuri society so that the particular groups which have been selected for more careful examination can be seen in their societal context. In similar fashion, acculturated behavior can only be evaluated when one has a general understanding of the more stable behavioral norms which characterize Kanuri culture. It is against the background of the expectable Kanuri behavioral patterns that items of acculturated behavior takes on significance.

177 178 It was noted in the previous chapter that important external forces are acting to bring about changes in Kanuri culture. While these are powerful forces, and the changes themselves are far-reaching and significant, Kanuri culture still retains its essential integration. This can be seen in several areas: in the consistency of people's behavior, in the stress placed on important Kanuri values, and in the integration of Kanuri personality which is apparent despite acculturation. The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of these general features of Kanuri culture.

A. Larger Features of the Economy

1. Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Land Tenure.

• 161 There are strong indications that the population of Bornu

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
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369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
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779 58 [592] marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement; [182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies, are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 [161] The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million people. About one-third live in towns with a population of more than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital, which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26 towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost a third of the population.

369 632 121 Although there may be some question whether a town with a population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly approaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

Chapter I

[1]

The Setting

101 For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. [178] Bornu is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an [631] ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Bornu 162 Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has [131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of [161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are Fulani and Shuwa nomads.(1) The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

132 The Emirate lies within latitudes 11 to 13 N. and longitudes [131] 11 to 13½ S. and has a typical sub-Saharan savannah climate. There is a mean daily maximum temperature of 94° F. from March to June and a mean daily minimum of 66° F. from July to February. The rainfall varies from north to south, being somewhat heavier in the south. Mean rainfall figures in inches per month at Maiduguri for the last thirty-six years are as follows:

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.01	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

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144 southern Nigerians. The comparatively high frequency of Rho (cDe) chromosome, characteristic of other African populations south of the Sahara, is also present among the Kanuri.(1)

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162 The Kanuri are sedentary agriculturalists and live in various sized settlements scattered homogeneously throughout the Emirate. In their language they distinguish three kinds of settlements primarily on the basis of size. The largest category, birni (city) refers to centers of population containing 12,000 to 15,000 and over. Besides Maiguguri, the capital, there are only two or three other centers of such large proportion. Villages (bala) form the most numerous category and vary in population from a few hundred to about ten thousand. The last category, hamlets (baladea), contain from fifteen to twenty up to several hundred. For political purposes and the gathering of national census data hamlets are lumped in with villages and called village areas. This makes it difficult to tell from census data what proportion of the population of these village areas live in the village itself as compared with the number living in the surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. Village area tax rolls from one district (Magumeri) indicate that about one-half the population listed for any village area actually live in hamlets around the village included in its jurisdictional area.

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[361] At first sight the Bornu countryside appears to be quite thickly populated. When travelling through the bush on horseback or truck, settlements and their encircling farms follow one another after intervals of bushland with unending regularity. This first impression is misleading however for most of the area is uncultivated, unpopulated bushland and the population density is only forty to sixty per square mile. This conclusion

(1) Chalmers J.N.M. and others; THE ABO, MNS and Rh Blood Groups of the Nigerians, Eugenics (London) 17, 3, 168-176, 1953.

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is also supported by estimates made by officials of the Bornu agricultural department whose records indicate that only seven per cent of the total Emirate land area is under cultivation while another eight to nine per cent is resting land. Since the agricultural potential of the area is relatively homogeneous this means that there is no land pressure and no problem of over-population.

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Bornu Emirate is a political unit, among others, within Bornu Province and the latter is in turn one of the provinces making up the Northern Region, the largest of the three regions, of Nigeria. The Emirate is under the nominal rule of the Shehu of Bornu and his council, with this latter body under the executive direction of the Waziri of Bornu. These leaders all reside at the Emirate capital, Maiduguri, which is also the capital of Bornu Province. The entire area of the Emirate is divided into twenty-one districts each under a District Head who resides in the district capital. In its turn, each district is sub-divided into village areas under the headship of a Lawan (village area head). Finally under the Lawan are the wards of his village and the hamlets surrounding his village within the village area boundaries. These wards and hamlets are headed by men called Bulama.

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The colonial government cuts across this semi-traditional structure. Its center is at Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region of Nigeria, and its representatives reside throughout the region, with their headquarters at each provincial capital. The Resident Officer of Bornu Province is the senior colonial official in the province and is responsible to Kaduna for the administration of several Emirates and divisions of the province of which Bornu Emirate is only one, albeit the largest. Government departments of education, forestry, agriculture, and the like are responsible for their programs throughout the entire province and work through local native authority departments in each Emirate.

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

366 494 161 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 494 484 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest 443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of [203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, [273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale [525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 692 [632] Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[137] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual
[177] trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

5

The Economic Life

121 433 NO MATTER WHERE or who they are the members of every human society must have some means by which they obtain the material goods and services deemed valuable and important to their way of life. How these goods are produced, distributed, and consumed forms the basis of the economic system of any society. However, for our present purposes the details of production are beside the point, for they deal with the local technology rather than the economy in the sense that this economy is part of the social system. Therefore, I will restrict the present chapter to the various units of Kanuri economy and its interrelationships which provide the means by which economic life is successfully carried on in Bornu.

433 The Kanuri do not have factories to produce goods, there are only a few large trading companies, and there are even fewer large institutional consumers of goods and services such as hospitals, schools, factories, armed forces, hotels, and so on. The bulk of the people is spread out over the entire area of Bornu in small [162] towns and hamlets, and even in the few cities the basic economic facts of life for most of the households are very similar to those throughout the entire area. Villages and hamlets are only economic units to the extent that they have boundaries, and all the land is held by virtue of one's residence in a particular village or hamlet. However towns do not act corporately for most economic purposes. That is to say they do not buy and sell things as units, they do not organize the production of goods as units, nor do they organize the distribution of goods and services within or between villages as units. The only level at which this is done consistently [592] throughout the society is at the level of the household whose members do form themselves into a unit of production and consumption.

592 It is important to remember from Chapter 3 that a household is not the same thing as the family. Very high divorce and fairly high mobility of the household members in general means that the people living in a Kanuri household can and do change a great deal over time. The economic life of the household, however, may not have changed at all. Just as personnel turnover does not change the basic nature of a business firm in western society, so does it have little effect on the jobs to be done and how they are carried out in a Kanuri household.

[433] There are other units in the economy, and as we describe the major features

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima,* and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

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369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corresponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

tionally larger than anything found in Borno today. However, as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

One can never travel far in Borno without encountering a village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming. Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory, all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of Borno, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task. Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this

marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement; consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies, are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

B. The Community

The population of Borno Emirate is just over a million people. About one-third live in towns with a population of more than 7,000 (see Table 1). Following Maiduguri, the capital, which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of these ten towns is 13,878. There are 16 more towns in Borno Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26 towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost a third of the population.

Although there may be some question whether a town with a population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly approaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

Table 1

The population of Borno Emirate, according to towns ranked as to size:

Town	District	Population
Maiduguri proper		56,777
Ngurd proper	Ngurd	21,796
Kumagunnam	Ngurd	18,034
Dikwa	Kanembu	15,439
Jajera	Fune	13,798
Tilitu	Magumeri	12,377
Chibuk	Marghi	12,139
Chobai	Auno	12,121
Ngetra	Gubio	11,930
Geidam	Geidam	11,032
Gonieri	Gujba	10,124
	Total	138,786
Kabuiri	Kondugu	9,736
Bitatijawa	Yusufari	9,649
Mafuda	Auno	9,210
Kerikeri	Damaturu	8,838
Karno Yassu	Magumeri	8,239
Mafoo	Fune	8,287
Mafirene	Mafirene	8,282
Dambalwa	Kaga	7,980
Yajiwa	Auno	7,903
Malmalari	Yusufari	7,722
Daura	Fune	7,673
Goyamari	Yusufari	7,263
Wadi	Geidam	7,225
Gazabura	Gubio	7,212
Gatafo	Nobber	7,063
Mintar	Monguno	7,034
	Total	130,077
Total for 27 towns above:		325,640

GEIDAM

individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

Geidam, with its population of 11,038 is one of the largest towns in Borno Province (see Table 1) and represents urban Kanuri culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damaskk, are Mobber, another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the townsfolk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy plain with scrub vegetation which becomes increasingly more

[GEIDAM]

133 desert-like as one moves north from
[132] the north of Geidam continues to be
[134] density declines rapidly as one mo
lies on the Yobe River; usually re
River; a redundancy since Komadugu
language. The Yobe is a slowly mo
Lake Chad; approximately 100 miles
and rivers of the north flow for a
then dry up completely. The Yobe,
continue to flow the year round.
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on the Yobe River; the Kanuri do n
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river
Geidam; its the ruins of Birni Naz
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[36] far from the old center of empire.

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Before the rains it is reduced
n width; after the rains the
n it may extend over half a
ravel from Geidam to Lake Chad
ot use the river for travel or
r, some twenty miles east of
zargamo, the ancient capital
e Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
Along the river, and still
further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages
and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is
significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

[GEIDAM]

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kardi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[273] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[285]
[463]

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
[494] it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[463] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[162] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that
592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
554 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table
463 XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of
[162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

Chapter I

The Setting

[1]

101 For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. [178] Bornu is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an [631] ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Bornu 162 Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has [131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of [161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are Fulani and Shuwa nomads.(1) The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

132 The Emirate lies within latitudes 11 to 13 N. and longitudes [131] 11 to 13½ S. and has a typical sub-Saharan savannah climate. There is a mean daily maximum temperature of 94° F. from March to June and a mean daily minimum of 66° F. from July to February. The rainfall varies from north to south, being somewhat heavier in the south. Mean rainfall figures in inches per month at Maiduguri for the last thirty-six years are as follows:

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.01	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

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144 southern Nigerians. The comparatively high frequency of Rho (cDe) chromosome, characteristic of other African populations south of the Sahara, is also present among the Kanuri.(1)

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162 The Kanuri are sedentary agriculturalists and live in various sized settlements scattered homogeneously throughout the Emirate. In their language they distinguish three kinds of settlements primarily on the basis of size. The largest category, birni (city) refers to centers of population containing 12,000 to 15,000 and over. Besides Maiguguri, the capital, there are only two or three other centers of such large proportion. Villages (bala) form the most numerous category and vary in population from a few hundred to about ten thousand. The last category, hamlets (baladea), contain from fifteen to twenty up to several hundred. For political purposes and the gathering of national census data hamlets are lumped in with villages and called village areas. This makes it difficult to tell from census data what proportion of the population of these village areas live in the village itself as compared with the number living in the surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. Village area tax rolls from one district (Magumeri) indicate that about one-half the population listed for any village area actually live in hamlets around the village included in its jurisdictional area.

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[361] At first sight the Bornu countryside appears to be quite thickly populated. When travelling through the bush on horseback or truck, settlements and their encircling farms follow one another after intervals of bushland with unending regularity. This first impression is misleading however for most of the area is uncultivated, unpopulated bushland and the population density is only forty to sixty per square mile. This conclusion

(1) Chalmers J.N.M. and others; THE ABO, MNS and Rh Blood Groups of the Nigerians, Eugenics (London) 17, 3, 168-176, 1953.

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103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road, Magumeri is the name of
• 162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

361 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a
621 U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
Oss the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

595 iram to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-iram), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

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[589]

Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are a-typical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of the population than is commonly the case. The following table on number of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Nguburu, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

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[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

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five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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[128]

Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 885 562 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 [561] One of the interesting functional results of having an extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the [165] availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of [162] argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

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(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

582
162 This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygy-
121 nous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

Maturity

885 The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184] A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.
[831] When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as gairo (any person who has not been married,

829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. variety). Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi dea (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor.(1)

177 The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders. [162] Although the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres. 162 Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward; 563 slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Geidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

(1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

162 563 capital, has, besides all these, a large Arab-speaking population from the Near East and the Sudan as well as the European Reservation for commercial and government personnel.

563 829 In this situation of constant confrontation and to some extent interaction with other ethnic groups, evaluation of status by ethnic membership takes place. The Kanuri vary widely in their disposition to rank own-group as having the highest status among all the other peoples that they are in contact with or about whom they have any information. Almost universally Europeans are accorded high status (sometimes higher than own-group) as an ethnic group. This stems from their superior political and economic positions as administrators and traders. Thus, informants, unless they are well travelled or sophisticated city dwellers, are shocked and surprised to hear that there are prisons in England which house murderers, thieves and scoundrels, or that there are people in England who can be classed as labourers. In their eyes and experience, Englishmen have never been low status persons. Indeed one of the common expressions among the peasants is "Nasara Mai" (Europeans are kings). One informant, during a discussion of religious edicts on morality and the relation of these to the practicalities of everyday life, interjected a surprising comment on the relation of morality to life. He claimed that the only true Muslims in the world were Englishmen, since they were the only people who ever told the truth.

The Arabas (i.e. Arabic speakers, with the exception of the Shuwa nomads) like the Europeans, have very little but formal social con-
[826] tacts with the Kanuri and are highly rated as an ethnic group. The Arab facial features and skin colour are the models for what is the most attractive and pleasing (therefore the ideal Kanuri) physical types. The

556 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1)
565
829 The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be
369 a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic
[166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban
[103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var-
[241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

In Maiduguri, there
443 is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles
[698] all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Nguru. In Magumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Magumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage
[123] of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's
[435] "followers" (tada njima) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

[162] In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Geidam and Nguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open
[805] every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 During 1956-7 the Agricultural Officer of Bornu Province was a Kanuri who had studied tropical agriculture in Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and India. He was very enthusiastic about the introduction of citrus crops into the area, and spent a large part of his time helping to get this programme under way in the southern part of the province. He was also interested in introducing super-phosphate fertilizer into the agricultural practices of Kanuri cultivators to increase the yield of millet and groundnuts.

241 The average yields for the province using traditional techniques are approximately 600 lbs. of groundnuts (decorticated) and 400 lbs. of millet (threshed) per acre. The yields diminish as one travels north towards the desert, and farm sizes increase in proportion, although farm size is also dependent upon family size, marriage stability, and the socio-economic relations of the cultivator within the community (Cohen, 1959). Research has [242] proven that the use of super-phosphate fertilizer can raise agricultural productivity in Bornu from 25% to 40% above that normally obtained with traditional growing techniques.

Two methods of planting crops are known. The bulk of the farm plots for most cultivators are the *kulo karabe* or far farms.[1] These are located beyond a two hundred yard perimeter (approximately) around the village. Here crops are planted [221] a week or two after the first rains, hoed twice during the wet season, and harvested in the period from November to the end of December. In the *kulo fatobe* or near farms, within a two hundred yard perimeter around the village, and within the household itself, maize and vegetables are planted with compost, mostly from sheep, goats, horses, and burnt ashes. This is placed on the soil during planting, and may be applied again during the growing season. Sometimes the compost is put into the ground along with the seeds.

101 The following course of events was observed in Magumeri, [162] a comparatively small district capital (population 2000), forty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri, the provincial capital.

[1] Literally this expression means "bush farm," and *kulo fatobe* translated literally would be "house farm." For purposes of descriptive convenience and accuracy, the writer has coined the phrases "near" and "far" farms.

[GEIDAM]

582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than [792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə [163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

GEIDAM

586 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had
565
554 more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the
463 lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalo yaskas have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

• 163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa

Number of Living Children

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554
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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning	597 565
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning	554
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning	463
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Kabuna	-		
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11	
	8		

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

163 163 165 [842] [164] 164 586 [842]

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586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164
• 163 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
[192] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
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ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
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that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
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child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

[GEIDAM]

Table XIb

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Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11
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mean number of children=1.33

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241
433 est factors affecting crop fluctuations from year to year. The seven cases of loss in crop which resulted from inattention to farm work because of other activities, refer mainly to economic pursuits, especially retail and wholesale trade, which took the man away from his household during the growing season. The one exception to this rule was a man who had been to Maiduguri with his family in order to fight a court case.

The table on occupation and crop production reveals the pattern of crop production among the various groups in the community. The increases and decreases in production give some measure of the amount of variation that may be expected from year to year. What follows is a discussion of the factors that affect this variation.

[164] The growing season is also a time of general biological in-
[136] crease in Bornu. The rain not only brings the blessing of fertility to the land, it also initiates a period of increased malaria, guinea worm and other plant and animal infestations, as well as the arrival of cattle nomads whose herds may stray into a cultivator's plots, and periodic hordes of locusts. These factors may at any time reduce a farmer's yield and add a constant element of uncertainty to his life. It is no wonder that prayers, charms, and divinatory practices are utilized in combination with the more "rational" agricultural techniques.

The amount of land under cultivation, and its location close to, or far away, from the settlement varies with the kind of primary occupational interest of the farm owner. This is easily seen in the table of average yields above, in which farmers and craftsmen have much larger yields than traders or religious and political specialists. These figures point up the fact that in Bornu a man's non-farming activities especially if they are in trade, politics or religion, tend to impinge

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

431 this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no hus-
851 bands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

• 165 It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable
754 reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the
782 result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their new-
182 born infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

553 Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is per-
[562] formed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground mil-
[431] let flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women
[302] sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his
[305] young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and
[304] then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness
[302] of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

[GEIDAM]

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882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 885 562 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 [561] [165] [162] One of the interesting functional results of having an extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced.

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan.

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge.

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*walasi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate.

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to anotner village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

578 632 689 692 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

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One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

[166] [651]

near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is considerable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of younger people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

h. The Family.

As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

101
103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road, Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

361 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a
621 U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
000 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

175
648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
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632 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

[178] Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

[166] The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilization by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organisation, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Magumeri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

556 565 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1)
829 The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be
369 a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic
[166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban
[103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var-
[241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

571 In 1953 one of these full-time
621 gworongo farmers whose holdings were somewhat above the average, moved
166 his household three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Gworongo Hamlet to be closer to his fields.(1) With him he took his two wives and a younger brother and his wife. The younger brother also had fields at this spot through inheritance. Two sons moved as well. One has since left to go and live with his father's brother in Maiduguri, and one was preparing for a patrilocal marriage in 1957. A stranger to Gworongo Hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the 1953 settlement. He had no wife at the time and reports that he asked the original mover if he might build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals with its head. For this hospitality he helped mend the owner's bramble fences on the gworongo plots, repaired household fences and huts, and sometimes gathered grass for the senior's horse. He has since married (with some financial help in the form of a loan and a gift from the settlement head) and is not a
62 settled member of the new community-in-the-becoming. All residents of this new settlement look upon the founder as its senior member, and when he dies his son (in the settlement) will take over the headship. Disputes between members are always taken to the senior for settlement before going to any higher authorities (which has never been done), while disputes with outsiders follow the general rule of going first to a pol-
621 itical leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not yet have a name; however, in all likelihood, if it continues to grow and expand it will be called Aji or Ajiri after the original founder whose name is Aji.

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(1) This is the reason given by the farmer himself. Local gossip has it that he had quarrelled with the Hamlet Head of Gworongo over taxes.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

2

History

Kanem-Bornu: The Historical Background

121 THIS BOOK is primarily an account of the way of life of a contemporary African people. However this particular group, unlike many others in Africa or elsewhere, has an ancient and well-documented history. The fact that such materials are available also means that we can observe the kingdom as it developed through time and obtain some appreciation for its continuity and change as one of the oldest political powers in Africa. I have therefore tried to bring together in summary form an account of Bornu history and its political development during the last millenium of southern Saharan history. In terms of the overall ethnolgraphic task it is important to realize that it is within this historical stream that the [814] contemporary way of life has come to be what it is. Indeed one of the most salient facts about Kanuri culture is the pride the people feel in their history; they believe that one cannot know them unless there is at the same time some understanding of their past. In order to do this I have written first an outline of the major events of this history, then analyzed the political development of the kingdom as it evolved through time. The details of the present political system are then taken up again in Chapter 6.

173 Kanuri legends all take the Bornu kingdom back to the north and northeast
• 169 of Lake Chad to the ancient kingdom of Kanem and before that to Yemen. Like many peoples of West Africa as far removed from one another as the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fulani of Futa Djallon in Guinea, Kanuri traditions suggest that they as a people come originally from Yemen. It is said that a migrant Yemenite noble named Sef founded the royal dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa. There is very little doubt that the ancient dynasty of the Sefuwa has been in fact the ruling line in Kanem-Bornu for over a thousand years. However, there is very little evidence except for the legend itself to support the theory that the Kanuri or their ancient leaders originate in Yemen.

121 The problem of studying human origins scientifically is a fascinating one, but there are many pitfalls and a keen taste for skepticism is a primary requirement. The rules of the game are, however, quite easy. Simply ask what valid facts

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu. 175 648 167

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[5] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty. 173 648 688 [669] 174 648

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire. 174 643 174 167 648

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota- 175 643 [614] [648]

[5] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
[563] Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them cor-
[579] rect, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

175 complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and os-
567 trich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sa-
839 hara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

175 Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the
636 west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and
175 powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into
167 the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa
175 territory. In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose
721 up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

175 The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks
439 was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

648 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[931] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

a 167 563 177 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and are numerous in the western sections of the province. In similar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[463] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

[GEIDAM]

632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serakin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dagara, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

[GEIDAM]

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
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• 167 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
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called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kərdi), and mem-
621
563 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
177 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[273] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
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[243] have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
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[GEIDAM]

175 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from
634 Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kaigama Zubairu.

175 Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa kabuna who came
634 into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who
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[167] entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. However, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili), their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were "Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab, who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar (son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house, with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu", so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the position of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Laminu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

159 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary
634 school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and Vac-
554 cinater in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District, where he resided first at Ngəlzerma and later at Damagum. At that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

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out of a very highly taxed District.[1] The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilisation by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.[2] He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organisation, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Magumeri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged. 175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village. 175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

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439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
175 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The
436 government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
175 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who
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452 then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies
441 were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europe-
452 ans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of
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[167] Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

554 829 [789] (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witchcraft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 829 441 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is not their own, and then they give the money to the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 [558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in [775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 554 577 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 463 [167] The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders, often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

174 184 563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
• 17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

173 614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[65] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

361 Everyone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 361 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their [622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is [788] always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev- [443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

• 171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. [302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their [291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts [231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as [554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to 197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of [193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the [195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his ooo obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, 195
so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected supe- 576
rior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other 197
areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most [178] Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading through- [191] out all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri ori- 178
gin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic 177
features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related 302
ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash 412
carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are 531
tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life 171 •
are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one 304
ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not 171
significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 114
1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and [01]
hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my un- [121]
derstanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to
[174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

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692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

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779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[463] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
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779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
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368 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
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463 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
171 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more
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611 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems
171 to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be re-
182 duced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 The most important social unit determined by kinship is
595 the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a
587 statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

171 602 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers (1) for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system.

602 433 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent system would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organisation for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 571 [433] A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organisation of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organisation in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her relatives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. [591] The custom [572] of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organization with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents, will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for pol-
125 itical reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

58 little sweetheart and keep her until he (the informant) was grown adult enough to have her as a wife for himself. Because the bridewealth was in the range of X's family resources, X's parents decided, after having the idea suggested to them by the informant, to obtain the informant's "intended" for their son. Needless to say, they knew nothing of the informant's long term plan to marry the girl eventually himself. When the informant was nineteen or twenty, his little childhood girl friend divorced X and married him. The informant did not know whether X ever managed to marry the girl of his own childhood dreams, but thinks he did.

58 183 This rather extreme example is interesting for its illustration of how individuals growing up within a certain social structure can often work out arrangements whereby they skirt round the requirements of their culture, yet manage to maintain the system as a set of rules. The Kanuri recognize that all marriages cannot simply be lasting agreements made between groups of individuals comprised almost entirely of males, especially in Bornu where divorce is so simple and all relationships have a brittle edge.

587 The final stage in independence is reached in the last variety of marriage, ayia kolatabe (marriage of discovery), which by its very nature is confined to non-virgin women. This is the most widespread form of marriage among the population, becoming common after the woman has had her first divorce (or second in some high ranking households). Informants claimed that in this type of marriage, "There is no arrangement, you only meet the woman somewhere and decide to marry her." [171] Some Kanuri equated it with the Hausa tsintuna or propertyless marriage, i.e. where the kin are not involved either in the decision to marry or the exchange of property. There is, however, a bridewealth payment by the husband-to-be which is paid to the woman herself, and the marriage is still solemnized at a sada'ż ceremony as at all weddings.

586 Nevertheless the incidence of divorce is very high and only exceptional women marry as virgins and remain married all their lives to the same man, while practically all men divorce a wife at least once in their lives. The average figure is about three to four divorces per person (from qualitative observation and genealogical records) during a life span. The reasons given for divorce run the complete gamut of dissatisfaction that a man and a woman can complain of in their relations with one another.(1) Furthermore divorce is very easy to institute, being merely an act of personal will by either partner to the marriage.

[692] A great many divorces are practised without resort to the formal proceedings of the Alkalai court. The woman leaves her husband's compound taking her property with her and returns (traditionally) to her luwali's (guardian) household, which usually means her parents. As we have said before, this is not always the case in later marriages. If the husband wants her back, he sends an intermediary to the house to which she has returned to plead his case. If he does not, then an intermediary may be sent from the house to which the girl has gone. This latter procedure is much less usual, since the girl's family is traditionally of higher status, and it is customary for the lower status group to visit the higher and not vice versa. If no intermediaries are used it is assumed that both parties desire a divorce, or if they are used and fail to obtain a reconciliation, then [627] divorce follows. If any adjudication is required in the proceedings, [692] it is most commonly carried on by relatives, friends, ward heads and town heads.

[171] (1) c.f. Smith, M.G., op.cit. (1955) (p.63). Smith gives a list of complaints obtained from Hausa court records of divorce. All of his list of sixty-three complaints are applicable to Kanuri court proceedings on divorce.

563 829 place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

[198] [171] Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somewhat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Maguneri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name. [551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

178 463 554 [184] ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 463 554 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 554 [171] It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). (1) The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

556 foolish, and call persons who behave this way wujirma. On the other
533 hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to
(171) praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shehu, is perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status.(1)

556 The optimum use of wealth is described as kîre. The kan kîre (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the kan kîre.

556 The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of
571 balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefactors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants. Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of persons who would willingly become his tada or tada njima (his boy, his son, his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", You are powerful", "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "Wuro she" (Give to

(1) See Smith, M.G. The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing, Africa, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.

is not perceived by them as being in conflict with their lack of direct power and authority in the state.

The result of this coordination of lower statuses into a peasant-commoner class and high statuses into a ruling upper class is the differentiation of Kanuri society into two broad sub-division, that of the upper and the lower classes. Language, wealth, power and authority, occupations, manners and etiquette all differ within these two large divisions. The differences are not, however, either/or distinctions. They can be seen as a large number of recognizable signs which tend to place the person higher or lower on a scale of class attributes. It is at this point that class, or rather its cultural characteristics, become not just a segmentation of society into large units, but a dimension of status. This process occurs through the simulation of class attributes, generally in an upward direction. For in Bornu, the appearance of upper class membership enhances an individual in his own eyes and those of his fellows.(1) Thus the acquisition of items of upper class culture, such as large flowing light-coloured robes, or a fine horse, or many supporters and subordinates, or more elegant manners and speech, give a man higher status. But it is the dimensions of social stratification discussed above, rather than these cultural expressions, which are the underlying conditions for status. Thus if a person does not have a high status occupation, or is not of a sedentary Muslim tribe, or possess real wealth that he uses properly, or behave in all the other ways necessary for him to obtain high status, then the acquisition of some items of upper class culture merely constitute some blurring and

[114] [171] (1) Nadel, S.F. A Black Byzantium (1947) and The Concept of Social Elites, UNESCO Bull. of Social Science, Number 8 (1956) has made this same point for Nupe, and on a theoretical level as a characteristic of elites in general, i.e. that they are copied by the rest of the population.

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[171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

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562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

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562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

173
554
562 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a
571 total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems
[511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarizes the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX

Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance
44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid 177 [148] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [779] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 567 [439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

[GEIDAM]

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
[137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[36] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

2

History

Kanem-Bornu: The Historical Background

121

THIS BOOK is primarily an account of the way of life of a contemporary African people. However this particular group, unlike many others in Africa or elsewhere, has an ancient and well-documented history. The fact that such materials are available also means that we can observe the kingdom as it developed through time and obtain some appreciation for its continuity and change as one of the oldest political powers in Africa. I have therefore tried to bring together in summary form an account of Bornu history and its political development during the last millenium of southern Saharan history. In terms of the overall ethnolgraphic task it is important to realize that it is within this historical stream that the contemporary way of life has come to be what it is. Indeed one of the most salient facts about Kanuri culture is the pride the people feel in their history; they believe that one cannot know them unless there is at the same time some understanding of their past. In order to do this I have written first an outline of the major events of this history, then analyzed the political development of the kingdom as it evolved through time. The details of the present political system are then taken up again in Chapter 6.

[814]

173 169

Kanuri legends all take the Bornu kingdom back to the north and northeast of Lake Chad to the ancient kingdom of Kanem and before that to Yemen. Like many peoples of West Africa as far removed from one another as the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fulani of Futa Djallon in Guinea, Kanuri traditions suggest that they as a people come originally from Yemen. It is said that a migrant Yemenite noble named Sef founded the royal dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa. There is very little doubt that the ancient dynasty of the Sefuwa has been in fact the ruling line in Kanem-Bornu for over a thousand years. However, there is very little evidence except for the legend itself to support the theory that the Kanuri or their ancient leaders originate in Yemen.

121

The problem of studying human origins scientifically is a fascinating one, but there are many pitfalls and a keen taste for skepticism is a primary requirement. The rules of the game are, however, quite easy. Simply ask what valid facts

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are available, then try for the best explanation knowing that new facts will very probably force a change in the historical picture you have created to best explain the facts. The greater the number of facts, the fewer the possible number of different historical interpretations that can be applied to any particular case. With these rules in mind let us examine briefly what facts are at hand to help us with Kanuri origins.

First of all we have the Kanuri legends themselves which state that they came originally from Yemen—a legend they share with most of the Muslim people of the western Sudan. Let us call this the local theory and come back to it after considering other available facts. Subsistence farming and cattle keeping came into the area of the central and western Sahara about 5000 years ago, as evidenced by a number of archaeological sites in the area. At that time the Tibesti region north of Lake Chad was much wetter and the lake itself was enormous. It stretched well into the Sahara desert, especially into a region just south of the Tibesti known as the Bodele depression, which even today is well below the present level of Lake Chad itself. People settled in this region and utilized both domesticated plants and animals for their basic means of subsistence. Since that time, however, there has been a steady desiccation of the central Sahara which has dried up the Tibesti and the Bodele depression while the water has retreated in a southwesterly direction towards the present site of Lake Chad. As late as 500 B.C. merchants from Carthage were voyaging to the Tibesti to trade with people who lived in a wet climate among crocodiles, hippopotami, and giraffes.[1] Certainly what evidence we have suggests a very ancient trade between the people of the entire Sahara and those of North Africa. This was much expanded by the introduction of the camel sometime in the first or second century A.D. which facilitated trade across much drier portions of desert and over much longer distances. If we add to this evidence the fact that the Kanuri language is related to the central Saharan group of languages—and these are as a group only very distantly related to all other African language families—then a picture or at least a theory begins to emerge.

The Neolithic agriculturalists in the southern Sahara were drawn further south between 1000 B.C. and 1000 A.D. as the waters of the desert began to recede southward.[2] As they moved southward they pulled the Saharan trade with them, and competition among groups in the Chad basin produced some differences in power and recognized status among clans who lived in the area. Leading lineages within these clans began to unite to govern the activities of clan members until finally the various clans formed loose federations with a leading clan and its leading lineage as the royal or kingly one.[3]

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[1] See Rhys Carpenter, "A Trans-Saharan Caravan Route in Herodotus," *Journal of American Archaeology*, Vol. 60, 1956, pp. 231–42.

[2] This process was also occurring in another area of "desert capture," the upper Niger bend where desert wet regions north of the river receded towards the south. The Niger itself bends into the Sahara, because like the Chad basin there are lowlands to the north of the great bend. Thus it is no accident that the Chad basin and the upper Niger bend have witnessed some of the earliest developments of centralized states in the western Sudan—they were the two areas into which the people of the desert could most naturally and easily move as desiccation proceeded.

[3] In his book on Bunyoro, John Beattie very concisely defines a lineage as "all the descendants in one line (that is, either through males only or through females only) of a particular person through a specified number of generations. It differs from a *clan* in that while usually all the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

173 Given the fact that very many of the Muslim peoples of West Africa have legends concerning their origins in the Near East and often more specifically in Yemen, we can, I believe, think of the local origin theory as a mythical genesis story that is part of a widespread cultural heritage of the Muslim people of West Africa, likening it in this way to western stories about the Garden of Eden. On the other hand we do have "hard" linguistic evidence that the Kanuri people are related to peoples of the central Sahara northeast of Bornu. We also have very suggestive evidence from the geographic history that relates the people speaking these languages to one another and gives us grounds for positing immigration into the Chad basin and an increasing population density in the area. The exact details of this theory are matters for future research, but the major conclusion which places the origin of the Kanuri in the central Sahara seems to be a valid one.

174

At any rate, by the end of the first millennium A.D. the Muslim world outside the Sudan knew of the existence of Kanem, a sovereign state due south of Tripoli on the southern rim of the Sahara. Local traditions associated with the king lists (these have been collected periodically since 1850) assert that Islam came at least to the rulers of Kanem in the eleventh century. According to the traditions an eleventh-century Mai or king is supposed to have died in Egypt on his way to Mecca. Certainly by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Kanem became a well-known state in the Islamic world. Trans-Saharan commerce was completely controlled, garrisons were built to protect the trade routes, and treaty relations were established with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis. In the mid-thirteenth century a travelers' house for Kanem pilgrims was constructed in Cairo so that they might have proper accommodation while on the long journey to Mecca via Egypt. At the other extreme of the Islamic world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was renowned in the court of El Mansur (1190–1214 A.D.) in Seville for his praise songs of the Sultan. This was a great period of Islamic civilization and Kanem played its part in that florescence.

175

175 648 From the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century a period of dark ages befell the kingdom. This is sometimes referred to as "the time of troubles." The dynastic chronicles indicate this period by including a great many rulers all holding sway for very short periods. The kingdom seems to have become a tempestuous stage for civil wars within and continuous attack from without. A letter to Cairo from this period has turned up, sent by a Kanem ruler, asking that the Caliph of Egypt send word to Sudanese Arabs who were helping Wadai to the east of Kanem raid amongst the people of Kanem for slaves even though such actions are considered to be against the precepts of Islam, since one must not raid for slaves amongst other Muslim peoples.[4] The main source of trouble is supposed to have come from one particular group—the Bulala. These people were either an allied subordinate tribe or a clan whose leading lineage had split off from the Kanem royal line and had then grown in its independence and power until its leaders challenged the Kanem control of the kingdom.

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members of a lineage know exactly how they are related to all the other members of it, and together, they often form a corporate group, clan members may not be able to trace genealogical links with other clan members, and often clansfolk are widely dispersed." See John Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 3.

[113]

[4] See R. H. Palmer, *Bornu, Sahara, and Sudan*, (London: John Murray, 1936), p. 195.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu.

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[5] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty.

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota-

[5] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631 selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[567] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
[554] eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
642

174 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

173 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense
614 to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[65] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

173 614 613 from Yemen, consequently the dynasty of the Mais of Bornu is referred to as the Sef dynasty. There are twelve such sub-jilis within the jili Magumi. If within the sub-jili Sef a man should arise to great power and importance, his future descendants would refer to him as the ancestor of their sub-sub-jili (lineage) of the sub-jili Sef. One informant, who is Kanembu (but culturally Kanuri), gave the following pedigree: Kanembu, jili Kuvuri, sub-jili Kongana, sub-sub-jili Malam Shia. Malam Shia was an important historic personage who is considered to be the founder of the lineage which bears his name.

173 643 614 The Sef dynasty came to an end after the Fulani invasions, and Shehu Laminu established the line of the present Shehus though he himself never ruled as king. Shehu Laminu was Kanembu, of the jili Kuvuri. He was followed into Bornu by a number of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, with their retinue, who assisted [178] him in driving back the Fulani. Shehu Laminu was instrumental in further reducing the role of the jilis by appointing a Shetima Kanuribe (Shetima is a noble title) as head of all the Kanuri, replacing the various heads of the jilis; he did the same for the Shuwas under him.

614 178 Today everyone knows his own jili, and the jili of his parents, which may and usually does differ, but the jili no longer performs any social function. Few people can give their sub-jili. [643] Many of the jilis today have a nominal head. The present Shehu is obviously head of all the Kanembu Kuvuri. The head of the Kanuri Magumi is the former Waziri Ibranim. The Shetima Kanuribe

174 133 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal swamps. Carpenter[1] feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fezzan rather than the Niger that Etearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems reasonable to suppose that as these enormous wet lands dried up central Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated more densely in this geographically favourable area.

175 Until more historical and archeological research has been carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanciful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings".[2]

175 797 Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D. speaks of the people of Kanem as idolators.[3] However it is most likely that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king) Hume (1085-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu.[4]

[173] [177] Urvoy feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributaries.[5] Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies

175 642 already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Rhys, op.cit. p. 239.
(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857, p. 643.
(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.
(4) Urvoy, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.
(5) Urvoy, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IFAN, 7, 1949, p.36

175 642 [131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central 175 648 Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli.(1) Friendship was contracted with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli [779] as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time.(2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo.(3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Ishah al Kanemi".(4)

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travellers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones.(5)

173 669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

(1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit.Vol.II, p. 641.)
(2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
(3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
(4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
(5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans.H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

• 173 669 ing fashion. The legend claims[1] that Dunama, the great 17th Mai of Kanem (1221-1259 A.D.) "laid the foundation for the ensuing disaster of the Empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu", for it (the talisman) called forth and provoked every powerful man to ambition and intrigues, and there followed after this reign a period of civil wars, and rapid changes in the monarchy, often involving regicide. It was at this time that the vassal state of the Bulala on the eastern boundary of Kanem grew towards an ever stronger independence, and finally toppled the Kanuri kingdom. We are told in the Chronicle translated by Barth that during the reign of the 27th Mai, Daud (1377-1386 A.D.) the Kanuri were decisively [131] beaten by the Bulala.[2] By 1394 A.D., the 31st Mai, Omar (1394-1398 A.D.) finally gave up Kanem and came to Bornu proper to set up a kingdom in retreat somewhere between the present city of Maiduguri and the town of Gujba.

There followed a period of unrest and internal strife for about 75 years, during which many kings took the throne and were in turn overthrown or murdered. The kingdom was in a constant state of civil war 175 648 within and set upon by enemies from without. Palmer[3] in his researches has found references to a letter sent at this time to Cairo from the Kanuri monarch, asking the Caliph to order the Arabs of Wadai to stop helping the Bulala raid amongst the Kanuri for slaves, since they (the Kanuri) were all good Muslims, and not infidels to be treated as potential slaves for the taking. More evidence of the "Sturm und Drang" quality of the period is indicated by the fact that a Mai of this time lived away from Bornu in the Hausa city of Kano which had been in the past a vassal state of the Kanuri empire.

(1) Barth, H., op. cit. Vol. II; King list, pp 633-671.
(2) Ibid; p. 634.
(3) Palmer, R. The Bornu Sahara and Sudan, (London) 1936, p. 218

175
643 Bornu in the 1820's.(1)

In 1835 Shehu Laminu retired and his son Umar (1835-1880) took over the effective headship of the Bornu state. Like his father, he attempted to maintain and expand the kingdom, while keeping the old Mai
175 on the throne. During one of Umar's western campaigns against Zinder,
669 the puppet Mai, Ibrahim appealed to Wadai for help in restoring him as the
721 rightful ruler of Bornu against the Kanembu Shehu who had usurped the power. Umar returned from his Zinder campaign to find himself being attacked from the east by Wadai. Hearing of the Mai's instigation of this aggression, Umar put the puppet ruler in irons and tried to fight the Wadai forces at Logone, south of Lake Chad, but he was soundly defeated. Kuka was sacked, and the Wadai leader put Ali the young brother of the Mai on the throne. Umar, in high dudgeon, executed Ibrahim and bribed the Wadai forces to withdraw from Bornu. The young Ali and his small following were now attacked and defeated, during which encounter Ali lost his life. And
[643] so ended the dynasty of the Hagumi Sefuwa of Bornu. Shehu Umar declared himself the sole ruler of Bornu and rebuilt the city of Kuka which Barth
173 visited in the 1850's. Local tradition marks this occasion by telling how
643 Shehu Umar was the first of the Bornu monarchs ever to sit on a chair.
644 Before this time leaders had always sat on rugs. It is also related of him that he took a member of the royal family, Ali Mairami, who was the son of a daughter of Mai Dunama (1810-1818), (i.e. he was not in line for the succession) and made him a Maisuli or joking king, who could joke with and chastise the Shehu in a manner prohibited to anyone else. This practice is still carried on today by the descendant of Ali Mairami in the court of the Shehu at Maiduguri.

(1) Denham, Dr. Clapperton H. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1826.

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With minor disturbances, including one by the brother of Shehu Umar, in 1854, the Bornu kingdom maintained itself in a fairly stable condition, throughout the reign of Umar, and even afterwards during the reign of his son Bukr (1880-4). However, trouble was soon to come from the east.

In the Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur region of the present independent Sudan, an adventurer named Rabeh was slave raiding under the power of the first Egyptian governor of the Bahr, named Zubeyr,(1) in the 70's and early 80's. However Zubeyr's son Stiman headed a rebellion against Egyptian authority and was defeated, and his army disbanded. A remnant of this force headed westward under Rabeh who transformed this band of freebooters and pillagers into a disciplined army which, in the late 80's under the banners of the Mahdi, terrorized the Bahr el Ghazal, conquered
175 Wadai, and defeated the Baghirmi kingdom east of Chad. In 1893, he engaged
721 the Bornu army near Ngala and vanquished it. Whereupon he entered a defeat-
727 ed Bornu and literally raped the countryside. From 1893-6, he despoiled the entire area, putting to death many of the leading [illegible]s in Bornu who opposed him, and tried to spread his conquest as far [illegible]t as possible. In this latter effort he was checked by a union of western forces and
175 refugee Kanuri at the present site of Geidam in northwest Bornu. After
643 1896 from his capital at Dikwa, Rabeh seems to have attempted a consolidation of the kingdom and due to these efforts at administration a more
[173] moderate policy was followed. Nevertheless, his rule is remembered in Bornu
[661] today as the blackest period of their history. Old men are still alive who tell of the pillaging, burning, slave-raiding, killing and excessive extortion of the peasants, that was carried on during the "Rabeh period."

(1) c.f. Balfour-Paul, H.G. History and Antiquities of Darfur; Sudan Antiquities Service, Museum Pamphlet #3 Khartoum, 1955.

175 631 [173] Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing continuity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organised as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the Shehu.

175 631 642 An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu.(1) Tomlinson found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants.(2) Being a stranger in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced. Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as possible to consolidate his power.

173 634 [562] Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were, as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants in residence at the fief.

173 651 The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of two separate levies. One, the binèmram collected in binèm (winter) was the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

(1) Tomlinson, F.J.F. Report of Nganzai District; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
(2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
[792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
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175 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
726 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabah
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

173 701 cause its soldiers were peasant subjects and rural followers of fief holders, whose homes were not in the capital but out in the Bornu countryside. In the pre-19th century military system, each of the four regional military leaders (the Yuroma, Mustrema, Kaiguma, and Yerima) had under him a force of Kachellas, each of which in turn headed up a regiment of foot-soldiers and cavalry.

175 727 Very often a diplomatic Bornu ruler, after having defeated his enemy in battle would assess the situation and try to decide whether or not the chief of the opposing side (if Muslim) was worth keeping. If not he was executed. But very often the rebel or enemy leader was humbled, then raised up after a defeat and encouraged to become a loyal vassal of the King of Bornu.

175 643 703 726 It is also interesting to note that at least part of the morale of Shehu Laminu's army resided in the general belief in his supernatural powers as a military leader. The night before the battle witnessed by Denham it was reported that Laminu had written charms (verses from the Koran) and his enemies' spears and arrows were blunted and found so in the morning by their owners on the day of battle. Laminu was extremely anxious that Denham set off a rocket for him on the night before the battle, presumably for the same reason.

War itself was highly organized. The maintenance of the state required elaborate rituals and ceremonies to dramatize militarism, and the belief in the supernatural power of the leader or his religious associates helped maintain the morale of the army, which was also goaded on by a comprehensive system of sharing in the plunder. However, this tended to create for the average citizen an areal mobility not usually associated 175 721 with peasant life in Africa. A man might return from the wars to his village on the borders of the state to find no village, nor wife, nor home,

565 [171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

114 562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

554 562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

173 554 562 571 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Mairam, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Mairam (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are available, then try for the best explanation knowing that new facts will very probably force a change in the historical picture you have created to best explain the facts. The greater the number of facts, the fewer the possible number of different historical interpretations that can be applied to any particular case. With these rules in mind let us examine briefly what facts are at hand to help us with Kanuri origins.

First of all we have the Kanuri legends themselves which state that they came originally from Yemen—a legend they share with most of the Muslim people of the western Sudan. Let us call this the local theory and come back to it after considering other available facts. Subsistence farming and cattle keeping came into the area of the central and western Sahara about 5000 years ago, as evidenced by a number of archaeological sites in the area. At that time the Tibesti region north of Lake Chad was much wetter and the lake itself was enormous. It stretched well into the Sahara desert, especially into a region just south of the Tibesti known as the Bodele depression, which even today is well below the present level of Lake Chad itself. People settled in this region and utilized both domesticated plants and animals for their basic means of subsistence. Since that time, however, there has been a steady desiccation of the central Sahara which has dried up the Tibesti and the Bodele depression while the water has retreated in a southwesterly direction towards the present site of Lake Chad. As late as 500 B.C. merchants from Carthage were voyaging to the Tibesti to trade with people who lived in a wet climate among crocodiles, hippopotami, and giraffes.[1] Certainly what evidence we have suggests a very ancient trade between the people of the entire Sahara and those of North Africa. This was much expanded by the introduction of the camel sometime in the first or second century A.D. which facilitated trade across much drier portions of desert and over much longer distances. If we add to this evidence the fact that the Kanuri language is related to the central Saharan group of languages—and these are as a group only very distantly related to all other African language families—then a picture or at least a theory begins to emerge.

The Neolithic agriculturalists in the southern Sahara were drawn further south between 1000 B.C. and 1000 A.D. as the waters of the desert began to recede southward.[2] As they moved southward they pulled the Saharan trade with them, and competition among groups in the Chad basin produced some differences in power and recognized status among clans who lived in the area. Leading lineages within these clans began to unite to govern the activities of clan members until finally the various clans formed loose federations with a leading clan and its leading lineage as the royal or kingly one.[3]

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[1] See Rhys Carpenter, "A Trans-Saharan Caravan Route in Herodotus," *Journal of American Archaeology*, Vol. 60, 1956, pp. 231–42.

[2] This process was also occurring in another area of "desert capture," the upper Niger bend where desert wet regions north of the river receded towards the south. The Niger itself bends into the Sahara, because like the Chad basin there are lowlands to the north of the great bend. Thus it is no accident that the Chad basin and the upper Niger bend have witnessed some of the earliest developments of centralized states in the western Sudan—they were the two areas into which the people of the desert could most naturally and easily move as desiccation proceeded.

[3] In his book on Bunyoro, John Beattie very concisely defines a lineage as "all the descendants in one line (that is, either through males only or through females only) of a particular person through a specified number of generations. It differs from a *clan* in that while usually all the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

173 Given the fact that very many of the Muslim peoples of West Africa have legends concerning their origins in the Near East and often more specifically in Yemen, we can, I believe, think of the local origin theory as a mythical genesis story that is part of a widespread cultural heritage of the Muslim people of West Africa, likening it in this way to western stories about the Garden of Eden. On the 174 other hand we do have "hard" linguistic evidence that the Kanuri people are related to peoples of the central Sahara northeast of Bornu. We also have very suggestive evidence from the geographic history that relates the people speaking these languages to one another and gives us grounds for positing immigration into the Chad basin and an increasing population density in the area. The exact details of this theory are matters for future research, but the major conclusion which places the origin of the Kanuri in the central Sahara seems to be a valid one.

At any rate, by the end of the first millennium A.D. the Muslim world outside the Sudan knew of the existence of Kanem, a sovereign state due south of Tripoli on the southern rim of the Sahara. Local traditions associated with the king lists (these have been collected periodically since 1850) assert that Islam came at least to the rulers of Kanem in the eleventh century. According to the traditions an eleventh-century Mai or king is supposed to have died in Egypt on his 175 way to Mecca. Certainly by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Kanem became a well-known state in the Islamic world. Trans-Saharan commerce was completely controlled, garrisons were built to protect the trade routes, and treaty relations were established with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis. In the mid-thirteenth century a travelers' house for Kanem pilgrims was constructed in Cairo so that they might have proper accommodation while on the long journey to Mecca via Egypt. At the other extreme of the Islamic world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was renowned in the court of El Mansur (1190–1214 A.D.) in Seville for his praise songs of the Sultan. This was a great period of Islamic civilization and Kanem played its part in that florescence.

175 648 From the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century a period of dark ages befell the kingdom. This is sometimes referred to as "the time of troubles." The dynastic chronicles indicate this period by including a great many rulers all holding sway for very short periods. The kingdom seems to have become a tempestuous stage for civil wars within and continuous attack from without. A letter to Cairo from this period has turned up, sent by a Kanem ruler, asking that the Caliph of Egypt send word to Sudanese Arabs who were helping Wadai to the east of Kanem raid amongst the people of Kanem for slaves even though such actions are considered to be against the precepts of Islam, since one must not raid for slaves amongst other Muslim peoples.[4] The main source of trouble is supposed to have come from one particular group—the Bulala. These people were either an allied subordinate tribe or a clan whose leading lineage had split off from the Kanem royal line and had then grown in its independence and power until its leaders challenged the Kanem control of the kingdom.

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members of a lineage know exactly how they are related to all the other members of it, and together, they often form a corporate group, clan members may not be able to trace genealogical links with other clan members, and often clansfolk are widely dispersed." See John Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 3. [113]

[4] See R. H. Palmer, *Bornu, Sahara, and Sudan*, (London: John Murray, 1936), p. 195.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu. 175 648 167

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[5] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty. 173 648 688 [669] 174 648

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire. 174 643 174 167 648

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota- 175 643 [614] [648]

[5] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to [174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

602 younger brother (karami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The karami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

• 174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Kobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
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[197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

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563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

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614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

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177 been left out of the historical accounts of the area or have been played down so considerably that the reader finds it easy to forget that the Sudan is geographically adjacent to the Guinea coast. Lady Lugard[1] set the style for this kind of thinking when she described the Sudan as "facing north". Yet the gold, the slaves, and the lowly kola-nut, which became popular as an article of consumption from Kano to Tripoli, all required well established relationships and contacts between the peoples of the Sudan and those to the south of them from very early times.

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197 Evidence on the early beginning of the Kanuri people is scant. Linguistically they belong to the central Saharan group of languages which extends like a boot into modern northeastern Nigeria, but for the most part takes up the area of the central Sahara, reaching north to include a good portion of Fezzan, all of Tibesti, and stretching eastward in the desert until it meets the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, the so-called Hamito-Semitic group.[2] Greenberg comments on the distinctiveness of the central Saharan group of tongues, and we may safely attribute to them a
174 respectable time depth. Gautier[3] has shown that Lake Chad delivered water
133 into the Berku region in past times. According to another writer[4] the whole territory northeast of Lake Chad was a great swampy shallow area until the early centuries of the Christian era. This was maintained by the overflow through a river valley (the Bahr el Ghazal) which is now only a dry depression. The surplus Chad water still flows along this passage today beneath the soil. Less than a century ago, Nachtigal[5] saw the first

(1) Shaw, F.L. (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency (London), 1905, p.3.
(2) Greenberg, J.H., Studies in African Linguistic Classification: IV Hamito-Semetics, SWJ, 6, 1950.
(3) Gautier, E.F., Sahara the Great Desert, (London) 1935, pp.68-69.
(4) Tilho, J. in Geographic Journal LVI, 1920, quoted in Carpenter, Rhys, A Trans-Saharan Caravan route in Herodotus, Americal Journal of Archeology, Vol. 60, 1956, p. 240.
(5) Nachtigal, G., Sahara und Sudan, p. 77ff

174 133 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal swamps. Carpenter[1] feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fezzan rather than the Niger that Etearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems reasonable to suppose that as these enormous wet lands dried up central Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated more densely in this geographically favourable area.

175 Until more historical and archeological research has been carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanciful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings".[2]

175 797 Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D. speaks of the people of Kanem as idolators.[3] However it is most likely that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older [173] texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king) Hume (1085-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu.[4]

[177] Urvoy feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributaries.[5] Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies

175 642 already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Rhys, op.cit. p. 239.
(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857, p. 643.
(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.
(4) Urvoy, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.
(5) Urvoy, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IFAN, 7, 1949, p.36

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However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly
[103] in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Yo
[361] (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damasak and Geidam, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province.
[648] His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north-
[721] east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire
175 of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portugese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe sometime around the beginning of the 17th century.(1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of Timbuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.(2)

[721] When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have
174 fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.
(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara, London, 1933, p. 73

174 area before the arrival of the Kanuri. French workers claim that the Kotoko tribe who live today around the area of Fort Lamy are the contemporary descendants of the ancient So peoples, and French archeologists have been digging up "So" sites for some years.(1) Kanuri traditions speak of the So as "giants" whom they finally vanquished after suffering great tribulations. Many of the monarchs in the Bornu King lists are described as dying in battle against the So. The stories of these "giants" are not however confined to Kanuri traditions, but can be found all over the Chad area, and well up into the desert, especially around Bilma.(2) This last point suggests a hypothesis that the So were really not any one group of people but a linguistic category in the Central Sahara, referring to aboriginal inhabitants who opposed the incoming group, or, against whom "our" group had to fight in times gone by. To support this argument, there is the evidence that the word So is an Arab usage from the Maghreb, which refers generally to all dark skinned peoples of Tibesti and the Sudan.(3) When it is realized that the first writers of Kanuri history must have been able to speak Arabic, as well as having a knowledge of its script, it is not surprising that this North African word for the indigenous people of the Sudan should be carried down to the present day. This leads to the conclusion that any search for the So culture, using the traditions of the present day inhabitants, is doomed to disappointment, for it is most likely that there was not one, but many So cultures and peoples.

175 648 Soon after the founding of the city of Birni Gazargamo, Bornu achieved a florescence in its history. During this second zenith of the Kanuri empire, Bornu vied with Songhai as the most powerful of the great Sudanic states. Embassies were maintained at Tripoli and the Hausa states

(1) Seliquer Capitaine; Elements d'une Etude Archeologique du Pays du Tchad, Bull. IFAN, Vol. 7, 1945, pp.191-209.
(2) Buchanan, Angus; Sahara, quoted in Palmer, R. op. cit., p. 126.
(3) Bovill, W.E., op. cit. p.23.

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The political organization of the 19th century was almost completely overhauled by Rabeh. Fiefs were re-constructed with new boundaries and given to his own followers, while the old fief holders were often killed. But it should be stressed that complete chaos was not the rule of the day, as many writers have assumed. Rabeh was establishing a state under a new and alien leadership. It had been done by Laminu at the beginning of the 19th century, albeit with much less internal turbulence. It is most probable that had history given him the chance Rabeh would have founded the third dynasty of the Bornu empire and linked its relations much more closely to the east. It was European events that impaired the direction of this development. Rabeh's triumph and abortive attempt at empire building was cut short because in the European world the "scramble for Africa" had come to Nigeria and was rapidly closing in on the would-be king.

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The presence of a good sized literature on pre-British Bornu, including travellers's accounts, the extant collections of early Kanuri records, especially the historical writing of Ahmed ibn Fartua,(1) and the so-called "District Notebooks" of early 20th century British Colonial Officers who tried to reconstruct the pre-Rabeh political organization and tax structure of Bornu, enable us to say something about the life of the Emirate in its pre-European period. To this list of sources can be added the oral traditions of contemporary Kanuri, especially some of the older men in and around the Shehu's court.

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Very little remains at present (besides the archeological material) to record the life of Bornu in the early pre-Muslim days of the

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua; op. cit.

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642 kingdom. It is probable that the early state was organised as a group of clans, with one clan and a lineage within it as the ruling group. There is the possibility that this dominant group was an intrusive one, but this point has been so over-stressed with no substantiating data by other writers, that it would be wiser to leave it until sufficient archeological research has been done.

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829 After the move to Bornu and the founding of the capital of Birni Gazargamo we have some contemporary data with which to assess the life of the times. Ibn Fartua expresses the feelings of a chief servant of the Mai concerning the ethical nature of the state in the 16th century. He says that " . . .every people relies on imitation of its leaders. The leader goes before and the people follow him. He leads them to the Garden as it were by a bridle, after giving the Book of Direction, glad tidings about the Faith, right direction, and sure guidance in the path of law. So every man knows his rights and his obligations to others. Most excellent is the fame of just deeds, and justice on the part of a Mai for one day is equal to service of God for sixty years . . . A place where there is an evil Mai is better than a place which has none." (1) Thus the structural position of the Mai is extolled as being even more important than its functions, for when a leader is present every man knows his relationship to other men, and the people are enjoined to feel blessed at the fact of political leadership per se.

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631 The political organization of Bornu during the second florescence of the kingdom was structured outwards from the capital at Birni Gazargamo with the cardinal directions of the State under the military protection of four titled noblemen. The south was under the Yuroma or chief eunuch; the north was held by the Mustrema (also a eunuch); the east by the Kaigama (a

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua, op. cit. pp.10-11.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

•174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
[131] many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[642] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Setting

The Land and the People

FOR AT LEAST a thousand years the drama of empires rising, falling, expanding, and shrinking has been played out in an immense area of Africa at the southern edge of the Sahara known as the Sudan. These states, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Hausa kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, and others like them, from the upper Senegal River basin to the upper Nile, form a band from east to west across Africa. Their histories provide some of the most resplendent grandeur of Africa's past. Many of these states have now been consigned to the history books; Ghana and Mali have disappeared although modern countries have resuscitated their names; Songhai was destroyed by the Moroccans at the end of the sixteenth century; the Hausa states were altered as they came under the hegemony of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and little is known as yet about the early states to the east of Lake Chad. On the other hand, Bornu in the northeastern corner of Nigeria has continued its sovereignty in the Chad Basin throughout a millennium of tribulations and triumphs and it goes on today organized as a separate emirate within Bornu Province.

Like most of the Sudan, Bornu is open savannah country, generally quite flat except for a few stable dunes covered with scrub in the north and several long low ridges running northwest to southeast in the southern part of the country. The ridges are probably ancient lake-shores of a great inland sea whose contemporary remnant is Lake Chad—a large shallow fresh water lake into which flow a number of rivers from the south and west. The soil is sandy and covered with scrub bush grass, and scattered trees, mostly thorny ones, except for the large spreading boabab, which dots the horizon here and there. In the 1930s the Nim, a hardy shade tree from India that thrives on the semi-desert conditions of northern Nigeria, was introduced to provide some forest preserves and year round shade in the villages. Here and there, especially at the bottom of the ridges, are large flat surfaces of hard clay that turn into gray-black mud during the rainy season. These provide clay for building materials and pottery, as well as water holes for the cattle of local villages and wandering nomads.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

173 Given the fact that very many of the Muslim peoples of West Africa have legends concerning their origins in the Near East and often more specifically in Yemen, we can, I believe, think of the local origin theory as a mythical genesis story that is part of a widespread cultural heritage of the Muslim people of West
174 Africa, likening it in this way to western stories about the Garden of Eden. On the other hand we do have "hard" linguistic evidence that the Kanuri people are related to peoples of the central Sahara northeast of Bornu. We also have very suggestive evidence from the geographic history that relates the people speaking these languages to one another and gives us grounds for positing immigration into the Chad basin and an increasing population density in the area. The exact details of this theory are matters for future research, but the major conclusion which places the origin of the Kanuri in the central Sahara seems to be a valid one.

At any rate, by the end of the first millennium A.D. the Muslim world outside the Sudan knew of the existence of Kanem, a sovereign state due south of Tripoli on the southern rim of the Sahara. Local traditions associated with the king lists (these have been collected periodically since 1850) assert that Islam came at least to the rulers of Kanem in the eleventh century. According to the traditions an eleventh-century Mai or king is supposed to have died in Egypt on his
175 way to Mecca. Certainly by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Kanem became a well-known state in the Islamic world. Trans-Saharan commerce was completely controlled, garrisons were built to protect the trade routes, and treaty relations were established with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis. In the mid-thirteenth century a travelers' house for Kanem pilgrims was constructed in Cairo so that they might have proper accommodation while on the long journey to Mecca via Egypt. At the other extreme of the Islamic world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was renowned in the court of El Mansur (1190–1214 A.D.) in Seville for his praise songs of the Sultan. This was a great period of Islamic civilization and Kanem played its part in that florescence.

175 648 From the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century a period of dark ages befell the kingdom. This is sometimes referred to as "the time of troubles." The dynastic chronicles indicate this period by including a great many rulers all holding sway for very short periods. The kingdom seems to have become a tempestuous stage for civil wars within and continuous attack from without. A letter to Cairo from this period has turned up, sent by a Kanem ruler, asking that the Caliph of Egypt send word to Sudanese Arabs who were helping Wadai to the east of Kanem raid amongst the people of Kanem for slaves even though such actions are considered to be against the precepts of Islam, since one must not raid for slaves amongst other Muslim peoples.[4] The main source of trouble is supposed to have come from one particular group—the Bulala. These people were either an allied subordinate tribe or a clan whose leading lineage had split off from the Kanem royal line and had then grown in its independence and power until its leaders challenged the Kanem control of the kingdom.

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members of a lineage know exactly how they are related to all the other members of it, and together, they often form a corporate group, clan members may not be able to trace genealogical links with other clan members, and often clansfolk are widely dispersed." See John Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom*, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 3.

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[4] See R. H. Palmer, *Bornu, Sahara, and Sudan*, (London: John Murray, 1936), p. 195.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu. 175 648 167

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[8] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty. 173 648 688 [669] 174 648

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire. 174 643 174 167 648

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota- 175 643 [614] [648]

[8] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ble, and these men maintained Bornu at an apogee of greatness until well into the
643 seventeenth century. One of these rulers, Idris Alooma, had a court scribe at the
[644] beginning of the seventeenth century, who wrote a number of accounts of his royal
[212] master's military expeditions. Luckily these have survived to give us a picture of Bornu warfare and government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, too, that Bornu was first mentioned on European maps, and from this time forward its fame became part of the legends of unknown kingdoms that lay inside the unexplored interior of Africa.

Bornu traditions claim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a decline in the power of the state. This is explained by the claim that the monarchy was becoming weak and overburdened with pomp, rituals, and religious study by the monarch. The ruling Mai appeared in public in a *fanadir*, or cage, which only his most trusted servants could approach and rarely led military expeditions himself. Much of this may be a reinterpretation of Bornu history by the second dynasty and their followers, who would naturally have played up the failures of the previous regime, when they took over in the nineteenth century. Contrarily
175 there are traditions of many successful military campaigns during this period and
648 Bornu's reputation as a great kingdom was still very widespread. Thus a wandering Englishman, Richard Tulley, who visited Tripoli at the end of the eighteenth century, spoke glowingly of what he had heard of Bornu's power. Parenthetically, he claimed that one of the Kanuri noblewomen living in Tripoli could speak the Italian language fluently.[6] On the other side of the case, Tuareg and Tubu raiders attacked the northern boundaries of Bornu and harassed the caravans with greater intensity than before.

The activities of these raiders are said to have increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is important to realize that the entire southern Sahara was a hotbed of unrest during this two hundred year period. In the 1590s the armies of El Mansur of Morocco finally managed to cross the Sahara and destroy the great empire of Songhai. Its cities of Timbuctu and Gau never again became the great emporia of trade, politics, and learning they had once been. The Moroccans could not establish, so far from home, any stable administrative organization capable of replacing the one they had destroyed. This suddenly released vassal groups in the Sahara, many of whom bordered on Bornu, and these were now free to raid, stimulate revolts, and pillage caravans, while their cousins to the west fought over the remains of the Songhai empire and the control of western trade
175 routes across the Sahara. It was during this same period of unrest that, all across
648 the Sudan, wandering holy men, especially nomadic Fulani of Futa Djallon in
668 Guinea, in Masina in the Upper Niger, and even in present day Nigeria, were expressing this disorder in religious terms. They preached through their leaders for a return to a truer and purer form of Islam. Often they claimed that those round them were pagans and had to be subdued in a holy war to reestablish Muslim order and law. It is in the light of all this turbulence that the so-called decline of Bornu
175 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should be seen. Elsewhere empires were
648 tottered or being formed, as in Futa Djallon; but Bornu remained, shaken perhaps by the general unrest of the period but still it survived, controlled its trade routes,

[113] [6] R. Tulley, *Letters Written During a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli*, Vol. II, (London: 1819), p. 51.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ruled its territory, and attempted to keep the peace with its neighbors and tributary states. 175 648

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area of what is now Northern Nigeria was rocked by the Fulani wars under a religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, who proclaimed a *Jihad* or holy war. Ultimately these developments resulted in the founding of the empire of Sokoto. In Bornu the local Fulani organized an attack on the Kanuri kingdom, not so much to support the Sokoto Empire, as to take advantage of it and set up principalities of their own. By 1808, the Fulani in Bornu constituted a dangerous threat. Indeed they had succeeded in attacking, defeating and sacking the ancient capital of Bornu, Birni Ngazargamo. When this happened the ruler and his followers fled towards Lake Chad and were not able to return to the city until some unexpected aid from Kanem enabled them to deliver a powerful defeat to the Fulani forces some six weeks after they had abandoned the capital. A few years later in the winter of 1811–1812 another Fulani force attacked and pillaged the capital. Again the Kanuri were helped by this same Kanembu chief or Shehu who defeated the Fulani and sent them fleeing westward to the borders of Bornu.

However, this aid was to change the entire history of the empire. From 1812 onwards the traditional Bornu government lost its control of the state. The Shehu, Mohammed el Aminu, El Kanemi, or Shehu Laminu as he is remembered locally, had the only effective armed force in the Bornu kingdom, and he used this to control sporadic Fulani uprisings that continued until at least the 1820s. Both the traditional government and the Shehu moved away from the western and northern boundaries and set up in adjacent towns near the west shore of Lake Chad. People soon realized that the Shehu held power in the state and flocked to his town, while that of the old Magumi Sefuwa monarch became a small redoubt for those still loyal to the ancient dynasty. The former leaders still retained the royal title, held court, and collected or were given some of the state revenues. When they intrigued against Shehu Laminu, he simply deposed them. At the same time he made bargains with rival claimants to the old throne so that any changes in the royal office, made under his direction, would be to his own advantage. Meanwhile the ancient rulers came more and more to be simply ceremonial puppets in the hands of the real ruler of Bornu, Shehu Laminu. 175 642 [648] [643] [662]

Yet Laminu never asserted ultimate control over the kingdom. Even after he had built a new capital, at Kuka, for himself and his dependents, the small village of Birni nearby was maintained for the ancient monarchy. Across the entire Sudan and beyond, however, he was recognized as the real ruler of Bornu. He was the leader of its administration and his political, military, and judicial sagacity were and still are lauded in praise songs that match these secular skills with his supernatural powers. Indeed his fame spread to Europe as well. This resulted from the writings of Denham and Clapperton, who crossed the desert in the 1820s and remained for an extended period in Bornu learning about its people and of the double regency under Shehu Laminu's control. Laminu died in 1835 and it was not until a decade later in 1845 or 1846 that his son, Omar, finally did away with the last remaining members of the Sefuwa dynasty proclaiming himself and his royal heirs to be the only rulers of Bornu. This was the occasion for the formal inception of Bornu's second dynasty whose descendants are the ruling family in the kingdom at the pres- 175 642 643

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 648 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came to Bornu—and who also came to be called Kanuri about this time—were the Sefuwa, their fellow Magumi clansmen and loyal followers, clients and slaves. The traditions declare that the leader who finally founded the new capital of Birni Ngazargamo curbed the power of his own nobles and insisted that all of them (except one who protected the western boundaries) should live in the capital, leaving subordinates to administer their fief-holdings.[7] It should also be remembered that this newly formed Bornu kingdom (*ca.* 1450–1550 A.D.) tried to regain control over Kanem and many of its other lost vassal territories in the Chad Basin and the southern desert. Thus they very quickly attacked and defeated Bilma 400 miles to the north of Lake Chad which was the center for the Saharan salt trade. They also had to defend the kingdom against raiding desert Tuareg and the rising power of Songhai in the west.

Kanem was a state organized around a confederacy of clans, with one clan and its leading lineage having a senior status. The migration of this leading group into Bornu helps to explain why the Bornu kingdom was more centralized than its predecessor as a political system. In Bornu the Magumi Sefuwa had no other related clan or clan leaders to share power with; instead they were confronted by a group of pagan peoples spoken of under the general term of "So" in the traditions. Against these people they fought battles of conquest to establish their rule in the area and in the end absorbed many of them into a group known today as the Kanuri. It would have been much simpler to unify this one group under a leader who had no rival clan or clan leaders to cope with. Thus the new situation in Bornu afforded both a stimulus and an opportunity for increased centralization of power in the political organization of the Kanuri state. It is against this growing centralization in the hands of the ruling m[illegible] of Bornu that the following account of its structure should be gauged, for it [illegible] always easy to portray change and development while describing how a so[illegible] is organized.

Pre-nineteenth Century Bornu

At the head of the early Bornu state was the Mai or king. This office was hereditary in the male line, and all men whose fathers had been monarchs were eligible for the succession. The Council of Nobles, and accounts vary as to who these were, chose the new monarch upon the death of the reigning one, although powerful rulers could obviously affect the choice. The royal office carried with it an aura of untouchability, remoteness, and sacredness. People referred to the Mai as "Master" using the term applied by slaves to their owners. People approached the royal cage in which the Mai was seated and prostrated themselves before the bars putting sand on their heads or going through the motions of doing so to indicate the humility and respect they felt in his presence.

Members of the royal family held titled offices. These included the monarch's own mother, his senior wife, and often a senior female relative, either a sister, half-sister, or more distant female relatives in the male line. The sons and

[7] A fief is a political unit within a state over which a superior has rights of tribute collection and political leadership (not necessarily exclusive rights) given to him by his or his ancestors' relationship to a monarch.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 631 [634] tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 648 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 793 692 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the specialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 651 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom although records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Tributes could be quite large; there are records of payments from Kanem to Bornu in the sixteenth century that mention amounts of 1000 head of cattle per year. 175 651

Along with taxation and other demands such as annual military service, there was a system of exemption whereby persons or groups were released from their obligations to the state in return for some service—usually prayers and other religious duties. These exemptions, *Mabram,* were made by royal declaration in writing which stipulated that facets of a person's obligation were henceforward considered to be *haram* or forbidden, like the eating of pork. One of the oldest of these, given to the family of Umme Jilma, declares that the family is forever exempt from (a) entertaining the king's men during the dry-season military and tax collection campaigns, (b) from *diya* or blood compensation for injuries inflicted on others by accident, and (c) all forms of tribute and taxes. In time, however, all these exemptions were often honored more in the breach or renegotiated. Thus one sixteenth-century monarch ordered a large group to go to war. These people promptly refused on the basis of a *Mabram* given them by a previous ruler. When the king insisted, the entire group prepared to leave his kingdom. However a compromise was worked out in which they accepted military service and paid practically no taxes. This very same group is mentioned again in the traditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Shehu Laminu ruled that their exemptions should pertain only to the leaders of the group, not the entire set of male line descendants of the original holders of this privilege, who by this time had become a very large population. 175 651 701

In its apogee during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bornu kingdom was an expansionist power, and warfare was the state function par excellence. According to traditions and written records, as many as seven or eight military campaigns a year were not uncommon; this meant an expedition might leave Bornu every six or eight weeks during the dry season. With so much militarism the techniques of warfare elaborated accordingly. From at least the sixteenth century onward, Bornu imported muskets, swords, chain mail which were vital and ancient parts of the Saharan trade, although such armaments were also manufactured by Bornu craftsmen as well. 175 721 [411] [714] [439]

The army itself was organized into regiments, representing a local area or an ethnic group under their own leaders, and they went into battle according to a well laid out military strategy. Campaigns were amost always conducted against walled towns. The shield bearers advanced first; then after it was felt that the poison arrows of the enemy were exhausted, the rest of the army would advance either storming the walls or forcing the town dwellers to come out and fight—whereupon muskets and cavalry were used. Generally speaking open encounters were quite unusual; the Bornu army was large, well disciplined, and well equipped, while the town dwellers were weak in all these respects and would usually try to flee once the siege went against them. Fallen towns were then mercilessly looted and the inhabitants killed or enslaved. 175 704 72

After the campaign and the distribution of booty by the leaders, the army disbanded. Leaders of various territorial ethnic groups swore allegiance to the king and arranged for the next campaign to be held so many days hence. At that time, criers were sent around to local markets stating the date and place of rendezvous for the army. Able bodied men were expected to go or send a representative bear- [203]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But
704 local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed
72 through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient
1703 even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

175 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a
178 fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu She-
642 hus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachel-
554 las and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court.

175 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the
554 names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the
642 Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner
178 as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering
175 through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to dis-
554 cuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised
644 dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who
643 were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 634 642 643 421 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territorially based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord remained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 634 622 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a village head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both. 175 634 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings expand in size, and he tried to help this process along by not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them from raiders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and ability to supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so that it was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 622 632 634 642 643 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs. 175 635 634 642 643 [662]

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital. 175 692 634

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili. 175 634 614 [692]

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself. 175 642 634 182 731 361 [648]

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations, 175 634 361 643 [563]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles. 175 178 554 66

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs. 175 433 175 423

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area. 175 463 469 [443]

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere. 175 43 [567] [286] [184]

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed. 175 431

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu- 175 439 437

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 439 437 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroidered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 648 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade, which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of village areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 177 648 632 634 622

175 177 648 634 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district. 175 177 648 634

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs. 175 177 631 64 651

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York. 175 177 645

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely 175 178 634

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the Southern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The British colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Authority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder, riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times. As the emirate has developed [illegible]ced for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

132 nightly, often approaching freezing. This is also the time of the harmattan, a strong wind bearing down from the desert, carrying with it silt and fine white sand. The sand stings the face and chaps the lips. It penetrates all cracks and openings, covering everything with fine powder. The mornings are cold but the noon sun is always strong and brilliant.

This period is followed by the long hot season. For months the temperature ranges between ninety and one hundred degrees F., often soaring to one hundred and ten degrees. Clouds never appear and the glaring sun is reflected and intensified by the shimmering sand. Beneath the unrelenting sun the countryside withers and turns brown.

B. History

175 [01] The name 'Bornu' refers to the ancient empire of Bornu which existed here for more than a thousand years. The Kanuri people, builders of the empire of Bornu, moved into the plain of Bornu from the still more arid reaches north and east of Lake Chad. According to the historical sources, the Sefawa, a part of the Zaghawa tribe, allied themselves with the Teda in the neighborhood of Kawar at about 850 A.D. and proceeded to the southwest, organizing the early kingdom of Kanem, with its capital, Birni Njimi, near the northeastern edge of Lake Chad. Bornu was then the most southerly province. In 1389 the Sef dynasty, as it had then become, was expelled from Kanem and moved to Bornu. From that time onward Bornu became the center

• 175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid 177 [648] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [193] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 The institution of slavery had always been a part of this
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[439]

175 567 839 complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sahara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

175 636 Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and 175 167 powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa 175 721 territory. In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

175 439 The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose 'Mais' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [562] Shehu (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

175 648 643 The Shehu of Bornu, however, remains as the religious and political head of the Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to [174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 177 The historical factors which led to the development of the empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of [171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos- [179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

177 563 101 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 563 The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and [175] [636] in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
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634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appointments formally need not be approved by the British administration, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
• 175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
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[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times, since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the political system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit, the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which protects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the protection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, along with wealth and political office. 565 178 Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
• [175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
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[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
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[369] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

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643 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
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565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
178 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
565 centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
177 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were
565 given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
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565 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
631 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
423 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
[651] ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
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175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
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[567] selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[554] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
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567 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
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642 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
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642 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu

175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 648 642 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

175 178 648 634 [642] Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two, from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 634 632 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Lowans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle disputes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions. [692] [651]

C. Religion

779 [175] The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the eleventh century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

175 565 554 granting of titles by the Shehu (and before him by the Mais), and the regular practice of slavery.

A title (kagala) which the Shehu bestowed on a man was both a recognition, and a source of his social position, for the title embodied power, wealth and prestige. Power lay in the political office which accompanied the title; wealth lay in the access to land, labor and taxes which followed from title and office; prestige lay in the recognition by all of the symbolic meaning of the title. Aristocracy and slaves were given titles, but talaka, commoners, never were granted titles in former times.

565 554 644 [643] One set of titles is held by royalty. The title of Shehu itself is conferred by a council (modulos) according to strict rules of succession, after a Shehu dies. Other titles belong to members of the Shehu's family. These are unlike most titles in that they are titles ascribed by virtue of royal kinship and are not conferred to the individual by the Shehu. They include:

Maina - a prince, the son of a Shehu; also brothers of the present Shehu whose father was himself Shehu.

Mairam- (also called Nana) - the daughter of a Shehu.

Maidugu - the grandchild of a Shehu.

Some royal titles are granted by the Shehu to royalty. These are:

Maira - mother of the Shehu. If the Shehu's own mother is dead, another woman is given the title Maira, and functions as the Shehu's 'mother'. The title can be given to someone not of the Shehu's own family, should he wish to do so.

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554 565 644 Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Karlkroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

175 423 601 565 554 644 Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna; his knights and the commanders of his troops.

175 565 554 567 The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaigama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

175 554 565 The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

175 554 565 are individual titles which can be held by only one man at a time. There can be only one Kaigama, one Mastrema, and one Yerima at any given time. A man's son did not invariably inherit his father's title at his father's death. The title was conferred by the Shehu, customarily to the son of the previous title holder. If there were several sons, the one whom the Shehu judged most worthy was given the title; and if a title-holder had no sons, or no sons worthy of holding a title, the title might be given to anyone, though it was almost always given to someone of the household of the title-holder. There are several interesting cases of high titles given to talaka who were members of a household (the present holder of the title Talba is a slave who was given the title because there were no sons of the previous Talba; a horse boy inherited the title of Kaigama in the past; the Malam to the family, and a member of the household, inherited the title of Yirima). A talaka who was considered worthy, and was a member of a household whose head held a title might inherit that title; a common talaka without appropriate household affiliations could never hope to receive a title in former times.

The title was the mark of nobility in Kanuri society, and the embodiment of the several dimensions which, when taken to-
[634] gether determined social importance. The title was linked to the system of feudal chimas who paid allegiance to the Shehu
[642] and effectively governed the land. The chimas had power, subject only to review by the Shehu himself, over the people in

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their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But, interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.

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Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which determine social position are shared by an entire household, and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

2. Slaves.

565 Royalty, by virtue of their close kinship with the Shehu,
354 fall into a distinct category in Kanuri society. For some, the kinship terminology takes the form of a title (Maina = prince), others are granted royal titles by the Shehu (Gumsu). Nobility represent a second category, composed of those titled freemen who trace no relationship to the Shehu. Here the titles are all conferred by the Shehu to a member of a household, who becomes the head of that household upon receiving the title.
567 Since the Kanuri recognize a category of slaves, they should be
565 distinguished as a separate segment of the population. However, they do not form the bottom-most stratum of Kanúri society, as might be supposed. On the contrary, just as freemen are stratified into nobility and commoners, so too can slaves be considered as a vertical segment of Kanuri society, falling into numerous stratified layers within the category called "slave."

567 The principles governing slavery in Kanuri society must now be considered so that the above view of the position of the slave can be properly understood. A Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, so that slaves can be taken only from pagan
175 peoples. In former times slaves were captured by raiding parties
567 who drove into pagan territory, sacked and burned villages, and
721 brought back captives who became slaves of Kanuri masters, either of the Shehu himself, or of officers of the army. Slaves were most frequently taken by the Kanuri from among the Marghi, to the south; from the tribes of the Gwoza hills; from the neigh-

175 borhood of the Shari river, south and east of Bornu; and the
567 lands east of the Shari. Of course, only pagan areas were
[72] raided.

Pagan peoples, on being captured in slave raids, remained with their Kanuri masters. As noted above, captured slaves belonged to either the Shehu (or the Mai in olden times), or to officers of the army, who invariably were titled nobles, and kabuna of the Shehu. However, Kabuna of the Shehu might be freemen or might themselves be slaves of the Shehu. In either case they could own slaves, so that it was possible for a slave to have slaves himself. In fact, a slave of the Shehu might own a slave, who in turn had a slave. In a legal sense, the owner of the first slave owned all the others, so that the Shehu owned all slaves of his slaves.

Although a Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, it is proper for a Moslem to own another Moslem as slave. Pagan slaves taken by Kanuri masters learned Kanuri culture, and their children grew up speaking only the Kanuri language and considered themselves Kanuri. They also became Moslems, but continued to remain slaves. This is in order, since one may not capture another Moslem, but one is not obliged to free a slave who converts to Islam. The slave of course has no jili since his ancestors were originally pagan (kardi).

567 The hierarchy with respect to slaves is determined by sev-
554 eral factors. The first is whether the individual, and his descendants, are slaves of the Shehu or the slaves of a noble

175 567 554 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas, ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna, 175 567 644 839 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of [304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six, who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's 175 567 644 839 554 household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:

Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the four greatest chimas. On his death his title goes to the adim presently holding the title of:

Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim, and another of the four greatest chimas. He is succeeded by the holder of the title:

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Shetima Abu Karim - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Agadi. All other adim are called abagana. Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Borsari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Maiduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title Digma is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

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Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled freeman, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the susana, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one

175 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi
567 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
554 new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
[304] was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
175 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
567 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The
554 susana of an important noble shares some of that importance
592 by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
428 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
567 themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his mas-
576 ter, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to
178 Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to replace him with one of his own men.

The kabuna represent a special category in the administration of the district. The colonial administration makes no provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town called Damjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

[GEIDAM]

175 [103] was an old town called Geidam Balara, from which the town today takes its name. In the eighteenth century, when the capital of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo not far off, Geidam was part of the Mai's lands. Later, when Kukawa became the capital, and the Mais were replaced by the Shehus, Geidam became part 175 634 [632] of the fief granted to the Imam. Since Geidam District is very large, it was divided among a number of chimas. The town of Geidam (Dəmjeri and Geidam Balara, at that time) was controlled by Kazella Ibrahim Geidama, a slave of the Imam who served as chima gana (literally little chima--serving the real chima who lived in the capital). Geidam was a kalyari, an area under the authority of a slave.

The first Ajia of Geidam, in the early years of the twentieth century was Kazella Sulama, a slave of the Shehu's. He was followed by Aba Rəfəgə, a son of Shehu Ibrahim, who served [645] as Ajia of Geidam until his death in 1915. Maiduguri had not yet been built and the Mounted Infantry, along with many Europeans, were stationed in Geidam. Aba Rəfəgə was the most important of the Ajias at that time. Kazella Kakami (Kaigama) then became the Ajia of Geidam, where he served for almost thirty years until his death in January, 1944. Kaigama Kakami was the son of Kaigama Bilei, the commander of the army during the days of Shehu Laminu. His son, Kaigama Zubairu, succeeded to the title of Kaigama and to the office of Ajia of Geidam. Kaigama Zubairu remained Ajia of Geidam for ten years, until he was demoted to a smaller district, Dəmboa, in 1954. In 1954 Yerima

[GEIDAM]

175 634 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kalgama Zubairu.

175 634 554 [167] Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa Kabuna who came into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. However, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili), their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were "Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab, who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar (son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house, with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu", so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the position of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Laminu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

159 634 554 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and Vaccinator in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District, where he resided first at Ngəlzerma and later at Damagum. At that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

[GEIDAM]

159 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year
634 later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha.
554 The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately
632 bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in
634 the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

[GEIDAM]

175 632 634 was a very young man, whose father had been a Lowan under Kaigama before him. In fact, years earlier Geidam had had one Lowan instead of three--and the single Lowan had been the grandfather of Lowan Kagu. Then the town was split into three wards, each with its Lowan. At that time, Lowan Ashek, who had been a kabuna of Kaigama's and his slave as well, became a Lowan. Lowan Kagu's father was also made Lowan of a ward, succeeding his father; and the young Lowan Kagu in turn succeeded his father at his father's death.

175 632 634 66 The Lowans of Geidam were loyal to the departed Kaigama, but now it was necessary to demonstrate that they could transfer their loyalty to Yerima Mustapha, the new Ajia of Geidam and their new master. Lowan Ashek, an older and more experienced man, was able to do this. He became one of Yerima's kabuna, and while he is far from the most trusted of Yerima's men, he continues to serve as Lowan under Yerima since he knows the people of his ward well and had been performing the job for some years. Lowan Kagu was young, and was unable to control his feelings in the face of strains created by the situation. He, too, might have bridged the difficult transition as Lowan Ashek had done, had he had more experience in office. As it was, he was dismissed shortly after Yerima's arrival because he lost his temper in an argument with Yerima and threw a book in his face.

Yerima was then free to appoint one of his own men to replace Lowan Kagu. When he was approached and asked whom he

175 wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indif-
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634 ferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town
66 council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dilelma dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

692 The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to oper-
647 ate independently from the political arm of government, and in
000 particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

[p.8]

Chapter II

Ancient Roots to 1900

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The existence since earliest historic times of Empires and petty states, along the southern ridge of the Sahara, from Lake Chad over to the Sena-Gambia region of the Atlantic Ocean, that is to say roughly along the line of 12 degrees north latitude has appealed to writers for centuries. There is quite a body of early Arabic literature on the subject, and from the 19th century forward, an ever increasing group of European writers have become interested in Sudanic history. Although this material makes fascinating reading to anyone interested in the region as a whole, it is not within the purposes of the present work to summarize the historical events of the Sudan, the rise of Songhai, Mali, Ghana and their respective declines. Such an account would take the present discussion far off its limited scope of interest in the area of the Chad basin. However, two main points must be kept in mind which stem from this large body of literature, Firstly, there were to the west of Bornu throughout its entire history large states and empires which were rising, falling and expanding, and with whom Bornu was always in contact. Secondly, that all these empires and petty states maintained constant contacts, not only with one another, but with the great Muslim powers of North Africa and Spain through the medium of the ancient caravan routes of the Sahara.

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The possibilities of contact of peoples across the Sudan to the east of Chad is a much thornier question, and very little has ever been done by competent scholars to relate the eastern Sudan to the central and western portions.(1)

The contacts of the Sudanic peoples with the south have either

(1) See Arkell, A.J. History of Darfur, Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 32, 1951, pp.33-38, in which he discusses the influence of Bornu on Darfur.

• 175
177 been left out of the historical accounts of the area or have been played down so considerably that the reader finds it easy to forget that the Sudan is geographically adjacent to the Guinea coast. Lady Lugard[1] set the style for this kind of thinking when she described the Sudan as "facing north". Yet the gold, the slaves, and the lowly kola-nut, which became popular as an article of consumption from Kano to Tripoli, all required well established relationships and contacts between the peoples of the Sudan and those to the south of them from very early times.

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797 Evidence on the early beginning of the Kanuri people is scant. Linguistically they belong to the central Saharan group of languages which extends like a boot into modern northeastern Nigeria, but for the most part takes up the area of the central Sahara, reaching north to include a good portion of Fezzan, all of Tibesti, and stretching eastward in the desert until it meets the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, the so-called Hamito-Semitic group.[2] Greenberg comments on the distinctiveness of the central Saharan group of tongues, and we may safely attribute to them a
174 respectable time depth. Gautier[3] has shown that Lake Chad delivered water
133 into the Bornu region in past times. According to another writer[4] the whole territory northeast of Lake Chad was a great swampy shallow area until the early centuries of the Christian era. This was maintained by the overflow through a river valley (the Bahr el Ghazal) which is now only a dry depression. The surplus Chad water still flows along this passage today beneath the soil. Less than a century ago, Nachtigal[5] saw the first

(1) Shaw, F.L. (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency (London), 1905, p.3.
(2) Greenberg, J.E., Studies in African Linguistic Classification: IV Hamito-Semetics, SWJ, 6, 1950.
(3) Gautier, E.F., Sahara the Great Desert, (London) 1935, pp.68-69.
(4) Tilho, J. in Geographic Journal LVI, 1920, quoted in Carpenter, Rhys, A Trans-Saharan Caravan route in Herodotus, Americal Journal of Archeology, Vol. 60, 1956, p. 240.
(5) Nachtigal, G., Sahara und Sudan, p. 77ff

174 133 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal swamps. Carpenter[1] feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fezzan rather than the Niger that Ptearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems reasonable to suppose thatas these enormous wet lands dried up central Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated more densely in this geographically favourable area.

175 Until more historical and archeological research has been carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanciful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings".[2]

175 797 Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D. speaks of the people of Kanem as idolators.[3] However it is most likely that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older [173] texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king) Hume (1085-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu.[4]

[177] Urvoy feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributaries.[5] Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies

175 642 already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Khye, op.cit. p. 239.
(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857, p. 643.
(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.
(4) Urvoy, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.
(5) Urvoy, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IFAN, 7, 1949, p.36

175 642 [131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli.(1) Friendship was contracted with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time.(2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo.(3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Isbah al Kanemi".(4)

175 648 [779]

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travellers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones.(5)

173 669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

(1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit.Vol.II, p. 641.)
(2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
(3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
(4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
(5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans.H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

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669 ing fashion. The legend claims[1] that Dunama, the great 17th Mai of Kanem (1221-1259 A.D.) "laid the foundation for the ensuing disaster of the Empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu", for it (the talisman) called forth and provoked every powerful man to ambition and intrigues, and there followed after this reign a period of civil wars, and rapid changes in the monarchy, often involving regicide. It was at this time that the vassal state of the Bulala on the eastern boundary of Kanem grew towards an ever stronger independence, and finally toppled the Kanuri kingdom. We are told in the Chronicle translated by Barth that during the reign of the 27th Mai, Daud (1377-1386 A.D.) the Kanuri were decisively
[131] beaten by the Bulala.[2] By 1394 A.D., the 31st Mai, Omar (1394-1398 A.D.) finally gave up Kanem and came to Bornu proper to set up a kingdom in retreat somewhere between the present city of Maiduguri and the town of Gujba.

There followed a period of unrest and internal strife for about 75 years, during which many kings took the throne and were in turn overthrown or murdered. The kingdom was in a constant state of civil war
• 175 within and set upon by enemies from without. Palmer[3] in his researches
648 has found references to a letter sent at this time to Cairo from the Kanuri monarch, asking the Caliph to order the Arabs of Wadai to stop helping the Bulala raid amongst the Kanuri for slaves, since they (the Kanuri) were all good Muslims, and not infidels to be treated as potential slaves for the taking. More evidence of the "Sturm und Drang" quality of the period is indicated by the fact that a Mai of this time lived away from Bornu in the Hausa city of Kano which had been in the past a vassal state of the Kanuri empire.

(1) Barth, H., op. cit. Vol. II; King list, pp 633-671.
(2) Ibid; p. 634.
(3) Palmer, H. The Bornu Sahara and Sudan, (London) 1936, p. 218

• 175 642 However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly [103] in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Yo [361] (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damatak and Geidam, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province. [648] His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north- [721] east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire 175 of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portugese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe sometime around the beginning of the 17th century.(1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of Timbuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.(2)

[721] When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have 174 fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.
(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara, London, 1933, p. 73

174 area before the arrival of the Kanuri. French workers claim that the Kotoko tribe who live today around the area of Fort Lamy are the contemporary descendants of the ancient So peoples, and French archeologists have been digging up "So" sites for some years.(1) Kanuri traditions speak of the So as "giants" whom they finally vanquished after suffering great tribulations. Many of the monarchs in the Bornu King lists are described as dying in battle against the So. The stories of these "giants" are not however confined to Kanuri traditions, but can be found all over the Chad area, and well up into the desert, especially around Bilma.(2) This last point suggests a hypothesis that the So were really not any one group of people but a linguistic category in the Central Sahara, referring to aboriginal inhabitants who opposed the incoming group, or, against whom "our" group had to fight in times gone by. To support this argument, there is the evidence that the word So is an Arab usage from the Maghreb, which refers generally to all dark skinned peoples of Tibesti and the Sudan.(3) When it is realized that the first writers of Kanuri history must have been able to speak Arabic, as well as having a knowledge of its script, it is not surprising that this North African word for the indigenous people of the Sudan should be carried down to the present day. This leads to the conclusion that any search for the So culture, using the traditions of the present day inhabitants, is doomed to disappointment, for it is most likely that there was not one, but many So cultures and peoples.

175 648 Soon after the founding of the city of Birni Gasargamo, Bornu achieved a florescence in its history. During this second zenith of the Kanuri empire, Bornu vied with Songhai as the most powerful of the great Sudanic states. Embassies were maintained at Tripoli and the Hausa states

(1) Seliquer Capitaine; Elements d'une Etude Archeologique du Pays du Tchad, Bull. IFAN, Vol. 7, 1945, pp.191-209.
(2) Buchanan, Angus; Sahara, quoted in Palmer, R. op. cit., p. 126.
(3) Bovill, W.E., op. cit. p.23.

175 648 paid tribute to imperial Bornu, although very often the Songhai would extend themselves and the Hausa would face around for a short while to bow to the suzerainty of Timbuctu.(1) Kanuri power also extended up into the Fezzan taking in the important salt works of Bilma. In the east, Bornu hegemony probably reached into the Darfur region and in the south to the present town of Biu in south Bornu.(2)

175 178 From this pinnacle of majesty at the beginning of the 17th century a slow decline ensued which continued from the time of the 55th Mai, Muhammed (1602-1618 A.D.), son of Mai Idris Alooma, through the 18th century until the collapse of the second Kanuri empire in 1808. Although none of the writers are agreed on the causes of this decline it is possible that the monarchy and the court life had become so overly elaborate and ritualized, that it hampered the operation of effective leadership in a state requiring constant vigilance and warfare for its survival. It is reported that throughout almost the entire 18th century, the Mais rarely, if ever, left the confines of the palace during their reigns.(3) Traditions during this period tell of famines and pious leadership, rather than administrative and military successes.

175 721 From about the 14th century onwards a nomadic cattle people, the Fulani, had been filtering into the Sudan from the northwest and slowly moving across the whole of what is today Northern Nigeria. In February of 1804, for a number of political and religious reasons, a Fulani religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, declared a Hejira, or Flight from Digal (evil), which was an expression of defiance and aggression towards the Hausa leaders. From this period forward he and his warrior-scholar son, Bello, carried on a holy war in the Sudan that resulted finally in an empire

(1) Shaw, F. L. (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p. 279
(2) Arkell, A.J. The History of Darfur; Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33 p. 246.
(3) Stennings, D. Nomads of the Great Forest (Ms.) 1955

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with its center at Sokoto. The Fulani who had settled in Bornu were encouraged to rise up and support the war, and soon Bornu felt the onslaught of Fulani forces. In 1804-5, Kano sent for help to its suzerain state of Bornu and a Kanuri force was dispatched to aid the vassal in quelling the revolt. This relief force was soundly beaten by the insurgents and Kano fell under the rule of the Fulani. These and other early successes encouraged the Bornu Fulani who began organising their revolt in Western Bornu and declaring themsevles openly for Othman dan Fodio. We still have letters from this period sent back and forth between the Fulani and the Kanuri. The Kanuri scribes write of the attack as an outrage since it is a holy war against themselves, true believers, while the Fulani write of cruel and pagan practices being carried out in Bornu which must be cleansed. However the political nature of the campaign was obvious to all concerned, as it is to us in retrospect.(1) In 1808, a Fulani chief, Gwoni Muhktar, organized a force and moved against Birni Gazargamo, the ancient capital. It was taken and sacked. Some 44 years later in 1852, Barth met a man in Bornu who had been in the old capital on the day it fell. According to this report the attack was quite sudden and very little opposition was offered. The King and his courtiers left hurriedly by the east gate, while the Fulani entered the west gate in triumph.

An appeal for help was sent to a Kanemi Sheikh, Mohammad el Aminu, who with the help of Kanembu and Shuwa Arabs, had prevented Fulani risings on the western and northern shores of Lake Chad.(2) El Aminu or Laminu as he is remembered today sent his son and a force to help the Kanuri and nine months after the capital had fallen it was retaken. Laminu wrote

(1) Bovill, E.W. The Golden Trade of the Moors, (London) 1958, p. 230, feels that this Fulani expansion was primarily a religious movement. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the end result of the Holy War was the Fulani Empire of Sokoto.

(2) A tribal leader from Kanem, the territoy north and northeast of Lake Chad.

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643 Bornu in the 1820's. (1)

In 1835 Shehu Laminu retired and his son Umar (1835-1880) took over the effective headship of the Bornu state. Like his father, he attempted to maintain and expand the kingdom, while keeping the old Mai on the throne. During one of Umar's western campaigns against Zinder, the puppet Mai, Ibrahim appealed to Wadai for help in restoring him as the rightful ruler of Bornu against the Kanembu Shehu who had usurped the power. Umar returned from his Zinder campaign to find himself being attacked from the east by Wadai. Hearing of the Mai's instigation of this aggression, Umar put the puppet ruler in irons and tried to fight the Wadai forces at Logone, south of Lake Chad, but he was soundly defeated. Kuka was sacked, and the Wadai leader put Ali the young brother of the Mai on the throne. Umar, in high dudgeon, executed Ibrahim and bribed the Wadai forces to withdraw from Bornu. The young Ali and his small following were now attacked and defeated, during which encounter Ali lost his life. And so ended the dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa of Bornu. Shehu Umar declared himself the sole ruler of Bornu and rebuilt the city of Kuka which Barth visited in the 1850's. Local tradition marks this occasion by telling how Shehu Umar was the first of the Bornu monarchs ever to sit on a chair. Before this time leaders had always sat on rugs. It is also related of him that he took a member of the royal family, Ali Mairami, who was the son of a daughter of Mai Dunama (1810-1818), (i.e. he was not in line for the succession) and made him a Maisuli or joking king, who could joke with and chastise the Shehu in a manner prohibited to anyone else. This practice is still carried on today by the descendant of Ali Mairami in the court of the Shehu at Maiduguri.

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(1) Denham, Dr. Clapperton H. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1826.

• 175 With minor disturbances, including one by the brother of Shehu Umar, in 1854, the Bornu kingdom maintained itself in a fairly stable condition, throughout the reign of Umar, and even afterwards during the reign of his son Bukr (1880-4). However, trouble was soon to come from the east.

In the Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur region of the present independent Sudan, an adventurer named Rabeh was slave raiding under the power of the first Egyptian governor of the Bahr, named Zubeyr,(1) in the 70's and early 80's. However Zubeyr's son Stiman headed a rebellion against Egyptian authority and was defeated, and his army disbanded. A remnant of this force headed westward under Rabeh who transformed this band of freebooters and pillagers into a disciplined army which, in the late 80's under the banners of the Mahdi, terrorized the Bahr el Ghazal, conquered
175 Wadai, and defeated the Baghirmi kingdom east of Chad. In 1893, he engaged
721 the Bornu army near Ngala and vanquished it. Whereupon he entered a defeat-
727 ed Bornu and literally raped the countryside. From 1893-6, he despoiled the entire area, putting to death many of the leading figures in Bornu who opposed him, and tried to spread his conquest as far west as possible. In this latter effort he was checked by a union of western forces and
175 refugee Kanuri at the present site of Geidam in northwest Bornu. After
643 1896 from his capital at Dikwa, Rabeh seems to have attempted a consolidation of the kingdom and due to these efforts at administration a more
[173] moderate policy was followed. Nevertheless, his rule is remembered in Bornu
[661] today as the blackest period of their history. Old men are still alive who tell of the pillaging, burning, slave-raiding, killing and excessive extortion of the peasants, that was carried on during the "Rabeh period."

(1) c.f. Balfour-Paul, H.G. History and Antiquities of Darfur; Sudan Antiquities Service, Museum Pamphlet #3 Khartoum, 1955.

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The political organization of the 19th century was almost completely overhauled by Rabeh. Fiefs were re-constructed with new boundaries and given to his own followers, while the old fief holders were often killed. But it should be stressed that complete chaos was not the rule of the day, as many writers have assumed. Rabeh was establishing a state under a new and alien leadership. It had been done by Lamimu at the beginning of the 19th century, albeit with much less internal turbulence. It is most probable that had history given him the chance Rabeh would have founded the third dynasty of the Bornu empire and linked its relations much more closely to the east. It was European events that impaired the direction of this development. Rabeh's triumph and abortive attempt at empire building was cut short because in the European world the "scramble for Africa" had come to Nigeria and was rapidly closing in on the would-be king.

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The presence of a good sized literature on pre-British Bornu, including travellers's accounts, the extant collections of early Kanuri records, especially the historical writing of Ahmed ibn Fartua,(1) and the so-called "District Notebooks" of early 20th century British Colonial Officers who tried to reconstruct the pre-Rabeh political organization and tax structure of Bornu, enable us to say something about the life of the Emirate in its pre-European period. To this list of sources can be added the oral traditions of contemporary Kanuri, especially some of the older men in and around the Shehu's court.

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Very little remains at present (besides the archeological material) to record the life of Bornu in the early pre-Muslim days of the

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua; op. cit.

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642 kingdom. It is probable that the early state was organized as a group of clans, with one clan and a lineage within it as the ruling group. There is the possibility that this dominant group was an intrusive one, but this point has been so over-stressed with no substantiating data by other writers, that it would be wiser to leave it until sufficient archeological research has been done.

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829 After the move to Bornu and the founding of the capital of Birni Gazargamo we have some contemporary data with which to assess the life of the times. Ibn Fartua expresses the feelings of a chief servant of the Mai concerning the ethical nature of the state in the 16th century. He says that " . . .every people relies on imitation of its leaders. The leader goes before and the people follow him. He leads them to the Garden as it were by a bridle, after giving the Book of Direction, glad tidings about the Faith, right direction, and sure guidance in the path of law. So every man knows his rights and his obligations to others. Most excellent is the fame of just deeds, and justice on the part of a Mai for one day is equal to service of God for sixty years . . . A place where there is an evil Mai is better than a place which has none." (1) Thus the structural position of the Mai is extolled as being even more important than its functions, for when a leader is present every man knows his relationship to other men, and the people are enjoined to feel blessed at the fact of political leadership per se.

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631 The political organization of Bornu during the second florescence of the kingdom was structured outwards from the capital at Birni Gazaragamo with the cardinal directions of the State under the military protection of four titled noblemen. The south was under the Yuroma or chief eunuch; the north was held by the Mustrema (also a eunuch); the east by the Kaigama (a

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua, op. cit. pp.10-11.

175 631 nobleman); and the west by the Yerima (a nobleman). As far as can be ascertained these men were not enfieffed of these portions of the kingdom (they held fiefs elsewhere), but were rather hereditary titles connected with military functions in one of the quarters of the state, or in the army as a whole. Thus the Mustrema was responsible for controlling raids upon the northern area of the realm, and was in charge of northern troops when the army of the kindgom was assembled for war. In contrast, Nguru, in the northwest, was held by the Galidima who still holds it today. The latter, unlike the other "subregents", but like the tributary vassals, resided in his territory as a kind of semi-independent king although he was also one of the paramount courtiers of the Bornu ruler. All other nobles lived at the capital under the watchful eye of their king, and toured their districts only when trouble was brewing or taxes were needed. Working within the above system was the organisation of the state into fiefdoms held by the nobility, rewarded servants of the king, and military personnel. Any person to whom a fief was given or who received it through inheritance from an original recipient (which was more often the case) was called the Chima Kura. As was pointed out, all nobles with the exception of the Galidima lived at the capital, and the administration of the fief was carried on by a Chima Gana (small Chima) who was most often a slave or trusted servant of the Chima Kura. The Chima Gana usually resided in the fief itself raising taxes and maintaining law and order. With this system it was easy to gear in vassal states or nomad peoples. Their leaders were simply made Chima Kura of the Kanuri state, which strengthened the leader's position in his own group after conquest, and manoeuvred him into the Kanuri political organisation.(1) Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing contin-

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(1) This office because of its different nature was also referred to as the Kura Jilibe (head of the tribe or clan). The Kura Jilibe was however acting as the Chima Kura of his group, in relation to the Bornu throne.

175 631 [173] Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing continuity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organised as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the Shehu.

175 631 642 An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu.(1) Tomlinson found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants.(2) Being a stranger in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced. Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as possible to consolidate his power.

173 634 [562] Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were, as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants in residence at the fief.

173 651 The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of two separate levies. One, the binèmram collected in binèm (winter) was the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

(1) Tomlinson, F.J.P. Report of Nganzai District; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
(2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
[792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

175 631 651 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.(1)

175 651 From the earliest records extant of the Kanuri empire in Kanem right up until the arrival of the British, a system of tax exemption obtained called the Mahram. Although it most often applied to religious mallams, who were recognized in this way for their esoteric knowledge in matters of law and religion, special services to the king were sometimes [212] rewarded in the same way. These exemptions were always recorded in writ- [451] ing, so that when the British arrived and began instituting their own form of universal taxation many of these documents, some claiming 990 years of [114] exemption, turned up. They were collected, translated and subsequently published by Palmer.(2)

175 692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Kainin Kanendi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanendi were twelve [693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

175 692 693 [645] whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175 692 643 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Lamimu served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjudication himself. [631] The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175 182 463 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in Bornu. [44] This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.

175 439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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439 There is some information on a copper trade which the Kanuri middlemen carried on between Darfur in the east and the Nupe area of the Niger river in the west.(1) Contacts with southern people although most often channelled through Kano were sometimes made directly in the trade carried
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567 on for the much desired kola-nut. Finally, slavery was a specialized trade from which political figures had a ready source of income. The slaves were often sold locally through middlemen although there was an eager market for them across the desert in Tripoli, Tunis and Cairo.

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436 Currency seems to have come rather late to Bornu as compared with some of the other Sudanese countries. Certainly the nobles and large traders knew of its use in the early 19th century, but the Kanuri peasant had not taken up the customs of currency use that were prevalent amongst his contemporaries in other places such as Kano and Zinder at the time. In the 1820's Clapperton noticed that it was not until he arrived at Katagum, on the way to Kano from Bornu, that cowrie shells were being used as currency. Although he did notice that rolls of cloth from native weavers could be used as currency in some of the Bornu markets.(2) By 1850 the rolls or strips of cloth (gaba'a) were being slowly replaced in Bornu by the cowrie shell.(3) Amongst the traders and the upper classes, both Maria Theresa and Spanish dollars were available for use as money and were even seen in limited use in the Kuka market in the 1850's. However Barth's most revealing passage in this respect tells of his difficulty in buying food from the rural peasants who came to market and refused to have anything to
[437] do with the currency. In order to buy grain, it was necessary for Barth to change his M. T. dollars to cowries, then buy one or more kulu'u (men's robes) and then barter this item of clothing for the required cereal. That

(1) See Arkell, A.J. 1952
(2) Denham, D. and Clapperton H; op. cit. Clapperton's Journal, p.21.
(3) Barth, H; op. cit. Vol. II, p.311.

175 436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

175 641 721 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were [701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year [182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plun-
175 727 dered. Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
178 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
175 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which
726 warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

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701 cause its soldiers were peasant subjects and rural followers of fief holders, whose homes were not in the capital but out in the Bornu countryside. In the pre-19th century military system, each of the four regional military leaders (the Yuroma, Mustrema, Kaigama, and Yerima) had under him a force of Kachellas, each of which in turn headed up a regiment of foot-soldiers and cavalry.

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727 Very often a diplomatic Bornu ruler, after having defeated his enemy in battle would assess the situation and try to decide whether or not the chief of the opposing side (if Muslim) was worth keeping. If not he was executed. But very often the rebel or enemy leader was humbled, then raised up after a defeat and encouraged to become a loyal vassal of the King of Bornu.

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726 It is also interesting to note that at least part of the morale of Shehu Laminu's army resided in the general belief in his supernatural powers as a military leader. The night before the battle witnessed by Denham it was reported that Laminu had written charms (verses from the Koran) and his enemies' spears and arrows were blunted and found so in the morning by their owners on the day of battle. Laminu was extremely anxious that Denham set off a rocket for him on the night before the battle, presumably for the same reason.

War itself was highly organized. The maintenance of the state required elaborate rituals and ceremonies to dramatize militarism, and the belief in the supernatural power of the leader or his religious associates helped maintain the morale of the army, which was also goaded on by a comprehensive system of sharing in the plunder. However, this tended to create for the average citizen an areal mobility not usually associated
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721 with peasant life in Africa. A man might return from the wars to his village on the borders of the state to find no village, nor wife, nor home,

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since the absence of the local chief with a force of young men had tempted the neighbouring chief, or some wandering nomad raiders, to plunder the town for slaves and booty.

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When the British arrived in Bornu to weld the Emirate into their Colonial Empire, it should be emphasized that they were confronted by a way of life, whose known and partly recorded past had been flowing on through at least 1100 years of continuous, unbroken and independent national history. During that time the power of the monarchy had risen and fallen in successive waves of power and decline. In the 12th and 13th centuries the first Kanuri florescence occurred in Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, only to decline in the 14th century and finally beat a forced retreat from the center of their empire into Bornu proper, to the west of the Lake. Here, to the south of the river Yo, they hoped for some safety from the northern raiders which was afforded by the river. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the second emergence of a Kanuri Empire in the Sudan, which, although often neglected by historians of the region, was effective enough to resist the eastward expansion of Songhai at the zenith of its power. Slow decline followed in the 17th and 18th centuries until a near collapse, due to Fulani expansionism at the beginning of the 19th century, could only be avoided by a new dynasty taking over the rule of the kingdom, which maintained itself and the kingdom until Rabeh's desecration of Bornu in 1893. However, even Rabeh was slowly beginning to reorganize the broken kingdom when the British arrived, and it is evident that the complete chaos, conventionally charged to Bornu at the beginning of the 19th century, has been over-emphasized. Forces of re-consolidation were in operation which would have kept the Bornu state in existence, albeit under a new dynasty.

It is evident from an appraisal of Kanuri history that its

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Chapter III

The Colonial Period

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The particular events and social changes occurring in Bornu during the last half century must be viewed as taking place within the larger setting of the British colonial regime of Northern Nigeria. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that during this period an English colonial administration had been grafted onto the indigenous social systems of the Northern Region through the use of what has come to be called "indirect rule".(1) This conjunction of the African social systems under the subordination of colonial rule has resulted in expanding trade, the inception of western education, the development of a native civil service, increased contact with other tribal groups, and a network of modern roads and means of communication. How these changes and the policy of "indirect rule" have affected Bornu is the concern of the present chapter.

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Before the British arrived in Bornu, the French had already defeated and killed Rabeh and his son. They then re-instated the Kanuri Shehu, Sanda Kura, and subsequently his younger brother Garbai. These two ruled from Dikwa, Rabeh's old capital, which at the turn of the century was considered to be in French territory. The French allowed the Kanuri rulers to institute any system of political organization they wished as long as they could deliver 80,000 Maria Theresa dollars per annum to the French as tribute. In 1902, Governor Lugard sent Captain Morland to Bornu and it is reported that the Captain ". . . sent for Garbai and formally installed him as Shehu of British Bornu at Kuka.(2)

(1) See Lugard, F.D. (Sir) The Dual Mandate, (London) 1929; Cook, A.N. British Enterprise in Nigeria, (Philadelphia) 1943; Burns, (Sir) Alan, History of Nigeria, (London) 1955; Coleman, J.S., Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, (California) 1958.

(2) Annual Report: Bornu Province 1909. In the Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Province, Nigeria.

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648 Data on how this was accomplished were not available in the public
643 records of Bornu province. Therefore it can only be assumed (provisionally, until more information becomes available) that the British promise to rebuild Kuka, the old 19th century capital, must have appealed to the Shehu, and/or the French conceded to British demands for the Shehu to be brought to Bornu. Certainly since Britain had claim to Bornu as part of Nigeria from the days of the Chartered Companies (late 19th century), and was making good the claim, it was only logical from their viewpoint that the traditional ruler of Bornu should be allowed to sit on the throne
175 in the area historically connected with his reign. Taking the evidence
648 of the French defeat of Rabeh, and their entry into Bornu with an armed force to defeat and kill his son, plus their establishment of the Shehu, it would seem as if the French from east of Lake Chad were trying to limit British expansion into Bornu by a fait accompli of possession, even though the western Chad basin had been ceded to England in the councils of European diplomacy.(1) In any event, all this manoeuvring on the part of the French proved of no avail, for it had also been decided in Europe that the Cameroons were to be administered by Germany, and the French soon had to cede even the area south of Lake Chad to that country.

175 "The first important step by the new British overlords was
648 the sending out of the fiefholders to live in their fief-ships in 1903 ...
634 These fiefs afterwards evolved into Districts and the most suitable men available were put in charge of them, the Shehu always being consulted
[631] in the selection. These men are now Ajia or District Headmen. This formed a chain of responsibility in the administration which the size of the Emirate and its small European staff immediately demanded."(2) However

(1) Langer, W.L. The Diplomacy of Imperialism, (New York) p. 131
(2) Annual Report 1909; op. cit.

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648 before the fiefs developed into Districts it was discovered that a divi-
634 sion of interests was involved between the British authorities and the
643 Shehu. The British were motivated by their own ideas of administration, i.e. to form "a chain of responsibility" from the local level up through the Shehu to the Resident, while the Shehu evidently tried to have as many fiefs created as possible in order that there would be a multitude of District Heads, thereby increasing the number of offices with which he could reward his supporters. The matter was settled by the British who limited the number of districts to a compromise between what they believed to be the traditional structure, and what they considered to be a workable arrangement in terms of their own requirements of administering the Emirate.

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648 When the District Head arrived in his District with his retinue
634 of supporters he found that the local Village Headmen (the Lawan), who
632 were strange to him, were being supported by the British because of their hereditary claims to village leadership. The British soon discovered that it had been the policy of the traditional fief-holder "to supplant the hereditary headmen by slaves (or followers) of the China."(1) Nevertheless, when a new fief-holder took office they conducted investigations to find who were the pre-British (and usually pre-Rabeh) Village Headmen and proceeded to appoint these people as Village Heads. In following this policy a political structure was created which utilized two potentially conflicting principles of social organization. In appointing District Heads the personal relationships of upper class leaders to the Shehu was considered to be the acceptable criteria, while the hereditary claims of local leaders were considered to be the basis for Village Headships. Thus,

(1) Patterson, J.R. Report on Nagumeri District 1920; in Nagumeri District Notebook; Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Prov. Nigeria.

175 648 634 632 the new District Head going out to his district was confronted with a situation in which he had a territory comprising a group of villages which were to be under his organized administration, and which were at the same time headed by people with whom he had no personal relationships.

Entering into this situation, the District Head responded in several ways. He could try to win the loyalty of the local Village Heads to himself, or conversely some Village Heads, sensing danger in the new situation, might come to the District Head and ask to be "his man." This meant that the District Head had expanded his following to include the Village Head. However, there were obstacles to this simple method of rapprochement. If the Village Head already had a strong functioning relationship to some other "big man" in the Kanuri state who was a powerful person in the post-1900 organization, or if the District Head was anxious to reward his own supporters with lucrative and prestige giving roles, 175 648 634 632 661 then this method was not too successful. The District Head could also try to manipulate the situation so that the Village Heads who he found the most truculent in accepting his overlordship, were regarded as inefficient, corrupt, or immoral in the eyes of the British, so that they would be deposed and then he could replace them with recruits from among his own following. Thus, in 1919, a British District Officer (D.O.) visiting Magumeri District, was told by Abba Kiari, then District Head of Magumeri, that two of the Village Heads in his District were inefficient and should be deposed. He felt also that because of the proximity of the two towns they should be united under one Village Head, and he offered one of his own followers as the logical candidate for the new appointment.(1) Finally, the District Head could simply carry on as if the British were

(1) Whitely: Report on Magumeri 1919; in Magumeri District Notebook

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648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
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632 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

[178] Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

[166] The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilisation by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organization, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Magumeri and Ngenzei District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged.
175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village.
175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. (1) This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganization which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south. (2) This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

175 439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
175 436 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
175 441 452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 441 452 563 [167] Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europeans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

175 441 452 The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilised for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradersas well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

175 439 The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones.(1)

175 177 648 The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

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schools, a few more roads were built or improved and once in a while extended, local European trading Companies reported "steady progress" in business volume, living conditions in the province for European staff "steadily improved", medical facilities "steadily expanded" and so on. Certainly there always seemed to be a rather high turn over in chiefs, but this came to be part of the expected regularity of life in Bornu.

What in effect had occurred was an adjustment. The British administration had set up the organisation of its indirect rule and the task of each new Resident Officer in Bornu was to implement Lord Lugard's policies to the best of his abilities. The general methods of resistance to the English administration were well known by both the Kanuri and the English and no jarring outside influence entered the scene to upset the gentlemanly tug-of-war which characterized the colonial contacts as a kind of game in which everyone knew the rules and the conditions of play, while the over-all techniques of the players did not change much through time.

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How the "game" was played at the political level can be seen in the following example of the deposition of a chief, taken from the provincial records at Maiduguri, concerning the District Head of Mobber between 1929 and 1931.(1) Mobber District is in the extreme northeast of Bornu Emirate on the border between Nigeria and French West Africa. Its relative isolation from British surveillance contributed to the maintenance of officially prohibited practices well into the late 1920's.

During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that

(1) c.f. Mobber District File; Provincial Office, Maiduguri.

175 648 634 632 During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930, Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situation. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admitted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the Lawans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order. The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr. Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O. arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri for hearings on the matter.

175 648 634 643 692 On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had requested the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignorance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising of personal tax levies.

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In another meeting between the Shehu and the Resident later that month, the Mobber matter was brought up again and the Shehu agreed that things did not seem to be going too well in Mobber. On the 14th of August, the Shehu suggested to the Resident when the Mobber misdemeanours were mentioned that the Mobber peasants were an extremely difficult group to manage and possibly chimas might be required for the proper administration of the District. At the end of August the Shehu requested of the Resident that the five men who had been arrested by A.D.O. Reed be sent back to their homes. The Resident agreed in principle, but felt that the one who had beaten a villager should be kept in Maiduguri for a little longer yet. He added that the men could be sent back to their homes only if the Shehu would take full responsibility for any further trouble in the Mobber area.

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In September and again in October of 1930, A.D.O. Reed was sent up to check the situation in Mobber District. The chimas were operating as before and the District Head was reported as being "not respectful" to the British officer on tour. Only one change [632] had occurred. An entire village area appeared to have been relinquished by the District Head since one of the Shehu's sons had been appointed its Lawan (Village Head) by the Wazirí.

Several months later in February 1931, the District Head of Mobber appeared in Maiduguri for an annual meeting and was warned by the Resident that "unless considerable improvement was shown he would be dismissed." From this point on, there were very few items in the Mobber District file in which the "Mobber case" was actually referred to. One short item tells of a rumour picked up by a junior officer to the effect that the District Head of Mobber was a favor-

175 648 634 ite of the Shehu and was married to a daughter of the Wazirí (head of the Shehu's council). By the end of 1931 the matter began to congeal. The D. O. of Bornu Emirate wrote a note to the Resident claiming that the time had come to dispose of the District Head of Mobber since he obviously would not reform, and then suggested several names as replacements. In early 1932 the matter was mentioned briefly in a report to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces from the Resident of Bornu. It stated that "the Shehu and Council have found it necessary to depose the District Head of Mobber." Several people were nominated by the D. O. and by the Council for the replacement and the matter was closed when a man suggested by the Council was mentioned in reports as the new District Head of Mobber.

The British administrators had tried to persuade the District Head of Mobber for two years to stop using his own system of political organization and work through the Village Heads, i.e., the political structure recognized by themselves. His inability to comply finally 175 648 brought about his removal. But the entire push and pull of the deposition did not materially disturb relations between the British and the political leadership of Bornu.

[631] Certainly the case hints at a well-organized Kanuri political system operating independently of the one formally recog- [643] nized by the British. However, it also illustrates the formalized and balanced relationship which existed between the Resident and the Shehu. The Resident patiently tried to press forward with his own conception of government, while the Shehu was at the same time attempting to mollify English demands in order that the Emirate political organization could be maintained unmolested. The unsettling feature of the relations between the Kanuri and the English

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648 political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

178 This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's re-
434 vealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent
[435] events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend."(1) Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials."(2) The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mustering out pay of the returning soldiers(3) had hit Bornu unprepared.

178 In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the
433 part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as
648 there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946
(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947
(3) Pedlar, F.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

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661 Good examples of these conflicts can be seen in some of the recorded history of Magumeri District in the last fifty years. From 1921 to 1929, Lawan Tayil, a follower of the DH, is only mentioned briefly and always alluded to as a competent Lawan. After the DH left the District in 1929 and was replaced by a new one, adverse reports by British officers (who had talked to the new DH) became more and more common. It was noted that Lawan Tayil was unpopular with the people, that there was emigration out of his village area due to exhortative taxation, and that he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1934 he was deposed and a younger brother of the new DH was installed
631 as Lawan. Examples like this are extremely common from Magumeri's
661 recent past as well as from the other Districts. This is reflected in the length of term of Lawans in office, taken from three widely separated Districts. The average length of tenure for a Lawan who is the follower of reigning Lawan is ten years if the DH remains in the District; on the other hand, the average length of tenure for a Lawan (in the District capital) is four years after a DH has left the District.

There is a tendency indicated in the historical records
631 for DH's to appoint younger brothers as Lawans. But this has its lim-
661 its; sometimes kin are passed over, or relationships are broken because
662 a kin member feels that he will be held responsible for his kinsman's behaviour. Thus in 1935, the Lawan of Magumeri asked the British authorities if he could be moved to another District away from the hegemony of an older brother who was his DH. By 1935 the British had received a great many complaints from Magumeri District about the oppressive taxation of the DH. Thus the DH's younger brother sensing that trouble was brewing for the DH, felt that it would be more advantageous for his own political career if he were out of his older brother's District,

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Chapter X

Summary and Conclusions

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642 The description of pre-Colonial Bornu has indicated that despite the rise and fall of its fortune the Kanuri political organization has had a remarkable resiliency throughout the last millenium. As long as the system of feudal organization remained with its nucleus at the capital city and court of the monarch, then the rise and fall of the empire was not fatal to its continuity. Kanuri feudalism is a segmentary corporate political structure; while the top remains intact, the expansion and contraction of the State itself bears no relation to its survival.

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631 The traditional background from which the present society obtains its roots has been altered in this century by contact with British colonialism. In Northern Nigeria the administration was deeply affected by the views of its founder Lugard, whose own control of the organization of the regional colonial service ensured that many of its norms, procedures and its overall policy would be an embodiment of his personal philosophy of colonialism. In Bornu, this meant that the pre-Rabeh Kanuri leaders regained their old positions, the Shehu was placed at the head of the State (now called the Bornu Emirate), and the fief-holders now called District Heads or Ajias, went to live in "bush" on their respective fiefs. The Village Heads within each district were appointed because of hereditary claims to the position while the District Heads over them were chosen because of their relationship to the monarch and/or other powerful groups at the capital. This set up possible conflicts between DH's and the Village Heads in their districts
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648 which has lasted to the present day. The policy of the British was to
642 rule through and strengthen the authority of the native leaders, while

175 enforcing compliance with the "fundamental laws of humanity" (which
648 ruled out the slave trade). The European and the African were to co-
642 [563] operate in administering the country but live separate lives socially, while western ideas and technology were to be introduced slowly when and if they would be acceptable, and only when capable of being financed on local revenues.

175 Out of this organization there grew a readily identifiable
648 English sub-culture whose uniqueness was a product of its particular
563 English upper class background and its adjustment to the common stimulus of Northern Nigeria. Their standards of administrative judgment came from Lugard and their common origins in English society; their hopes and fears, frustrations and satisfactions, grew out of the common work situation to be found in the British administration of the northern Emirates.

Because of the dearth of trained local personnel for carrying on the day to day office work and record-keeping of administration, the southern Nigerian, predominantly the Ibo, was introduced to Bornu. They soon came as skilled and semi-skilled labourers, carpenters, builders, bricklayers, mechanics and traders, and so in Bornu a minority group of southerners, mostly Christian, and more acculturated to Western ways became an established, although separate, part of the society.

175 After the inception of colonial rule the interaction be-
648 tween the British administration and the native political organization soon settled into a fairly steady pattern in which the British pushed continually for conformity to their own values in political organization, education, taxation, trade, etc. The Bornu officials and others who contacted the British, in their response, maintained as much of Kanuri culture as they could while at the same time learning what to

175 648 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 178 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been [433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the [494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 441 The introduction of the few European trading houses has served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
[131] many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[642] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroi-
439 dered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and
437 later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the
648 kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu
175 under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had
177 not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do
648 as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade,
634 which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the
175 nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was
177 called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of vil-
648 lage areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area
632 head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore
634 called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now
[622] headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which
177 were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali*, especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali*.

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the [582]
time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
487 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
592 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
593 the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon
[433] help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[472] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
571 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
[123] client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] [368]

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 829 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, tele-
571 phones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional pat-
576 terns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the
[179] conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in
[663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

642
634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the
121 trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business en-
182 terprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same house-
592 hold. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks
829 in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live
44 there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to
571 behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of
121 Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle
178 the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators [178] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding [177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid • 177 [148] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 567 [439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to
[174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

648 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[531] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and
563 are numerous in the western sections of the province. In sim-
• 177 ilar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[463] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

177 of Moslems and Europeans.

4. Peoples acculturated to the Kanuri

177 563 101 A circle of peoples surrounding the Kanuri have become, in varying degrees, acculturated to the Kanuri. These are relatively small groups who today are part pagan, part Moslem, and who speak Kanuri as well as their own individual languages. They lie in a sweeping circle along the borders of the area occupied by the Kanuri.

Directly east of the Kanuri, along the borders of Lake Chad and on the innumerable islands in the lake itself, live the Buduma. They probably represent part of the indigenous population of the plains of Bornu, forced into the inhospitable environment of the lake by the incoming Kanuri. Buduma living on the shores of the lake and in constant contact with Kanuri are Moslem and very Kanurified (acculturated to the Kanuri). Those in the interior are neither.

South of the lake and southeast of the Kanuri towns of Dikwa and Bama are two large tribes, the Mandara and the Kotoko (or Mogori). Kotoko towns like Segel, on the border of Chad, whose inhabitants are in immediate contact with the Kanuri from nearby towns, are very Kanurified. The people of Segel all speak Kanuri in addition to Kotoko, but the Kotoko are a distinct group. The Mandara, Moslem like the Kotoko, are more strongly identified with the Kanuri. Many individuals of Mandara origin live among the Kanuri and have adopted Kanuri cul-

177 563 101 [567] ture. Many slave families among the Kanuri today were originally Mandara. The Mandara live to the immediate east of the mountainous area inhabited by the Gwoza pagans, and Mandara is the lingua franca for the Gwoza hills.

The Marghi of Damboa District, just west of the Gwoza hills, are perhaps the clearest case of a group which, though still identifiable as a distinct people culturally, is fast [567] losing that identity and adopting Kanuri culture. The Marghi, up to recent times, served as a source of slaves for the Kanuri. Famous Kanuri title holders were Marghi slaves, called by the surname 'Marghi'. In Bornu Province they have become entirely integrated within the larger Kanuri society, within the present Kanuri-dominated political system, and within the urban-oriented economy of the area which looks towards the Kanuri capital, Maiduguri. Although older people among the Marghi still speak their own language, it is very common to find younger generation Marghi who have never learned Marghi and speak only Kanuri.

The Babur people live in the hilly upland area directly south of the Kanuri, centering around the town of Biu. They remain a part-Moslem, part-pagan people. The Bura and the Tera are sub-groups of the Babur. The upper classes of the Babur are entirely Moslem, and speak Kanuri. Many Babur have moved to Kanuri towns, particularly to Maiduguri. Often, after being accepted by the Kanuri community, they seek to deny affiliation with the Babur and call themselves Kanuri.

The Bolewa, southwest of the heart of Kanuri territory,

177 563 101 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 563 The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and [175] [636] in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist

177 563 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 105 177 The culture of a people never remains static; it is constantly changing in response to forces, both external and internal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 [01] At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957) Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents 829 resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,
political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[374] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-
lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these
Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often
the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments
as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.
Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, along with wealth and political office. 565 178 Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Departments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group 131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town 134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function- 121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

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significant changes. Remote as Geidam is, it is bound with ever increasing ties to the larger world. While Geidam is in a sense the center of its own small world, it is at the same time a minute part of an immense and continually expanding economic and political system.

This study focuses on changing Kanuri culture, on the process of acculturation. An acculturation study must begin with changes in the behavior of individuals. Yet the concept of culture comprises more than the behavior of individuals. It is concerned with behavior which characterizes a social whole, or segments of a society. When changes in the behavior of individuals are incorporated by the groups to which they belong, acculturation is occurring.

If one views acculturation in this way, it is clear that not all members of a society will show initial changes in cultural behavior, nor will changes occur at the same rate for all members. It is postulated here that one of the critical determinants of rate and type of acculturation in an individual's behavior is that individual's position in the community social structure. Because of their position in the society, certain individuals are in better positions than others to learn new things, to change in their thinking, their aspirations and their overt behavior. The rate of these changes and the particular areas of thinking and behaving which undergo change are considered as dependent upon the position of the individual in his society.

121 621 The anthropological concept of the community is used to define a micro-society. The community of the present study is an urban town, and its people belong to a variety of sub-groups. The townspeople of Geidam are members of occupational groups, social classes, ethnic sub-groups, common interest groups, neighborhoods, and friendship groups. They may be members of many such groups, which may overlap, but they all share one characteristic--they are all Geidamites, part of an interacting community. The various interlocking social groups of the town make up its social structure.

121 177 In terms of the particular field situation, the general acculturation problem presented above becomes: In what ways does the process of acculturation differ among members of differing groups in the urban community of Geidam? Two related additional problems emerge from the general one. The original problem focuses attention on the manner in which social structure guides and directs acculturation. A necessary consequence is that the social structure itself is undergoing change. The second problem is: what are the changes in social structure brought about by contact? Lastly, a third and oft-neglected problem concerns the mechanisms whereby changes are controlled and kept within acceptable cultural limits so that the emergent social structure retains its integration. Generally, this falls within the area of social control, though it is not usually seen in this light.

121 Before the research itself can be presented, however, much

121 The variables which provide the conceptual basis of the present study are social structure and acculturation. Before one can single out individual groups and focus attention on behavioral patterns which are associated with those groups it is necessary to delineate the larger structural features of Kanuri society so that the particular groups which have been selected for more careful examination can be seen in their societal context. In similar fashion, acculturated behavior can only be evaluated when one has a general understanding of the more stable behavioral norms which characterize Kanuri culture. It is against the background of the expectable Kanuri behavioral patterns that items of acculturated behavior takes on significance.

177 178 It was noted in the previous chapter that important external forces are acting to bring about changes in Kanuri culture. While these are powerful forces, and the changes themselves are far-reaching and significant, Kanuri culture still retains its essential integration. This can be seen in several areas: in the consistency of people's behavior, in the stress placed on important Kanuri values, and in the integration of Kanuri personality which is apparent despite acculturation. The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of these general features of Kanuri culture.

A. Larger Features of the Economy

1. Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Land Tenure.

161 There are strong indications that the population of Bornu

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
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565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families
remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built
the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
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565 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weak-
ness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In
form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the
old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
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565 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were
given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri
aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, accord-
ing to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well un-
derstood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered
alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
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565 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
631 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
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[651] to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments
and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These
were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
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779 of the population is pagan (Maguzawa), there are no pagan
177 Kanuri. Among the tribes who are influenced by and are ac-
779 culturating to the Kanuri, the Bede, the Babur, and the Marghi, both pagans and Mosl-ms can be found.

795 According to Trimingham[1], many pagans in the Western Sudan become Moslems by slipping into Islam, calling themselves "Mohammad", and imitating their fellows without special ceremoney. A rite is performed in the case of chiefs and important men, where public recognition is sought. This is undoubtedly the case for those part-Moslem, part-pagan peoples surrounding the Kanuri, and was also probably true in former centuries when the Kanuri themselves adopted Islam.

182 Today Islam is well integrated into Kanuri culture. With-
779 out entering into a detailed discussion of Islam as practiced by the Kanuri, those general areas which are most affected by Islam will be discussed here. These include: law, education and social organization. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the general features of Islamic worship as exemplified by the Pillars of Islam.

1. The Pillars of Islam.

782 The Pillars of Islam are five in number. The first of these is the confession of faith (shahada) which those who

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1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), see Appendix I "Ceremony of Joining Islam", p. 226.

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
• 177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[772] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [372] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular 177 554 education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, Ibid., p. 81.

[GEIDAM]

361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 • 177 [439] There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

114 in the town proper, in a Kanuri house, since it was obviously
361 impossible to live as all other Europeans did, more than a mile
• 177 from the Kanuri people, surrounded by fellow White men.

1. Foci of Communal activity.

36 If an archeologist living centuries in the future were to excavate the ruins of Geidam, he would be able to establish from the physical characteristics of the community that this was undoubtedly an urban community, provided that he excavated with great care. He would find a large area, the market-place, devoted to trade; specialized structures devoted to religious activity, in particular the large central mosque; and others devoted to the government bureaucracy, the largest of these being the Ajari, the 'palace' of the District Head. In addition, he would note great differences in the size of dwelling places or compounds, and would infer that households varied widely in size;
[463] this would imply social stratification. Lastly, there would be revealed economic specialization in different sections of the town, indicating the presence of specialized craftsmen. On the basis of solely physical evidence, Geidam would be considered an urban community.

This view is strengthened considerably if one looks at the activities of the people of Geidam. However, as we are still concerned with the physical nature of the community, let us first examine the activities of the townspeople in relation to the various sections of the town, which serve as foci of communal activity.

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[385]
[463]

[BEIDAM]

441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
• 177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fatkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taberma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fatkema are organized under a head man; the taberma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taberma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the
178 market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.
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[177] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and
this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing,
traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when
Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining
44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market,
serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam
itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen
[172] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with
donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such
as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they
sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam
craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all
small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who
buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these
saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market
to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east
of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sobdo (Sat-
urday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding
towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating
market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each
44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are
439

[GEIDAM]

44 438 439 563 [815] en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Lastly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 439 177 External trade remains to be considered. This is the process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 439 177 952 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to wholesalers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily receive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balasma in Kanuri terms. [556] [592] [971] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households, and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

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44 439 177 452 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the surrounding villages that are not large enough to support canteens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and sold in this fashion, the balosma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- 44 439 177 new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, saborma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shopkeepers directly from the trading companies who import them [E-5] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to taborma. Taborma, who are Kanuri, further break

44 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of
439 matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kero-
177 sene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cow-
[237] hides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same Euro-
[244] pean trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts
44 as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth,
439 once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the
452 use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends
244 to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balɔsma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into
[248] the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

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144 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[445] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy 177 Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44 fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439 554 ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 452 who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439 of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276 The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported i[redacted]ulk [494] by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by [redacted] truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [redacted] [135] the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called <u>goroma</u>; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492] to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

634 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to oper-
692 ate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of
178 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri
648 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional
63 political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly
178 in the following example describing the functioning of the po-
625 lice in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian
698 Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of
[66] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

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177 178 625 648 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present

177 178 625 648 567 571 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the information was revealed (in private, of course) that the new Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago, at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property including a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

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177 178 625 648 567 571 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 662 176 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a [501] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[63] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from Jangoli, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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177
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634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
• 177 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
554 master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert, the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[19] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[87] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all received specialized training for their jobs. In addition, all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship. (They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
565 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
871 Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the household of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send their children to the Western school as they are needed at home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, however, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 78 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

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G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momoñ Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

463 565 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. The Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

B6 •177 The third variable which must be considered in looking at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of con- [559] tact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

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56 177 prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.
[554]

The direct influence of the British colonial administration has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

177 567 565 648

64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Geidam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

634 177 178 565

[648]

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634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
• 177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
[648] ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
665 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
648 sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

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177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
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177 prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri
178 culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict
554 with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have
566 brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain groups in the community structure, particularly among the talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one another in the community of Geidam represents the social structure of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a
56 result of the interaction of the three variables discussed
178 here: the traditional system of social stratification, the
369 urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of
177 the Industrial West.

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant.

125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XIV

Acculturation Measures in the Questionnaire

125
177

1. What languages beside Kanuri do you speak?
2. Can you read? In what script can you read?
3. Do you have: a wrist watch, a bicycle, a radio, photographs of yourself, a horse?
4. Can you ride a bicycle?
5. Can you tell time?
6. What is the use of a wrist watch?
7. Which is more useful, a horse or a bicycle? Why?
8. Which would you rather have, a horse or a bicycle?
9. Do you smoke cigarettes?
10. Do you drink beer?
11. Do you fast during Ashem (Ramadan)?
12. Do you fast during Tsuro Mbulo (a minor fast)?
13. Do you wear charms (laya)?
14. Do you wear European-made shoes?
15. Do you wear European trousers?
16. Would you go to a European doctor if you were ill?
17. Which is more effective in curing disease, European medicine or drinking the ink which was used to write verses of the Koran (alo)?
18. Does a Kanuri doctor know how to set bones better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat jaundice better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat snake bite better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat head ache better than a European doctor?

    Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat small-pox better than a European doctor?

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XIV (continued)

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• 177

Does a Kanuri doctor know how to treat internal pain better than a European doctor?

19. If you had a complaint against a man, would you take him to court or would you take him before the Lowan or Ajia for sholo (arbitration)?

20. If you became rich and a man came to you and said that he needed a new kulugu (gown), would you give it to him?

21. Would you send your daughter to the European school?

22. What sort of work would you most like to do, if you could do anything you desired?

23. Which would you rather be: a truck driver, a Lowan, a dispenser (or doctor), or a Malam of the Koran?

24. Would you marry a woman who was not Kanuri?

25. Would you marry a Hausa woman? a Fulani woman? a Moslem Babur woman? a Moslem Yoruba woman?

26. Would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English?

27. Would you let your wife go to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher?

28. Would you want your sons to attend the European school?

29. Would you rather have them go to a Koranic Malam or to the European school to study?

30. What would you most want your son to become?

125 sion, use, and knowledge of Western material culture; evalua-
• 177 tions of the usefulness of such items; religious behavior; attitudes toward Western medical practices and the effectiveness of such treatment; attitudes toward traditional ways of arbitrating disputes and towards traditional forms of Kanuri generosity; attitudes toward preferred types of occupations for the individual being questioned and for his sons; attitudes toward Western education for both sons and daughters; attitudes toward marriage with women outside Kanuri culture and with acculturated women; attitudes toward behavior which should be permitted one's wife.

125 The forty-five remaining questions in the questionnaire-interview are concerned with various facets of the individual's life history. The initial twenty-five questions deal with the individual's wives and children, family of orientation and fam-
125 ily of procreation, and his household. The information ob-
128 tained from a number of these questions provide the basis for many of the tables in the previous chapter, particularly those on kinship and household, where the sample used is that de-
125 scribed in the present sections. Many of the earlier questions provide important information on the relative positions of the groups and categories. Thus information on number of wives, whether they were kala yaskas or zogors, size of yal, etc. reveal a great deal about each group and category. Fifteen other questions are concerned with friendships, visiting patterns, and eating arrangements, all factors in the position of a group

Chapter II

Ancient Roots to 1900

175 The existence since earliest historic times of Empires and petty states, along the southern ridge of the Sahara, from Lake Chad over to the Sene-Gambia region of the Atlantic Ocean, that is to say roughly along the line of 12 degrees north latitude has appealed to writers for centuries. There is quite a body of early Arabic literature on the subject, and from the 19th century forward, an ever increasing group of European writers have become interested in Sudanic history. Although this material makes fascinating reading to anyone interested in the region as a whole, it is not within the purposes of the present work to summarise the historical events of the Sudan, the rise of Songhai, Mali, Ghana and their respective declines. Such an account would take the present discussion far off its limited scope of interest in the area of the Chad basin. However, two main points must be kept in mind which stem from this large body of literature, Firstly, there were to the west of Bornu throughout 175 177 its entire history large states and empires which were rising, falling and expanding, and with whom Bornu was always in contact. Secondly, that all these empires and petty states maintained constant contacts, not only with one another, but with the great Muslim powers of North Africa and Spain through the medium of the ancient caravan routes of the Sahara.

The possibilities of contact of peoples across the Sudan to the east of Chad is a much thornier question, and very little has ever been done by competent scholars to relate the eastern Sudan to the central and western portions.(1)

The contacts of the Sudanic peoples with the south have either

(1) See Arkell, A.J. History of Darfur, Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 32, 1951, pp.33-38, in which he discusses the influence of Bornu on Darfur.

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177 been left out of the historical accounts of the area or have been played down so considerably that the reader finds it easy to forget that the Sudan is geographically adjacent to the Guinea coast. Lady Lugard[1] set the style for this kind of thinking when she described the Sudan as "facing north". Yet the gold, the slaves, and the lowly kola-nut, which became popular as an article of consumption from Kano to Tripoli, all required well established relationships and contacts between the peoples of the Sudan and those to the south of them from very early times.

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197 Evidence on the early beginning of the Kanuri people is scant. Linguistically they belong to the central Saharan group of languages which extends like a boot into modern northeastern Nigeria, but for the most part takes up the area of the central Sahara, reaching north to include a good portion of Fezzan, all of Tibesti, and stretching eastward in the desert until it meets the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, the so-called Hamito-Semitic group.[2] Greenberg comments on the distinctiveness of the central Saharan group of tongues, and we may safely attribute to them a
174 respectable time depth. Gautier[3] has shown that Lake Chad delivered water
133 into the Bornu region in past times. According to another writer[4] the whole territory northeast of Lake Chad was a great swampy shallow area until the early centuries of the Christian era. This was maintained by the overflow through a river valley (the Bahr el Ghazal) which is now only a dry depression. The surplus Chad water still flows along this passage today beneath the soil. Less than a century ago, Nachtigal[5] saw the first

(1) Shaw, F.L. (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency (London), 1905, p.3.
(2) Greenberg, J.H., Studies in African Linguistic Classification: IV Hamito-Semetics, SWJ, 6, 1950.
(3) Gautier, E.F., Sahara the Great Desert, (London) 1935, pp.68-69.
(4) Tilho, J. in Geographic Journal LVI, 1920, quoted in Carpenter, Rhys, A Trans-Saharan Caravan route in Herodotus, Americal Journal of Archeology, Vol. 60, 1956, p. 240.
(5) Nachtigal, G., Sahara und Sudan, p. 77ff

174 133 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal swamps. Carpenter[1] feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fezzan rather than the Niger that Ptearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems reasonable to suppose that as these enormous wet lands dried up central Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated more densely in this geographically favourable area.

175 Until more historical and archeological research has been carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanciful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings".[2]

175 797 Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D. speaks of the people of Kanem as idolators.[3] However it is most likely that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older [173] texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king) Hume (1085-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu.[4]

[177] Urvoy feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributaries.[5] Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies

175 642 already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Rhys, op.cit. p. 239.
(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857, p. 643.
(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.
(4) Urvoy, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.
(5) Urvoy, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IFAN, 7, 1949, p.36

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The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilised for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradersas well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

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The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones.(1)

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The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

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177 schools, a few more roads were built or improved and once in a while
648 extended, local European trading Companies reported "steady progress" in business volume, living conditions in the province for European staff "steadily improved", medical facilities "steadily expanded" and so on. Certainly there always seemed to be a rather high turn over in chiefs, but this came to be part of the expected regularity of life in Bornu.

What in effect had occurred was an adjustment. The British administration had set up the organisation of its indirect rule and the task of each new Resident Officer in Bornu was to implement Lord Lugard's policies to the best of his abilities. The general methods of resistance to the English administration were well known by both the Kanuri and the English and no jarring outside influence entered the scene to upset the gentlemanly tug-of-war which characterized the colonial contacts as a kind of game in which everyone knew the rules and the conditions of play, while the over-all techniques of the players did not change much through time.

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[127]
How the "game" was played at the political level can be seen in the following example of the deposition of a chief, taken from the provincial records at Maiduguri, concerning the District Head of Mobber between 1929 and 1931.(1) Mobber District is in the extreme northeast of Bornu Emirate on the border between Nigeria and French West Africa. Its relative isolation from British surveillance contributed to the maintenance of officially prohibited practices well into the late 1920's.

During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that

(1) c.f. Mobber District File; Provincial Office, Maiduguri.

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433 orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash
648 crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organization of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A.
[511] salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs.

178 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
619 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
648 brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim population of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. variety). Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi des (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor.(1)

177 The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders. Altho the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres. Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward; slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Geidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

(1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labour-
[463] ers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics,
[177] clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European
562 origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say
592 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving
562 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery
323 production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/
000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>gerwa</u> (co-

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organization of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

517 taming to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 [554] quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as
302 the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor,
511 and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the
273 District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor,
[511] little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the
276 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chew-
272 ing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost
789 everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and
[432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration.
789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for
177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

175 648 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

• 177 178 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been [433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the [494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 441 The introduction of the few European trading houses has served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational and social groups of Kanuri and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-367.]

441 452 the extended household organisation of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[131] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 During 1956-7 the Agricultural Officer of Bornu Province
• 177 was a Kanuri who had studied tropical agriculture in Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and India. He was very enthusiastic about the introduction of citrus crops into the area, and spent a large part of his time helping to get this programme under way in the southern part of the province. He was also interested in introducing super-phosphate fertilizer into the agricultural practices of Kanuri cultivators to increase the yield of millet and groundnuts.

241 The average yields for the province using traditional techniques are approximately 600 lbs. of groundnuts (decorticated) and 400 lbs. of millet (threshed) per acre. The yields diminish as one travels north towards the desert, and farm sizes increase in proportion, although farm size is also dependent upon family size, marriage stability, and the socio-economic relations of the cultivator within the community (Cohen, 1959). Research has
[242] proven that the use of super-phosphate fertilizer can raise agricultural productivity in Bornu from 25% to 40% above that normally obtained with traditional growing techniques.

Two methods of planting crops are known. The bulk of the farm plots for most cultivators are the *kulo karabe* or far farms.[1] These are located beyond a two hundred yard perimeter (approximately) around the village. Here crops are planted
[221] a week or two after the first rains, hoed twice during the wet season, and harvested in the period from November to the end of December. In the *kulo fatobe* or near farms, within a two hundred yard perimeter around the village, and within the household itself, maize and vegetables are planted with compost, mostly from sheep, goats, horses, and burnt ashes. This is placed on the soil during planting, and may be applied again during the growing season. Sometimes the compost is put into the ground along with the seeds.

101 The following course of events was observed in Magumeri,
[162] a comparatively small district capital (population 2000), forty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri, the provincial capital.

[1] Literally this expression means "bush farm," and *kulo fatobe* translated literally would be "house farm." For purposes of descriptive convenience and accuracy, the writer has coined the phrases "near" and "far" farms.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

The Course of Events

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For the three years prior to 1956, the agriculture department of Bornu Province had sent super-phosphate to the District Head of Magumeri. The District Head called in his Village Area Heads and distributed the fertilizer among them. These Village Area Heads were in turn under instructions to give out the fertilizer to local cultivators. Some did so, some did so half-heartedly, and some not at all. Since there was no great pressure from the higher echelons of the political organization to get the programme under way, the super-phosphate was simply considered a matter of local choice. Peasants who tried the fertilizer claimed that it was useless.

In early June, 1956, the Agricultural Officer sent a letter to all District Heads informing them that he intended to carry out a lecture tour of the Province. The District Head of Magumeri sent out directives to make sure that a large group of people would gather in the district capital for the occasion. The talk centred round two main points. First, the great superiority of European technology; here references were made to motor cars, radios, aeroplanes, and to the fact that super-phosphate fertilizer increased the productivity of indigenous crops. Secondly, the Officer remarked repeatedly that for the last three years the peasants had been using the fertilizer improperly by depositing the super-phosphate pellets into the ground with the seeds. This provided no benefits whatsoever for the plants, and might easily do them some harm. The lectures were given in Kanuri, the native language of the Agricultural Officer.

On June 30th, 1956, Malam Abdulla Yajuwa an agricultural field worker, from the Bornu department of Agriculture came to Magumeri. His instructions were to carry out thirty or more demonstration trials in the Magumeri area on low fertility far farms (*kulo karabe*). This was to be done in cooperation with the cultivator who would permit Malam Abdulla to mark off one acre of farm plot, divide this into two halves, and apply super-phosphate fertilizer to one half and not the other. The farmer was to accompany the field worker so that the method of application could be observed and explained.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 Two one-acre plots were to be used for each peasant, so that
177 the utility of the fertilizer could be seen on both millet and groundnut plots. In addition, the field worker was to keep careful records on date of sowing, date of application of fertilizer, dates of first and second weeding and harvesting, farmer reaction to super-phosphate, name and village of the cultivator, and finally, the weight in pounds of millet and groundnuts harvested per half acre on the demonstration plots. The field worker was instructed on the necessity of weighing the harvest from each half acre in the presence of the owner, so that each peasant would see the difference in yield from the treated and untreated portions of the plots. The instructions on this last point were very strongly worded and field workers were made to feel particularly responsible for the final demonstration to the farmer of the weight of crops coming from each part of the demonstration plots. Field workers were also told to play down the efficacy of this particular stock of super-phosphate pellets by commenting on its age and its probable loss of power in comparison to new super-phosphate which could be expected to give much more powerful results. The field worker was also asked to make the point that this free application was only for the purpose of demonstration, and that anyone wishing to obtain super-phosphate fertilizer in the future would be expected to buy it. (Actually, the plan was to distribute the fertilizer the following year at a very nominal price, well below its actual worth.)

The District Head organized a meeting of Magumeri cul-
[632] tivators and introduced Malam Abdulla and his project. The
[875] Village Head of Magumeri and the local school teacher, both
[554] highly respected men in the village, made short speeches ex-
tolling the virtues of the fertilizer, and the Village Head asked for volunteers who would participate in the project. Only a few came forward, others were then ordered to do so, and the rest of the Magumeri sample was obtained through the participation of the school teacher and servants of the District Head, all of whom had their own farm plots. Malam Abdulla also went to two other villages in the area, after obtaining the permission of the District Head, and obtained "volunteers". In

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one of these, Chingowa, he was refused any cooperation by the Village Head at first, because this leader had heard nothing about the project from the District Head. When the District Head sent out a directive about the demonstration, the cultivators were forthcoming.

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During the next few weeks, Malam Abdulla went round to the farms of all participants choosing infertile unfertilized plots. He then measured off two one-acre plots (if possible) and divided these in half. Four to fifteen days after the plants had germinated he applied the super-phosphate in the company of the cultivator. He explained in a friendly, cheerful, manner how it was necessary to make a small hole two to four inches away from the stalk and pour in a few pellets.

From July until harvest time in the fall, Malam Abdulla made monthly visits to all participants in the demonstration. During these visits he extolled the virtues of super-phosphate fertilizer, and together he and the cultivator went out to the plots and measured the height of the plants, and examined them comparatively. It was obvious in almost all cases that the plants treated with super-phosphate were larger, healthier, and broader-leafed. The contrast was especially marked for groundnuts since the untreated plants looked generally to be about half the size of the treated ones.

At harvest time Malam Abdulla did his best to make appointments with all the participants so that he could be on the spot to separate treated from untreated crops, and to keep the yields of the experimental one acre separate from other plots not included in the demonstration. This was not possible for sixteen out of seventy-eight cultivators. These men simply harvested their crops and took no notice of the experimental plots even though they had participated in the scheme up until harvest time.

For the rest, the results were varied, but the overall technological success of the demonstration was indisputable. For those measured, there was a mean increase in millet of 30.3% per test plot, and a mean increase of 35.1% for groundnuts. Variation was large, although almost everyone obtained at least a 10% increase on their fertilized plots, while some received

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 gains running up to 300%[2]. In two cases for groundnuts and ten
.177 for millet, the increase on the test plot was less than 10% of that on the non-fertilized one. These twelve plots were owned by nine people: allowing for eight cases of negligence through absense or sickness, this leaves forty-three cultivators who experienced a significant (more than 10%) increase in productivity due to the action of super-phosphate fertilizer.

After the harvest season (November to January) had ended nothing more was done on the project for some time. Malam Abdulla prepared his report and turned it in to the Agriculture department at the capital, but remained in the Magumeri area. In March a District Council meeting was held in Magumeri, and the fertilizer was on the agenda for discussion.

242 The District Council, under the chairmanship of the District
177 Head is composed of Village Heads, Ward Heads and some
634 elder compound heads from the various villages and hamlets of the district. The body, a British innovation, discusses local planning, and votes on the disbursement of a small amount of money known as the District Council Fund.

This was a rather special occasion for the Council, for they were to have an African District Officer rather than a European, which was the usual practice. Generally speaking, the meeting differed considerably from all other Council meetings attended by the writer. The people seemed much more relaxed, much less stiff and formal compared to previous occasions. Comments passed back and forth between one person and another, whereas at previous sessions, people had sat silently, and never spoke unless spoken to first by a superior. The resulting loss in orderliness was offset by a large gain in freedom of expression.
[782] Many participants remarked afterwards on this difference and spoke favourably of the African District Officer, who prayed with the people at both the beginning and end of the meeting.

242 During the meeting, the District Head announced that the
177 super-phosphate fertilizer was to be available within the next month or two for sale to those who would like to buy it. Several

[2] The standard deviations for these averages are as follows: millet, 25.2; groundnuts, 20.1.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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objections to the fertilizer were voiced immediately. The school teacher of Magumeri gave a short talk extolling the virtues of super-phosphate and reminded the people that European technology was "a wonderful thing". He also repeated the claim that there had been widespread misuse of the fertilizer in the years before Malam Abdulla had come to show them how to use it correctly. Although this was heard in polite silence, objections to the fertilizer were still raised after the school teacher had finished. Several older men murmered, *faida ba* (useless), *ngəlagnyi* (no good) and similar negative phrases. Finally, Malam Abdulla spoke to the meeting for about twelve minutes. He gave a rough summary of his work in the Magumeri area, and remarked repeatedly that the demonstration had been a complete success with many farmers. He explained that in those cases where the fertilizer had failed to give results, the farmers in question had done little or no hoeing, and the crop failures were therefore due to negligence and not the super-phosphate.

However, when the District Head asked the people to estimate how many would be interested in purchasing bags of super-phosphate pellets, there were no volunteers. On the contrary several old men stood up and gave sharply condemnatory speeches about the fertilizer. It was claimed that this fertilizer worked in Kano, Katsina, and Zaria, i.e. elsewhere in Northern Nigeria, where the soil was much redder. In Magumeri the soil was yellow, and needed compost or cattle dung; the super-phosphate was not entirely useless, but for the Magumeri area it was not practicable. Without standing up, several others made similar comments, and a negative consensus was soon reached. The super-phosphate fertilizer was the wrong kind of thing to use on farms in this area. No one rebutted these arguments, and no one mentioned the successful demonstration after Malam Abdulla had spoken.

The District Head closed the matter by saying that he would have a letter written to the agriculture department reporting the views of the Magumeri peasants, and asking for a field worker to be sent who would teach the people how to use the new fertilizer.

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And so, after ten months of work the project was back where it had started. It may be that in future years the people will come to accept super-phosphate fertilizer: now, however, there is as much resistance to it as there was at the beginning of the demonstration.

Analysis

The demonstration of super-phosphate fertilizer in the Magumeri area was in most essentials a technical success. The programme was introducted by a Kanuri field worker employed by the Agriculture department which was under the direction of a senior Agricultural Officer who was himself a Kanuri. What went wrong? Why did the people so unanimously reject the innovation?

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In discussing factors affecting economic growth, Linton (1952: 76) has commented that people will improve their lot unless they have had adverse experiences in the past with a particular innovation. This point is particularly relevent to the situation under discussion.

Some of the people in Magumeri had used the fertilizer in previous years without adequate instruction. By placing the pellets in the ground with the seed, they had damaged the plants in some cases, and killed them in others. When the Agricultural Officer made his speech in June, 1956, people remarked afterwards that the *bundar nasarabe* (European compost) was useless. It was agreed that European technology was very wonderful, but the Europeans did not grow millet and groundnuts, and therefore knew nothing of the techniques necessary for such cultivation. Therefore the speech was in effect a failure. A field worker who had rapport with the cultivators could easily have discovered this important fact and the department would then have been aware that they were not planning an innovation at all but rather that they had a battle on their hands against a confirmed negative opinion. That references were made to the previous misuse of the fertilizer indicates that there was some appreciation of this fact. However simple contradiction was not sufficient to change these attitudes.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

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Linton (1952: 77) has also suggested that peasants view any attempts to change their economic condition with suspicion when these originate from their rulers. The peasant, often quite justifiably, feels that anything his rulers offer as a chance to improve conditions is probably much more to the ruler's advantage than to his own. 177. 829

This was very certainly the case in Magumeri, and had occurred several times before. Thus, only a few weeks before the fertilizer demonstration began, the Village Head of Magumeri had tried to convince people of the worthiness of literacy. His argument centered around the idea that when literate the peasants would be able to catch their rulers, including himself, for issuing false tax receipts (Cohen and Frank, 1960). When the people refused to volunteer he forced a number of individuals to sign up for the literacy courses. It is difficult to say exactly how many were forced to "volunteer" for the fertilizer demonstration, but that coercion was involved is undoubtedly true. 212 177 829 [242]

On the other hand, a strange and almost unprecedented thing occurred at the final meeting when the people were asked whether or not they would use the fertilizer in the coming year. District Council meetings were usually very stiff affairs in which a formal agenda was followed under the guidance of a British District Officer. Very often a District Head rehearsed these "democratic" meetings first to make sure motions would be seconded, voted on properly, etc. On this occasion, an African District Officer was present, and the District Head gave the members of the Council a definite choice as to whether they would accept the fertilizer or not. Bornu is an autocratic country and subordinates are usually ordered about, unless the matter is a trivial one. The outward signs of democratic procedures introduced by colonial rule are very superficially imposed upon feudal autocracy, so that effective social action is carried out dictatorially. This is an ancient society and people are traditionally accustomed to these procedures. That dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use, or not use, fertilizer in years to come, immediately defined it as a trivial and unimportant matter upon which people could make up their own minds. 242 177 634 642

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177. 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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242 This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demon-
.177 stration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

[829] The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

242 Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age.
177 However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men
561 do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite,
[576] and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training,
[554] and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people.
242 Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were
177 reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Ab-
[829] dulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his

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own farm plot. This added to the general impression of the fertilizer as an intrusive item, and one which had no practical value under local conditions.

Conclusion

The human side of innovation has often been emphasized as being just as important as the technological. The Magumeri experience reiterates the fact that the social and psychological context of innovation requires careful analysis so that variables affecting innovation may be isolated and prepared for before any development programmes are put into action. If the place of social relations, as compared to technology, in farm production had been taken into account, the results of this experiment might well have been less disappointing. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that all technology is imbedded in a welter of cultural accretions. It is the responsibility of the innovator to isolate cultural characteristics of technology which are necessary to its successfull operation, from those which are simply there because of the cultural origins of the item. This is what lies at the root of flexibility as opposed to rigidity in the introduction of western technology to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

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There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

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Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

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daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

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175 704 72 [703] ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

175 178 642 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu Shehus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachellas and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court. [554]

175 554 642 178 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to discuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi- 175 554 644 [643]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

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In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

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throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

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423 592 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer, simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 241 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader 423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings. [428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in [691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 [241] [221] Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering. These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 467 [622] [178] Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

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man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

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practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job, and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional patterns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meetings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local government from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

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the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on.

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government.

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas.

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria.

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the

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665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true reli-
gion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
[563] riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
[579] but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them cor-
rect, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C.
and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us
here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and
eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian par-
ties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-
Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a
one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emi-
rate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There
are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until
January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern re-
gion was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the
former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this re-
gion between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be
represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these
have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more
modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within
this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and
political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals.
Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tra-
dition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it
has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the
121 trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business en-
182 terprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same house-
592 hold. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks
829 in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live
44 there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to
571 behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of
121 Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle
178 the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to
[148] create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding
[177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

Chapter I

The Setting

[1]

101 For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. [178] Bornu is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an [631] ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Bornu 162 Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has [131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of [161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are Fulani and Shuwa nomads.(1) The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

132 The Emirate lies within latitudes 11 to 13 N. and longitudes [131] 11 to 13½ S. and has a typical sub-Saharan savannah climate. There is a mean daily maximum temperature of 94° F. from March to June and a mean daily minimum of 66° F. from July to February. The rainfall varies from north to south, being somewhat heavier in the south. Mean rainfall figures in inches per month at Maiduguri for the last thirty-six years are as follows:

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.01	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

177 563 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 105 177 The culture of a people never remains static; it is constantly changing in response to forces, both external and internal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 [001] At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957) Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appoint-
ments formally need not be approved by the British administra-
tion, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
631
78 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[51] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times,
since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[329] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view
the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the polit-
ical system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions
of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit,
the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which pro-
tects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri
could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the pro-
tection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his
own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might
have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to
take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of
Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents 829 resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav- [356] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

128 788 356 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trading class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take [554] the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, along with wealth and political office. 565 178 Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554
565 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178 A number of material changes have been introduced which
494 have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
312 charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the dig-
[653] ging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
[651] attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks,
178 roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Ni-
134 geria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

121 The variables which provide the conceptual basis of the present study are social structure and acculturation. Before one can single out individual groups and focus attention on behavioral patterns which are associated with those groups it is necessary to delineate the larger structural features of Kanuri society so that the particular groups which have been selected for more careful examination can be seen in their societal context. In similar fashion, acculturated behavior can only be evaluated when one has a general understanding of the more stable behavioral norms which characterize Kanuri culture. It is against the background of the expectable Kanuri behavioral patterns that items of acculturated behavior takes on significance.

177 178 It was noted in the previous chapter that important external forces are acting to bring about changes in Kanuri culture. While these are powerful forces, and the changes themselves are far-reaching and significant, Kanuri culture still retains its essential integration. This can be seen in several areas: in the consistency of people's behavior, in the stress placed on important Kanuri values, and in the integration of Kanuri personality which is apparent despite acculturation. The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of these general features of Kanuri culture.

A. Larger Features of the Economy

1. Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Land Tenure.

161 There are strong indications that the population of Bornu

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
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[78]

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[731] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a cataatrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
366
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
[369] into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
643
565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
178 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
565 centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
177 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were
565 given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
644
565 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
631 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
423 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
[651] ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
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175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 648 642 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648
634 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
[642] Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
568 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

173 614 613 from Yemen, consequently the dynasty of the Mais of Bornu is referred to as the Sef dynasty. There are twelve such sub-jilis within the jili Magumi. If within the sub-jili Sef a man should arise to great power and importance, his future descendants would refer to him as the ancestor of their sub-sub-jili (lineage) of the sub-jili Sef. One informant, who is Kanembu (but culturally Kanuri), gave the following pedigree: Kanembu, jili Kuvuri, sub-jili Kongana, sub-sub-jili Malam Shia. Malam Shia was an important historic personage who is considered to be the founder of the lineage which bears his name.

173 643 614 The Sef dynasty came to an end after the Fulani invasions, and Shehu Laminu established the line of the present Shehus though he himself never ruled as king. Shehu Laminu was Kanembu, of the jili Kuvuri. He was followed into Bornu by a number of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, with their retinue, who assisted [178] him in driving back the Fulani. Shehu Laminu was instrumental in further reducing the role of the jilis by appointing a Shetima Kanuribe (Shetima is a noble title) as head of all the Kanuri, replacing the various heads of the jilis; he did the same for the Shuwas under him.

614 178 Today everyone knows his own jili, and the jili of his parents, which may and usually does differ, but the jili no longer performs any social function. Few people can give their sub-jili. [643] Many of the jilis today have a nominal head. The present Shehu is obviously head of all the Kanembu Kuvuri. The head of the Kanuri Magumi is the former Waziri Ibranim. The Shetima Kanuribe

614 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanem-
• 178 bu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in
[643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re-
[643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British
Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It
was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the
[563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads
of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which
indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However,
the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatso-
ever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of
their position, but this is all that remains attached to the po-
sition.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175
565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized
four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo),
aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya).
One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken
together, determine the social importance of any category of
individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-
birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determin-
ing the rank of a social class, or of a single individual with-
in a class.

121 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social
61 relationship, and which derives from the political structure
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175 567 554 [304] 175 567 554 592 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The susana of an important noble shares some of that importance by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 428 [643] 567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his master, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

567 576 178

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and
[673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
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565 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

698 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[643] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Aji.

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 556 565 441 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times.

[121] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
671 ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming
[651] to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

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425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for 425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal 695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head [465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment 241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some 565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and 464 [178] may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap- 241 proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm 427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced. 241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him. 634 [423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

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441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the <u>fɔtkema</u>, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the <u>tabɔrma</u>, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fɔtkema are organized under a head man; the tabɔrma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the tabɔrma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
177
178

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177
178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

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634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
[692] a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
[692] the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
[692] of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

648 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
[178] trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the
692 Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

634 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to oper-
612 ate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of
178 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri
648 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional
63 political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly
178 in the following example describing the functioning of the po-
625 lice in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian
648 Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of
[661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

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177 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge
178 Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam
625 is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his
648 command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present
177 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the in-
178 formation was revealed (in private, of course) that the new
625 Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago,
648 at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima
567 Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property in-
571 cluding a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

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177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
625 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
648 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
567 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature
571 of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the
178 political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[501] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to replace him with one of his own men.

The kabuna represent a special category in the administration of the district. The colonial administration makes no provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town called Damjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

651 634 563 66 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compromised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[661] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 63 The roles of a number of political figures have been discussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[663] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 178 177 554 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-

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634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
177
554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554
565 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
871 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 78 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

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G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms
178 of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are:
177 the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the
369 social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momon Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

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56 177 [554] prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

177 567 565 648 The direct influence of the British colonial administration has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, 634 177 178 565 political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Geidam. [648] The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

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634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
[648] ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
665 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
648 sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but who may in time emerge with real power through their positions within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

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177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
• 178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power and
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177 prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri
178 culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict
554 with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have
565 brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain groups in the community structure, particularly among the talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one another in the community of Geidam represents the social structure of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a
56 result of the interaction of the three variables discussed
178 here: the traditional system of social stratification, the
369 urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of
177 the Industrial West.

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 183 178 [369] Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were [792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These [441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely [554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

*177 against whom they have a complaint before either authority.
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*829 Those who would take their disputes directly to court (column 4) offer a variety of reasons for so doing, but the basis of their reasoning is that: the court can determine the truth (and frequently people are required to swear on the Koran in court); the court can enforce its decisions; and sholo requires both parties to accept and be bound by the decision of the
*177 arbitrator (see *e and *k) while the court does not. The 11
627 individuals whose answers fall in column 4 represent members
691 of 6 groups, but the highest proportion of respondents giving
*829 this answer is to be found among the Canteen Operators. Three
44 of this group said "court"; only two said "Ajia first and then court." Furthermore, their reasons for taking a dispute to court are not as convincing as those of other individuals who would also take their disputes to court. In *d are to be found the responses of the three Canteen Operators who would take their disputes directly to court. Neither the first nor the second answer are reasonable explanations. Bribery is possible in cases brought for sholo and equally possible in cases brought before an Alkali; it is no more proper for a Moslem to go to court than it is for him to bring his dispute for arbitration. The third answer is more convincing, though it says only a portion
[178] of what might be said. It seems clear that the Canteen Operators as a group would be more likely to take cases before the Alkali rather than before the Lowan or Ajia because of their own changing status in the social structure. Because they are

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#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
#829 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
441 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that
178 of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees
their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to
place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan
or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

935 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generos-
577 ity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
[554] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth
and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is
expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to
validate his high position. Every individual in the sample,
when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked
for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a
single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked.
Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an un-
qualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the
gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The vari-
ous qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-
hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the
other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone
who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

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735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

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735 Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature
441
178 of this group within the social structure explains their tend-
565 ency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

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735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

*554 *829 441 *777 178 441 *463 556 *554 tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka. Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the categories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new innovation brought about by contact with the West, has undergone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (*k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

*554 *829 Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is interesting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (*a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly *c who has selected a time-honored [792] ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table [44] XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

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paid tribute to imperial Bornu, although very often the Songhai would extend themselves and the Hausa would face around for a short while to bow to the suzerainty of Timbuctu.(1) Kanuri power also extended up into the Fezzan taking in the important salt works of Bilma. In the east, Bornu hegemony probably reached into the Darfur region and in the south to the present town of Biu in south Bornu.(2)

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From this pinnacle of majesty at the beginning of the 17th century a slow decline ensued which continued from the time of the 55th Mai, Muhammed (1602-1618 A.D.), son of Mai Idris Alooma, through the 18th century until the collapse of the second Kanuri empire in 1808. Although none of the writers are agreed on the causes of this decline it is possible that the monarchy and the court life had become so overly elaborate and ritualized, that it hampered the operation of effective leadership in a state requiring constant vigilance and warfare for its survival. It is reported that throughout almost the entire 18th century, the Mais rarely, if ever, left the confines of the palace during their reigns.(3) Traditions during this period tell of famines and pious leadership, rather than administrative and military successes.

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From about the 14th century onwards a nomadic cattle people, the Fulani, had been filtering into the Sudan from the northwest and slowly moving across the whole of what is today Northern Nigeria. In February of 1804, for a number of political and religious reasons, a Fulani religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, declared a Hejira, or Flight from Digal (evil), which was an expression of defiance and aggression towards the Hausa leaders. From this period forward he and his warrior-scholar son, Bello, carried on a holy war in the Sudan that resulted finally in an empire

(1) Shaw, F. L. (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p. 279
(2) Arkell, A.J. The History of Darfur; Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33 p. 246.
(3) Stennings, D. Nomads of the Great Forest (Ms.) 1955

175 721 to Bello and complained that violence was being used for political aggrandizement, not religious conversion. Bello replied that the attacks were justified because of the oppression of the Fulani in Bornu, and the heathen practices of the Kanuri people, and because of aid given by Bornu to Kano and Katsina to resist the holy war.

Between 1809 and 1811 the capital fell again to the Fulani and was retaken a second time by Laminu for the Kanuri, but it was abandoned from this time forward as the center of the Bornu state. The results 175 178 727 643 of these few years were cataclysmic for the history of Bornu. The Pulani invasion was halted, although the western vassals were now under the sovereignty of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto. Bornu had survived the Jihad (holy war), but at the cost of her famous capital of Birni Gazargamo, and the loss of a dynasty of rulers, the Magumi Sefuwa, who had retained the monarchy for 1000 years. For in appealing to Laminu for help, the Kanuri Mai triggered off the beginning of his and his family's end as the effective monarchs of Bornu, meanwhile initiating the beginning of the Kanembu dynasty which sits on the Bornu throne today.

175 643 [103] [361] The traditional Mai set up a new capital, called Kafela (open place) near the present town of Monguno, and Laminu resided for a while at nearby Ngorno on the shores of Chad. However the constant threat of inundation from the Lake forced him to move his headquarters further inland to [721] Kuka which became the 19th century center of the Bornu state. Ruling from behind the scenes, with the Mai still on the throne as a puppet, Laminu tried to re-consolidate the kingdom from 1820-35, by recapturing the western vassals, and even at one point (1826) by menacing Kano. It was during this period that Denham and Clapperton visited Bornu and in their publications we have a good record of the contemporary court life and politics of the kingdom, as well as some glimpses into the nature of everyday life in

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
178 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
175 726 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

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721 since the absence of the local chief with a force of young men had tempted the neighbouring chief, or some wandering nomad raiders, to plunder the town for slaves and booty.

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642 When the British arrived in Bornu to weld the Emirate into their Colonial Empire, it should be emphasized that they were confronted by a way of life, whose known and partly recorded past had been flowing on through at least 1100 years of continuous, unbroken and independent national history. During that time the power of the monarchy had risen and fallen in successive waves of power and decline. In the 12th and 13th centuries the first Kanuri florescence occurred in Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, only to decline in the 14th century and finally beat a forced retreat from the center of their empire into Bornu proper, to the west of the Lake. Here, to the south of the river Yo, they hoped for some safety from the northern raiders which was afforded by the river. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the second emergence of a Kanuri Empire in the Sudan, which, although often neglected by historians of the region, was effective enough to resist the eastward expansion of Songhai at the zenith of its power. Slow decline followed in the 17th and 18th centuries until a near collapse, due to Fulani expansionism at the beginning of the 19th century, could only be avoided by a new dynasty taking over the rule of the kingdom, which maintained itself and the kingdom until Rabeh's desecration of Bornu in 1893. However, even Rabeh was slowly beginning to reorganize the broken kingdom when the British arrived, and it is evident that the complete chaos, conventionally charged to Bornu at the beginning of the 19th century, has been over-emphasized. Forces of re-consolidation were in operation which would have kept the Bornu state in existence, albeit under a new dynasty.

It is evident from an appraisal of Kanuri history that its

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained.
[701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation
[692]
[652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

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thing to join on to, then the size of the state is merely an expression of the administrative and military capacities of the government at any given time in its history, in relation to the same factors amongst its neighbour states.

Chapter III

The Colonial Period

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The particular events and social changes occurring in Bornu during the last half century must be viewed as taking place within the larger setting of the British colonial regime of Northern Nigeria. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that during this period an English colonial administration had been grafted onto the indigenous social systems of the Northern Region through the use of what has come to be called "indirect rule".(1) This conjunction of the African social systems under the subordination of colonial rule has resulted in expanding trade, the inception of western education, the development of a native civil service, increased contact with other tribal groups, and a network of modern roads and means of communication. How these changes and the policy of "indirect rule" have affected Bornu is the concern of the present chapter.

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Before the British arrived in Bornu, the French had already defeated and killed Rabeh and his son. They then re-instated the Kanuri Shehu, Sanda Kura, and subsequently his younger brother Garbai. These two ruled from Dikwa, Rabeh's old capital, which at the turn of the century was considered to be in French territory. The French allowed the Kanuri rulers to institute any system of political organization they wished as long as they could deliver 80,000 Maria Theresa dollars per annum to the French as tribute. In 1902, Governor Lugard sent Captain Morland to Bornu and it is reported that the Captain ". . . sent for Garbai and formally installed him as Shehu of British Bornu at Kuka.(2)

(1) See Lugard, F.D. (Sir) The Dual Mandate, (London) 1929; Cook, A.N. British Enterprise in Nigeria, (Philadelphia) 1943; Burns, (Sir) Alan, History of Nigeria, (London) 1955; Coleman, J.S., Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, (California) 1958.

(2) Annual Report: Bornu Province 1909. In the Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Province, Nigeria.

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648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
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632 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

• [178] Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

[166] The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged.

175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village.

175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

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178 the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons of millet[(1)] per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic
[565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state
[491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

175 In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite
439 strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of
[567] trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south.[(2)] This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

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648 political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

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[435] This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's revealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend."(1) Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials."(2) The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mustering out pay of the returning soldiers(3) had hit Bornu unprepared.

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648 In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946
(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947
(3) Pedlar, P.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

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433 orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash
648 crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organization of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A. [51] salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs.

178 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
619 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
648 brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim popula-
177 tion of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kèrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
[602] would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
[606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

[178] (1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
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428 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[104] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
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178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
881 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the <u>luwal-</u>

554 829 [789] (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witchcraft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 829 441 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is not their own, and then they give the money to the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 [558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in [778] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 554 577 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 463 [167] The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders, often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

463 554 184 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows, of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush districts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older than for younger boys).

178 463 554 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried appointments, such as Shehu, Wazirl, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head, have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but traditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant of a chief, or Kachella Shehube (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army) have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The exception to this rule is the Koranic mallam who, although not give official support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because 178 463 554 184 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.

TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status Occupations

	Ranking	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a tendency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

178 ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In
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554 their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th
[184] place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides
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554 the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that (1)
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[171] young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Combaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] [648] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [871] [369] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in 565 463 602 the large urban centre. At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 one of the other
369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e. [178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri musko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory func-
[828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

631 Another good example of this point was observed in the field.
661 The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of
[602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A.
647 are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of
[178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

643 The Shehu is
793 also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
796 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadam (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
[123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

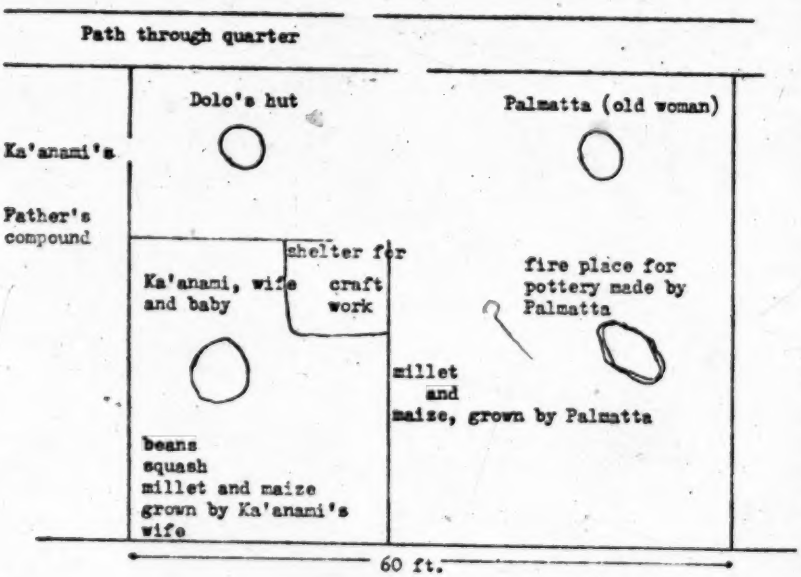
439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishana (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

461 on the gourds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

178 415 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

592 351 <u>Ka'anami's Compound</u>



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231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accomodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

[p 329]

Chapter X

Summary and Conclusions

178 642 The description of pre-Colonial Bornu has indicated that despite the rise and fall of its fortune the Kanuri political organization has had a remarkable resiliency throughout the last millenium. As long as the system of feudal organization remained with its nucleus at the capital city and court of the monarch, then the rise and fall of the empire was not fatal to its continuity. Kanuri feudalism is a segmentary corporate political structure; while the top remains intact, the expansion and contraction of the State itself bears no relation to its survival.

175 648 631 The traditional background from which the present society obtains its roots has been altered in this century by contact with British colonialism. In Northern Nigeria the administration was deeply affected by the views of its founder Lugard, whose own control of the organization of the regional colonial service ensured that many of its norms, procedures and its overall policy would be an embodiment of his personal philosophy of colonialism. In Bornu, this meant that the pre-Rabeh Kanuri leaders regained their old positions, the Shehu was placed at the head of the State (now called the Bornu Emirate), and the fief-holders now called District Heads or Ajias, went to live in "bush" on their respective fiefs. The Village Heads within each district were appointed because of hereditary claims to the position while the District Heads over them were chosen because of their relationship to the monarch and/or other powerful groups at the capital. This set up possible conflicts between DH's and the Village Heads in their districts which has lasted to the present day. The policy of the British was to rule through and strengthen the authority of the native leaders, while

175 648 642

175 648 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 178 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been [433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the [494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 441 The introduction of the few European trading houses has served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

• 178 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

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648 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political roles.

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665 The results of this complexity leads to large factions each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State. Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

[178] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of <u>bərzum</u> relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

178 511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes 178 511 have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in 369 the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

433 The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predicability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.

2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialisation of labour

433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 25% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

441 As we have seen there are a variety of trading relationships. First of all there is the extended household organization model, in which a household head gives his subordinates money and goods. These are either real household members, kin relations, or people who have spent some time as household subordinates as a prelude to their trading activities. This kind of trade uses the traditional pattern of Kanuri social organization as its structural framework. Indeed it is because the "finance trader" heads a large extended household organization, along traditional lines, that he is a person of high status and prestige in the society. Unlike medieval Europe, feudal Bornu has easily incorporated the trader role into the moral and organizational structure of traditional society.

With all shades of mixture in between the two, another variety of trading relationship is one in which the persons involved are related because of the commodity in which they both deal. Terminology from the traditional organization is used to describe the role relationships so that the supplier is called by a Hausa term for head of the household (mai gida) and the person who buys from him is called, boy, follower, son, subordinate (tada). However, the basis for the relationship is highly differentiated, and defined largely by the commodity being distributed.

178 441 Judging by the course of social evolution in western economic organization, which has seen a development from diffuse personal relationships in a feudal background, to one governed by relationship through commodities and services, it is tempting to assume that the same will occur in Bornu. However, it is not so easy for this writer to see such an evolution taking place in any complete sense until standards of living rise significantly and people consume much more than they do now. In Europe the hitherto pariah trading role and relationship became a

178 441 necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism. Ultimately the unrecognized low status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status.(1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

441 434 It is because of the very low consumption level that there is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested(2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entrepreneurs. On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodities alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

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(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.
(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7

441 452 the extended household organization of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

• 178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bɔrzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizon-
156 tally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfort-
571 able with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State. (1)
56 This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked"
571 by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating.
178 However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the
571 system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this
369 argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

178 571 369 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 571 511 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical relationships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

178 571 511 556

000 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[574] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[431] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

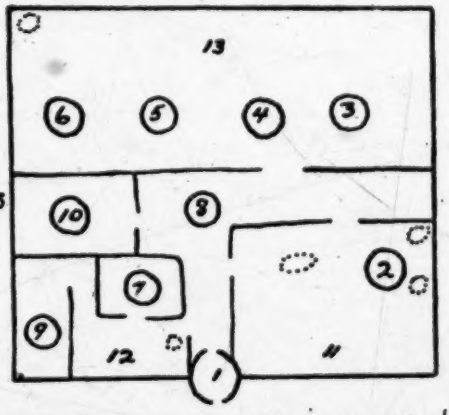
592 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri (1)
181 household, although it is an example which was actually observed. It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
[595] 4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
[343] 11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area

dotted lines show granaries



592 Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the
[736] wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

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[595] (1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magumeri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside
[823] (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. 571 576 578 602 Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate [182] any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the bər-zum[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ə is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 takes place. Here an individual learns the modes of behavior towards others that he
571 requires for an adequate and successful social life in Kanuri society. The kinship
601 system, the family, and the household produce individuals who can live in other
182 households; and using the basic modes of behavior from household life they can participate in the widely ramified political and economic organization of their society. Thus kinship, family, and household—but most importantly the household and the superior-subordinate relations within it—provide a basis and a locus for maintaining the society and its values in their present form.

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this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the infant then has a simple 863
and comforting toilet ready made for it by the mother. Afterwards its loins are
washed and the hole covered up with sand. During the entire infant stage breast- 853
feeding is carried on easily and simply upon demand by the infant for the breast.
Indeed the breast is generally used as a pacifier.

A typical scene in a mother's hut illustrates the way in which the introduc- 867
tion of a new baby to society is carried out. The mother and her friends sit around 854
chatting and they pass the baby around, dandling it in turn, although the baby re-
mains with the mother for a large part of the time. A very common topic of con- [521]
versation at such times is, quite unsurprisingly, the new baby. But unlike a similar
group of American ladies most of the talk is *to* and not *about* the baby. The
mother and many of those present tell the uncomprehending infant in sing-song
voices about its kindred, "So-and-so is your father, so-and-so is your brother, so-
and-so is your sister," and so on through a vast complex of kinship links on both
the mother's and the father's side of the family. The infant is also told in the same
way about its neighborhood, its section of the town, or its village, its political lead-
ers, and so on. "So-and-so is your village head, so-and-so is your district head, and
this is your tribe and this is your emirate, and this is your *Shehu,* and so-and-so
is your Waziri." The family occupation is also mentioned and how soon the infant
is going to help in such-and-such activities around the compound and grow up into
successful adulthood within the framework of all the associations and expectations
that are referred to constantly.

Why tell a baby about its social connections, occupational expectations, po- 867
litical affiliations, and so on? Certainly later on, when it can understand a little 182.
more of the language, such talk is a means of initiating it into the social groupings
of the society. However at this stage another function is performed. The child is a
new member of the society, and it is being introduced into and given a recognizable place in its social setting. The new member means new relationships. So-and-so who did not have a younger brother's son, now has one; someone else now has a new cousin and perhaps a future spouse; or someone else now has a sister's son or an additional one. The coming of the *tiful* or infant creates changes because a new member has been added and in introducing it to society people are asked to shift their understanding of the organizations which now must include this new member. By constantly referring to these new relationships during the infant's first few months people close to the family affirm to themselves and finally to others the fact that many relationships are different now that the new baby has arrived safely.

As far as training goes, the *tiful* is too young to be very harshly dealt with 861
or to be told not to do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and grow into a 854
useful, law-abiding, member of its community.

Childhood

Infancy ends as weaning begins, about the end of the eighteenth month al- 862
though a good deal of variation exists in actual practice so that many are weaned [858]
earlier. In general weaning is carried out with a matter-of-fact attitude as if to say,

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they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

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885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
888 though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men
[826] and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
565

[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

in Magumeri died in the morning and was buried in the afternoon. The people explained this by saying that it was the hot season and he had died early in the morning. To wait until the next morning, they said, was too long and not good for the community. This was an oblique way of referring to the belief that the ghost of a dead man is dangerous especially to children until he is buried. 764 [775]

The ceremony itself is quite simple. The body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth and placed on a bier, and then taken out to the burial grounds by the men. Prayers are said continually and the family mourns officially for forty days by saying special prayers and remaining close to home. During the ceremony men remain impassive, quietly telling their beads and praying softly to themselves. Women, on the other hand, come in groups walking slowly in single file wailing and crying, especially if the deceased is a close neighbor, friend, or relative. If a man is needed for a short communication, a woman might stop wailing suddenly, talk in an ordinary voice, then just as quickly resume her keening. A few women at every funeral were observed who were much more totally involved and did not break up their wailing when asked to do something else. Sometimes these wails of the women become songs with words. This is less true at funerals of men where if it happens the song or chant says over and over again, "He was a good man." For a dead woman the words are also, "She was a good woman," but an added verse, especially if the dead woman was not very old, refers to the hard life of a woman and how long and unending are her chores. There is a definite implication here that the heavy burdens of womanhood can bring an early death. [782] [765] [761]

This, then is the Kanuri life cycle; it is adapted to Bornu society and the historical development of that society. The fact that the household is the major unit of social organization means that people of different ages are constantly in touch with one another. Even though those in all age groups have many friends of their own age, they associate freely and easily with people of all age groups within their household where membership crosses generation lines. This means that younger age groupings are constantly learning the ways of behaving and thinking of those older than themselves and almost automatically know how to act as they grow up. By contrast in many western societies interaction between generations is extremely difficult, and each generation seems to be developing an almost semi-separate culture whose intricacies must be learned after one has joined that particular age group. Because western schooling has not yet separated an entire generation from their parents, there is little room among the Kanuri for many discontinuities in learning, and therefore in hopes, fears, and aspirations on the part of each successive generation. Obviously this has produced and helps to maintain much of the stability in Kanuri society, and as such it is a key factor when we wish to ask questions about conditions of change in the entire society of Bornu. 105 182

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route. 443 489 438

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life. 443 494 489 443 438 182

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling. 443 [691] [692]

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they 443 438 435

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire dis-
trict keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the polit-
ical organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is
one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program
vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
571 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
626 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
• 182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the
son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist
on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other
hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other
way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will
begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their
own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down
the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the
political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas
like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a cen-
tral figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land
negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes
among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri
feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors
if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling
space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report
the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the
[692] contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the
632 action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
182 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu,
especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken
through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This
in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily
lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done,
the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is
known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at
least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 121 182 592 829 44 571 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *bərzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 121 178 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators [148] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding [177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,
political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-
lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these
Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often
the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments
as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.
Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

779 of the population is pagan (Maguzawa), there are no pagan
177 Kanuri. Among the tribes who are influenced by and are ac-
779 culturating to the Kanuri, the Bede, the Babur, and the Marghi, both pagans and Mosl-ms can be found.

795 According to Trimingham[1], many pagans in the Western Sudan become Moslems by slipping into Islam, calling themselves "Mohammad", and imitating their fellows without special ceremoney. A rite is performed in the case of chiefs and important men, where public recognition is sought. This is undoubtedly the case for those part-Moslem, part-pagan peoples surrounding the Kanuri, and was also probably true in former centuries when the Kanuri themselves adopted Islam.

182 Today Islam is well integrated into Kanuri culture. With-
779 out entering into a detailed discussion of Islam as practiced by the Kanuri, those general areas which are most affected by Islam will be discussed here. These include: law, education and social organization. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the general features of Islamic worship as exemplified by the Pillars of Islam.

1. The Pillars of Islam.

782 The Pillars of Islam are five in number. The first of these is the confession of faith (shahada) which those who

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1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), see Appendix I "Ceremony of Joining Islam", p. 226.

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[772] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

779 58 [593] marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement; [182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies, are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 [161] The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million people. About one-third live in towns with a population of more than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital, which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26 towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost a third of the population.

369 632 121 Although there may be some question whether a town with a population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly approaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
366
368 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
632
463 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
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• 182 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

611 171 182 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 595 The most important social unit determined by kinship is the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 587 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

634 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a
871 school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to
555 speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman
177 to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged
565 derives from the aristocracy or from minor political official-
554 dom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from
78 [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual
128 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas:
79 [181] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

796 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at
574 the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe,
554 the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan,
• 182 Ngumori Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In
554 the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumori Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 Another extremely important yearly festival is called
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692 whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper
693 of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the
[645] third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

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692 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu
643 served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjud-
[631] ication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

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182 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with
463 its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in
[44] Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.
175 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A
439 complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

175 436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

175 641 721 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were [701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year [182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plundered. 175 727 Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

Production

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182 Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

221
241
[132] The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241
433 In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

423 are not in conflict, then no trouble emerges from these potentially conflicting criteria of land ownership.

425 428 [182] The following table, indicating sources of land acquisition, demonstrates the fact that for the most part Kanuri land tenure is closely related to traditional modes of socio-political organization.

TABLE XVII

Table of Modes of Land Acquisition for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	(1) No. of plots	Inherited #	Inherited %	From pol. leader ϕ #	From pol. leader ϕ %	Cleared bush #	Cleared bush %	Bought or given as a gift #	Bought or given as a gift %	% of row totals
farmers	48	31	64.6	7	14.6	9	18.8	1	2.1	100.0%
craftsmen	27	17	62.9	10	37.1	0	-	0	-	100.0%
traders	26	14	53.9	5	19.2	5	19.2	2	7.7	100.0%
pol. & rel. specialists	23	10	43.5	10	43.5	2	8.7	1	4.3	100.0%
Totals	124	72	58.1	32	25.8	16	12.9	4	3.2	100.0%

ϕ From Lawan or Bulama.

The table indicates that 58.1% of all farm land in the three towns examined was acquired through inheritance, i.e. kinship affiliation, while an additional 25.8% was obtained through some political relationship between the cultivator and his local leader. In other words, 83.9% of all land was acquired by producers as a result of their traditional roles in either the kinship or political organization of the rural scene, whereas only 16.1% of the land holdings were the result of individual effort, purchase or gift.

425 It should also be noted that the 25.8% of all land obtained from political leaders refers to cleared, bounded plots, not bushland.

177 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash
441 cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the
648 same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now
642 permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political
• [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behav-
571 iour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the a-
dult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bersum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more
important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This
is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to
the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization,
which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers
setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to
the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often
in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or co-
hesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the
opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is rejected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls then becomes more understandable—it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate. Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali*, (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household) and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

4

The Life Cycle: From Birth to Death in Kanuri Society

THE HISTORY of Kanuri society, its family and household organization, and the other groupings described later in this book that make it into a system, are all activated and made real by the people who spend their lives in Bornu. Kanuri society, indeed any society, can be described by giving the major details of its organized social life. However, such a description uses as its units the roles and groups that make up each organization. The units (roles and groups) are separate parts of the system, but it is important to remember that roles and groups are stage settings for the behavior of real people who are born, grow up, love, hate, get married, grow old and die. Some are more successful, some less so, but the way in which they live a Kanuri life from beginning to end is what produces the energy, the continuity, and the change within the structure of their society. 121

Like people everywhere the Kanuri see a pattern in the life span of individuals. This is thought of as a series of stages or grades determined fundamentally by age and sex. Whether he or she be rich or poor, peasant, slave, or of royal blood these stages still apply and mark off a lifetime. Like age grades in all societies there is a rough correlation at each stage with that of physiological growth, maturation and decline. However, the specific factors of local geography and the adaptation to it, as well as their social complexity and culture history, have molded the grades into the specific set of life stages that can be called Kanuri. In the future, the forces of modernism will add their weight to this stream and produce changes in this traditional cycle. For the present, however, I want to present a picture of a Kanuri lifetime, as my informants report it and as I have observed it in Bornu, starting with gestation and ending with the death of an individual. 561

Gestation

Kanuri men and women almost universally claim that having children is desirable for married couples, although charms that both promote and prevent pregnancy can be obtained locally from specialists. The culture norms on this point are 842 183

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

842 quite explicit, and married couples are supposed to want children. Those few
183 women who admitted to me, confidentially, not wanting children had very high divorce records, while all others conformed to expectations when asked specifically concerning their desire for offspring.

842 Traditionally the Kanuri believe that conception results from simultaneous orgasm during sexual intercourse. This information I got from older men who do not, however, know in any detail when or how often such an event actually takes
843 place. Instead they reason that it has occurred when their wife reports a pregnancy.
[842] When a woman is over one month late in a menstrual cycle (a few said forty-five days) conception is suspected, and she begins to buy charms on the market to safeguard a normal gestation. During this initial period the husband and wife, ideally at least, should not speak of the pregnancy to anyone until at least the second menstrual period has been missed, and then only to their very close friends and relatives. Such talk, indeed any excess conversation about the pregnancy, is believed to be dangerous to the course and development of a normal pregnancy. Even during the later stages just before birth only very cryptic references are made by the parents when they refer to the coming event. Pregnancy, like a number of other occa-
[984] sions in one's lifetime, is considered a very fragile time, a time when an individual is vulnerable to maliciousness from humans or spirits. Because it is difficult to know about such maliciousness, until after its effects are felt, it is better to avoid mentioning the susceptible circumstances.

[833] Sexual intercourse is continued throughout pregnancy since the Kanuri believe that such activity makes for an easier labor at birth by keeping the passage open and providing fluids for the child and the mother.

Although the Kanuri recognize the pregnancy period of nine months, the woman continues her normal work until the lying-in period is signaled by labor. On the other hand exceptions to the nine-month period occur, and some women claim to have been pregnant for years although no outward sign is visible. This latter condition is referred to as *bənji*, that is to say an embryo that will not come out of the womb. A woman may miss a menstrual cycle once and then become convinced that she has conceived. If her conviction holds she may, after menstruating again, diagnose the condition as a *bənji*. Missing a menstrual period, however, is not absolutely necessary for the diagnosis. Women who spoke of having *bənji* felt that any woman could have one, but they also agreed that in their experience the woman was usually older and either had not given birth for a long time or had had a completely infertile marriage history. Certainly many Kanuri women seem to be barren, and this cultural belief must help to assuage the disappointment of a hopeful but sterile woman. It may also serve to alleviate the loss of womanly role for an older woman who sees herself being replaced in her reproductive functions by her husband's younger wives.

Birth

844 When the woman is about to give birth, she is assisted by her own mother if she is in the vicinity, or her mother-in-law if she is living with her husband's family, and sometimes by a specialist in midwifery. There are stories told about

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they become full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families, and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role produce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[8] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a

[8] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 571 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give
[123] them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can [illegible] he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land [illegible] be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

2: Rosman

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[For information on adherence to Kanuri norms and institutionalized practices, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid 177 [648] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [779] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 567 [439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[452] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
578
152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
593
369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is considerable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of younger people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

4. The Family.

As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumaribe (ngumari means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zomabe (Zoma means Friday). The Liman Ngumaribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [702] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [684] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 292 Malam as the Liman Zomabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zomabe was 554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumaribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 [561] into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

[GEIDAM]

796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
• 183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
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[GEIDAM]

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Table VII

Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom [183] four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 Turning from the area of Western material goods, several
183 questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads af-
178 fecting religious practices can be seen among some very accul-
[369] turated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were
[792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These
[441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely
[554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXIV

12. Religious Behavior: fasting during Tsuro Mbale.

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	Yes	1 day	2 days	3 days	more	No	too young
183 Aristocracy	3	-	3	-	-	2*a	-
*565 *554 *463 Koranic Malams	3	1	1	-	1-10 days	-	-
Canteen Operators	6*b	2	3	-	-	-	-
NA Malams	5	2	3	-	-	1	(lazy)
Kabuna	5	-	2	3	-	1	1-age 37
Craftsmen	4	-	1	3	-	2	1-age 37
Talaka	4	-	4	-	-	4	2-age 24; age 25
Low-status Individuals	4	-	1	3	-	-	-
Totals:	34	5	18	9	1	10	4

*a Yerima Mustapha answered that it was too difficult.

*b one of the canteen operators said that he fasted for one or two days.

58 little sweetheart and keep her until he (the informant) was grown adult enough to have her as a wife for himself. Because the bridewealth was in the range of X's family resources, X's parents decided, after having the idea suggested to them by the informant, to obtain the informant's "intended" for their son. Needless to say, they knew nothing of the informant's long term plan to marry the girl eventually himself. When the informant was nineteen or twenty, his little childhood girl friend divorced X and married him. The informant did not know whether X ever managed to marry the girl of his own childhood dreams, but thinks he did.

58 183 This rather extreme example is interesting for its illustration of how individuals growing up within a certain social structure can often work out arrangements whereby they skirt round the requirements of their culture, yet manage to maintain the system as a set of rules. The Kanuri recognize that all marriages cannot simply be lasting agreements made between groups of individuals comprised almost entirely of males, especially in Bornu where divorce is so simple and all relationships have a brittle edge.

587 The final stage in independence is reached in the last variety of marriage, nyia kolstabe (marriage of discovery), which by its very nature is confined to non-virgin women. This is the most widespread form of marriage among the population, becoming common after the woman has had her first divorce (or second in some high ranking households). Informants claimed that in this type of marriage, "There is no arrangement, you only meet the woman somewhere and decide to marry her." [171] Some Kanuri equated it with the Hausa tsintuna or propertyless marriage, i.e. where the kin are not involved either in the decision to marry or the exchange of property. There is, however, a bridewealth payment by the husband-to-be which is paid to the woman herself, and the marriage is still solemnized at a sada'ż ceremony as at all weddings.

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[129] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who attempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for approaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master, and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad", causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
829 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment buildings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables operating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

1. Age Differences

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It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her [183] husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

593 557 [558] wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities. Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female dominated household. [521] [837] Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power available to him to assert his rights. [183] Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function properly. 593 565 183 This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accordance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only shaw acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [209] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

58 sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory subordination by the mallam to the luwali.

Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible or feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior/subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many men are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, there is a conflict
183 between the subordination that most Kanuri men expect of their wives and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in
[565] the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the
[586] man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are few divorces.

885 562 described in other terms. The main distinctions for women are, fere (girl), Kamu (woman) and Kamursu (old woman). A woman (kamu) can be given descriptive attributes to place her properly in people's minds. For example, she can be kamu kwanzb mbeji (a woman with a husband, i.e. married), or sanzb ngubu or gana (older or younger). These can be extended to include statuses such as having borne children or not, having an influential family, having a rich husband, being in seclusion and so on.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term rashidi whose meaning also connotes or embodies the ideology of mature behaviour.

The ideal view of the adult female role positively evaluates marriage, durability of marriage, children, obedience to husband, proper and efficient performance of women's tasks, chastity, staying in husband's compound much of the time, and maintaining some contact with her own family as some of the more important goals towards which adult females should strive. In actual practice, women who divorce the least number of times give their unqualified support to the cultural ideal of the female role. On the other hand, women who divorce easily and frequently tend to qualify their support of the ideal. This contrast is illustrated by the answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband required you to stay always in the compound?" A woman, who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years, answered simply, shi kura fatobe (he is the head of the household), i.e. he is my authoritative superior and I must obey. Contrarily, a woman, who at the age of about thirty-five had married and divorced four times, replied, daji lenyin (then I would go away), i.e. divorce him.

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888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
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454 into old age.

888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by dependants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
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[596] for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

888 592 183 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in their old age.

Inheritance

428 The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law,(1) and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases [613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lineage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex. The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if present) are entitled to one-third of the warata (inheritance) of her (their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the agnatic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables, excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, although it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being [587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any living connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother, which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the largest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Burton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

556 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man
571 left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 What this means is that the ideal of kbre (wise generosity)
e. 183 is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption.
[454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings, which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation
[123] and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
183 questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only
[123] lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
[251] and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
[152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this conflict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

647 661 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri
values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his [183] laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismissals) [671] to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence.

Political Parties

665 In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (bèrzum), joking (suli), and friendship (numkam). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the bèrzum relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of bèrzum and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

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591 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time, birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

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592 These structural features are in their turn functions of

593 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict
183 between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of
[565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper
[586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

500 at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept <u>arziyi</u>. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

441 452 the extended household organization of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 barzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit.

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source.

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless.

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming.

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles. 175 178 554 66

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs. 175 433 175 423

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area. 175 463 467 [443]

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere. 175 43 [567] [286] [184]

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed. 175 431

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu- 175 439 437

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geidam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

602 younger brother (karami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The karami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
• 184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
174 [197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

174 184 563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

173 614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

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121 The previous chapter has been devoted to an overall view of Kanuri culture, against which the recent changes brought about by contact with the industrial Western world can be measured. It is apparent that this description, which attempts to provide the general features of the culture, is primarily of what has been called ideal culture. It is generalized, highly abstract and frequently derives from statements by informants about how the 'good Kanuri' acts in various types of situation.

An anthropologist customarily studies a community, which occupies the focus of his analytical attention. From his study of a particular community, he makes judgments concerning behavior which he considers to be idiosyncratic for that community, selects out and discounts atypical aspects of the culture which are represented by his community, in order to arrive at a statement about the larger patterns of the culture with which he is concerned. In the study of small homogeneous cultures, it was usually not important to distinguish between the two processes since small total size and homogeneity meant that there were little or no differences between various communities. What held for one camp, one lineage, or one settlement, undoubtedly held for all. In the study of more complex cultures to which anthropologists have turned in the recent decades, of which the Kanuri are an example, it is imperative to recognize the dis-
[184] tinctions drawn here. Kanuri culture is large and heterogeneous, and has only the most incidental resemblance to an American Indian tribe or to an isolated Pacific island, the "type cul-

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121 tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The
• 184 Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy,
[105] and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal
[369] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizantal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 78 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [184] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Nguməribe (ngumərí means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zəmabe (Zəma means Friday). The Liman Nguməribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [762] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [834] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 292 Malam as the Liman Zəmabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zəmabe was 554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Nguməribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the [561] age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

114 123 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language and making contacts among the local residents.(1)

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantitative techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires 114 125 were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Geidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Dematuru districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small [184] hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

124 191 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then departed leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

114 184 of another anthropologist, Mr. A. Rosman, who spent a large part of his field work time in the town of Geidam. Periodic conversations with Mr. Rosman, plus the exchange of visists and information contributed enormously to our understanding of the generality of some Kanuri traits as against the local peculiarities of others.

114 [127] During the final three months of field work, the writer and his wife moved into the capital and devoted part of the time to an analysis of all available government records covering the colonial period in the area. Ethnographic work at the court of the Shehu and in Maiduguri as a whole was carried on at the same time. However, it is painfully evident that much more work in the capital, using the methods of urban sociology as well as anthropology, is needed to complete a study which the present work has only begun.

128 The work is in three parts. The first part introduces the people and the locality giving pertinent information of population, geography and ecology. Also included in this section is an historical sketch of the pre-British period as well as an account of the significant changes introduced by the colonial era.

The second part deals with interpersonal relations. Here kinship behaviour norms are related to social interaction in the community at large, and these are described as they operate in the local residence groups. Marriage relations illustrate how the norms of behaviour operate between groups and individuals in the husband-wife relationship. The life cycle material then documents the manner in which individuals are recruited into and live within the small and large scale social structures of the society.

The third part deals with the wider scaled forms of social life. Stratification by various status dimensions is discussed and it

342

Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Magumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Magumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

621
[273]

In Magumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

184

This then is Magumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu.

[114]

After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

602 elicited with little difficulty:

[682] [683] It is the father's family that is responsible for the dia (blood-money, compensation to a non-group member and his group for physical injuries or death brought about by the activity of own group members), they will support you if you get into trouble, it is from them that you get your property, if you marry and have no money, they will collect it for you, and you don't have to pay it back, but you will help them when asked for other people in the family - they are the mai durbe (king of the families).

Upper class members made the following generalization in their statements about the father's family: they felt that the great utility of the patrilateral group is its readiness to support an individual member when he is in trouble, and of course its eventual material use to him in terms of property.

When informants were asked at some other time about the matrilateral kin group without any reference to the father's family and in the context of a conversation having to do with loans and credit, the answer was similar to the following given by a small hamlet farmer:

> Oh yes, for these things (credit) you must go to your mother's family, they will not refuse you anything, for they feel for you like a mother feels for her child.

Upper class members observed similarly that if summa kalewa (if all was well) then people like their mother's family better, it is more [184] affectionate. They also felt that it might be easier to borrow money from the matrilateral groups but were not as unanimous in this respect as the lower class member (neither class was completely unanimous).

[152] In answer to questions about jealousy (kendulí) differences, all informants agreed that there was much more of this among the patrilateral group. One informant expanded this as follows:

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

[184] Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an
571 ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers;
614 pepper sellers and kola-nut whoesalers. Joking relations also hold
648 between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tàra; Kuburi and Tàra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bèdde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to
602 cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
586 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
[695] times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bridewealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

583
592 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

[691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
[184] with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593
428 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[104] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595
178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
281 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

595 632 462 [361] [366] five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

595 [128] Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it [184] is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

861 We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

> the warnings are frequent. The "boogy-man" threat is more often used as a warning. For example, last month a group of travelling entertainers brought a very large, ugly hyena to town ... apparently Kachella gana was shown the thing from a distance, and ever since the hyena has been used as a deterrent to investigating the contents of medicine bottles, or venturing beyond the compound door. It works, although Kachella is inclined to laugh somewhat incredulously. (1)

Continuing with the same excerpt, it will be noticed that positive as well as negative learning is begun early and definite, patient teaching by socialising adults is a normal part of every day's activities for the young child:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little adoptive grandson, "Kachella, pick the plate up. Now take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now take that other plate and cover the food over (plates are made of grass). That's right, very good." The operation which would have taken the grandmother a second has been carried out only after two minutes of patient instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

858

The inception of sex roles begins with the onset of childhood and the end of weaning. The boys are tada gana (small boys) and wear the appropriate small smock and begin to have their heads shaved in the child hair style of the father's agnatic group. This small boy's hair style often depicts the political affiliations of the father's agnatic group and/or its territorial origins. Thus all the household groups connected to a political leader or coming from a particular town may share the same small boy's hair style. Some lower class informants in the large urban centre stated that they used whatever hair style they pleased for their small boys when it was observed that no rule seemed to be followed.

302 [858] [602] [184]

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After weaning, the girls are fero gana (small virgin girls)

(1) Excerpt from correspondence by Diana Cohen with the Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto (1956).

582
162 This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygynous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

121

Maturity

885 The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184] A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.

[831] When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as zairo (any person who has not been married,

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high 128 463 554 position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wazirí indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these 125 data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[text continues on p. 203]

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TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys *

Schools: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Wazirí of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Wazirí of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.52	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kaigama (a D.H. today) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kaigama	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

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School: Senior Primary (younger)

Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9
28	Village Head	27.75	7.1
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9
30	Building contractor	28.80	11.1
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1
37	Kachella Shehube	35.82	10.4
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7
39	Trader	36.20	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4
42	Horsed servant	38.16	7.5
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0

Secondary (older)

Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Trader (with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Village Head	23.94	7.3
25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	N.A. councillor	29.61	9.4
31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Kachella Shehube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Building contractor	31.90	9.6
34	Carpenter	31.94	7.8
35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Small retainer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Horsedservant	38.62	6.1
42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

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School: Senior Primary (younger) / Secondary (older)

Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4	46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2	47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0	48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0	49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9	50	Weaver	42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0	51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4	52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1	53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8	54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2	55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N - 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7				N - 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

* Using Spearman's rank order correlation (Rho) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).

** The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

463 554 184 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows, of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush districts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older than for younger boys).

178 463 554 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried appointments, such as Shehu, Waziri, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head, have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but traditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant of a chief, or Kachella Shehube (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army) have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The exception to this rule is the Koranic mallam who, although not give official support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because 178 463 554 184 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.

TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status Occupations

	Ranking	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a tendency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

178 463 554 ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th [184] place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 463 554 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 554 [171] It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers (1) that young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
[563] riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
[579] but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us
[167] here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

Table XXXV

24, 25. Willingness to marry out: willingness to marry a non-Kanuri; willingness to marry a Hausa, a Fulani, a Moslem Babur, a Moslem Yoruba.

	1. Non-Kanuri		2. Hausa		3. Fulani		4. Babur		5. Yoruba		
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	
Aristocracy	4	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	1	177*
Koranic Malams	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	582
Canteen Operators	3	3	4*	2	-	6	1	5	-	6	565*
NA Malams	6	-	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	4	463*
Kabuna	3	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	1	5	554*
Craftsmen	2	4	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	186
Talaka	3	5	3	5	1	7	4	4	2	6	
Low-status Individuals	2	2	-	4	-	4	-	4	-	4	
Totals	25	19	19	25	13	31	17	27	12	32	

* a canteen operator stated that he would marry a Hausa woman, but only if she wore her hair in the Kanuri fashion.

[GEIDAM]

*177 the Aristocracy (80 per cent would) and the NA Malams (100 per
582 cent would). In contrast, among the Craftsmen only 33 per cent
*565 would marry out and among the Talaka only 38 per cent would
*634 marry out. The four remaining groups do not show clear-cut
*[463] preferences.

*177 The remainder of the table is concerned with the atti-
582 tudes of the sample towards marriage with women of four tribes.
• 186 Since it was anticipated that few, if any, individuals would indicate willingness to marry a white woman, or a non-Moslem, the choices which were offered were limited to tribes who are all present in the area and who are known to the people of the community of Geidam. The Fulani are all Moslem and the Hausa almost all Moslem; in the case of the Babur and the Yoruba who are partly Moslem, the question was specifically phrased: would you marry a Moslem Yoruba, or a Moslem Babur woman?

It may be seen from the table that willingness to marry women of the four tribes which were selected varies, though in no case do the members of the sample appear to be as willing to marry from the tribes offered them in the question as the answers to the previous question (column 1) would indicate. The most popular tribe was the Hausa, and 43 per cent said they would marry a Hausa woman. The next in order of popularity was the Babur tribe, a part-Moslem, part-pagan people living in Bornu Province and strongly acculturated to the Kanuri; 38 per cent indicated willingness to marry a Babur woman. Fewer people are willing to marry a Fulani woman; though the Fulani

[GEIDAM]

*177 582 186 are Moslems like the Kanuri, they are pastoralists who live in the bush and differ greatly from the urban Geidamites; 30 per cent would marry a Fulani woman. The least popular choice was the Yoruba woman, selected by only 27 per cent of the sample. Though the Yoruba who live in Northern Nigeria are all urban people, and the question referred specifically to Moslem Yoruba who are numerous, the Yoruba are generally identified as a southern tribe of very different background.

*[565] Considering each group in turn, the Aristocracy are noteworthy in their willingness to marry Yoruba women, whom they seem to prefer above the other three choices. This might be attributed to their wider orientation as a group. The Koranic Malams show no difference in their preferences among the four [441] tribes. The Canteen Operators are almost unanimous in rejecting three of the four tribes, yet a majority of them (67 per cent) would marry a Hausa woman. This curious and striking result can be explained quite simply by looking at the role of the Canteen Operators. Their normal activities in trade bring them into contact with Hausas and they all speak Hausa. Because of the frequency of their interaction with members of that culture they show a willingness to marry Hausa women. This does not extend to women of other tribes in the form of a general willingness to marry out, as can readily be seen by their *[634] responses in columns 3, 4, and 5. The NA Malams are willing to marry with women of three of the tribes, including the unpopular Fulani, but unlike the Aristocracy they are not willing to marry

[GEIDAM]

177 a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and
582 show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen
186 are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with wom-
[65] en of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the
[46] other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards
[565] the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in
their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half
[369] would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural fac-
tors and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture
which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor
[559] the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status Individuals
are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None
of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered
to them.

177 Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an edu-
581 cated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a
829 Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are
presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that
they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marry-
ing such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of Eng-
lish and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two
people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed
regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied
by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In
opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an edu-
cated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

665 641 it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come
[186] to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 647 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should support the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate
[648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union),(1) is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

/Information pertinent to various aspects of ethnocentrism may be found in category 829./

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, 195
so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other 576 197
areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria. [178] [191]

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic 178 177
features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related 302
ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash 412
carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are 531
tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life 171
are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one 304
ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not 171
significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 114
1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and [101]
hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. [121]
During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

[GEIDAM]

634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 177 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Headmaster and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert, the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[863] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all received specialized training for their jobs. In addition, all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship. (They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
565 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
871 Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the household of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send their children to the Western school as they are needed at home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, however, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

124 *634 seven year old Kabuna are probably among the youngest members of the entire group. This is because Yerima Mustapha will keep potential Kabuna in minor positions for some years before he feels that they are ready for the responsibility of performing [121] a Kabuna's role and gives them a horse. Although age is probably a variable in determining an individual's degree of acculturation, it is secondary to his position within a given group or category as will be demonstrated in the succeeding *634 *177 pages of this section. Though the Kabuna are older as a group, they nevertheless tend to be acculturated in specific areas. Though the NA Malams are younger as a group, they tend to be acculturated in certain areas and not in others. Age as a variable will be examined in detail in a later section.

A. Analysis of Responses to the Thirty Acculturation Measures.

*177 • 191 The first acculturation measure to be discussed is knowledge of languages other than Kanuri, presented as Table XVI. Twenty-seven members of the sample speak some Hausa; 18 speak Hausa well; 9 speak a little Hausa. Sixteen speakers of Hausa * [365] * [463] are found in three groups: Aristocracy (4), Canteen Operators (6), NA Malams (6). This is clearly related to the importance of the Hausa language in two spheres of activity: trade and *177 191 441 administration. All of the traders speak some Hausa; this is because Hausa is widespread as the trade language throughout Northern Nigeria. Europeans in trade learn to speak Hausa rather

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

[GEIDAM]

Table XVI

1. Knowledge of other Languages aside from Kanuri

	Hausa: yes	little	no	English: yes	little	no	Other
#177 #191 Aristocracy	4	-	1	-	1	4	Little Shuwa - 1 Kanembu - 1
#463 #565 Koranic Malams	1	-	2	-	-	3	Arabic - 1
#554 Canteen Operators	3	3	-	-	-	6	Little Shuwa - 1
NA Malams	6	-	-	6	-	-	Shuwa - 2; little Shuwa - 1; Fulani - 1; little Fulani-1; Mandara - 1
Kabuna	-	3	3	-	-	6	Little Fulani - 1
Craftsmen	1	-	5	-	-	6	Fulani - 1
Talaka	3	3	2	-	-	8	Fulani - 1 Tubo - 1
Low-status individuals	-	-	4	-	-	4	Little Shuwa - 1
Totals:	18	9	17	6	1	37	Shuwa - 6 Fulani - 5 Arabic - 1 Kanembu - 1 Mandara - 1 Tubo - 1 15

than Kanuri, and communication with the managers of the various trading companies in Geidam is in Hausa. Knowledge of Hausa among the Kanuri canteen operators is reflected in their attitudes towards the Hausa generally. This can be seen in the willingness of the Canteen Operators to marry Hausa women (see Table XXXV). Hausa is also the language of the colonial bureaucracy in Northern Nigeria, and all Europeans in administration have learned to speak Hausa. The number of Kanuri speakers among the European administrative personnel in Bornu Province is negligible. Therefore most of the Aristocracy and all of the NA Malams speak Hausa. In the remaining five groups, 11 individuals speak Hausa and 16 do not. Most of the lower class groups do not have much contact with Hausas and consequently do not speak their language.

With respect to knowledge of English, the picture is even more clear-cut. Only seven people in the sample speak English. One aristocrat (Yerima Mustapha) speaks a little English, and the entire group of NA Malams, all having been educated in European-style schools, speak English. No one else has any knowledge of the language.

It is interesting to note that knowledge of other languages is a common occurrence in this area. Fifteen cases of speakers of six additional languages are found in this small sample. Of course a few individuals speak several languages while others speak only Kanuri. There are six speakers of Shuwa Arabic, and five speakers of Fulani represented. There are almost as many

*177 *191 [563] *[634] speakers of these languages as of English. It has been noted that both Shuwa and Fulani pastoralists are found in considerable numbers in Bornu Province. The members of the group of NA Malams seem to be outstanding in their knowledge of other languages. Not only do they all speak Hausa and English, but three in addition speak Shuwa Arabic, two speak Fulani, and one speaks Mandara.

*177 212 Turning to reading ability (Table XVII), it can be seen that 15 of the sample (34 per cent) are able to read in English script, while 24 of the sample (54.5 per cent) are capable of reading in Arabic script. Writing the Kanuri language in Arabic script preceded the entry of the British into the area by several centuries; the British introduced writing in Latin (English) script and have taught this form of writing in the schools. It is clear that many more individuals are capable of writing in Arabic script today than in English script. It is also apparent that almost half of the sample are illiterate in any script.

*[565] *[634] Of those who can write well in English script, 10 of the 11 fall into two groups: the Aristocracy and the NA Malams. Most of the individuals in the six other groups are unable to write in English script. The pattern of those who are capable *[634] of writing in Arabic script is quite different. Once again the NA Malams are an outstanding group. Not only can they all write [792] in English script, but all can also write in Arabic script. Of course the Koranic Malams can also all write in Arabic script.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256]

own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

114
123 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language and making contacts among the local residents.(1)

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantitative techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires
114
125 were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Geidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Dematuru districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small
[184] hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

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124 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then departed leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local
191 school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

121 and complexity of stratification.(1) Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt [829] here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

829 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as 582 563 can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely 191 endogamous,(2) although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or women which included Non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885
• 192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

posed to divorce so often; he is not supposed to have liaisons with divorced 885
women, and he is supposed to behave in a judicious manner as one of the leading 196
members of his community. Thus many young married men living in or near the compound of an older relative or some non-relative, who might be a political and economic superior, refused to be called mature even when they were married. They claimed that they were still young men and that they had still some way to go before they could be called mature adults. Carrying this point further, men whose occupation required that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives limited the application of the word "mature" to themselves, and did so rather proudly. For example, one man of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the district head's father and who was himself a lifelong servant of the district head of Magumeri, accepted a definition of himself in general as a mature man. Indeed he said, laughingly, he would soon be an old man. He explained that he was mature because he had a married daughter, a farm, a nice compound, a wife who he asserted proudly had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he thought he should be dubbed "mature." When asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his district head without the latter's instructions, he quickly replied, "Oh no! In that sense, I am still a small boy." This was in no way shameful for him since his recognition in the community and his status in the society as a whole stands upon his subordinate relationship to the district head.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term 885
for the mature man whose meaning also embodies the same ideology of adult be- 192
havior. The woman who has had a child can be referred to by a special term that indicates that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and added a new member to her husband's household and to both of their families. Middle-aged women can be referred to by another term which distinguishes them from younger woman and from old women whether or not they have given birth to children. In practice such terms are not observed in common use, the woman's status and age being described in other terms.

Ideally an adult woman should be married and should desire to remain so. 885
She should be obedient to her husband, have and want children, and perform her 581
womanly tasks promptly and efficiently while remaining chaste within the walls of her husband's compound, leaving it only when absolutely necessary. She should, however, maintain contact with her own family and return there for important family ceremonies. As one would expect, those who come closest to this ideal in their own behavior often tend to agree with this image of womanly perfection and give it their unqualified support. However those who divorce often and easily tend to qualify their agreement. Thus in answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband demanded you always stay inside the compound?" a woman who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years answered simply, "He is the head of the household," meaning "I must obey." Contrarily, a woman who at the age of thirty-five had been married and divorced four times replied, "Then I would make him divorce me. I would leave him immediately."

While men who are unmarried or between marriages live very similar lives to married men, divorced women are striking in their contrast to their married sisters. A married woman among the Kanuri is tied to her husband's household and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 443 43 in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a [455] "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 443 445 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 [192] [103] Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week [796] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium 443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one 484 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy 438 trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
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[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
[369] into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

602 younger brother (karami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The karami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

• 192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
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[197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

463 commodities; some are wholesalers and others are retailers;
441 some are very wealthy men dealing in large quantities of goods while others buy and sell small amounts and count their profits in pennies. Some, as will be seen, center their trade activities in the market-place; others are never involved in trade in the market, but do their buying and selling entirely in private homes or in canteens.

463 The Kanuri recognize many distinctions in the types of
441 trade in which one may be engaged. These distinctions are re-
• 192 flected in their vocabulary. Four general types of tradesmen
[452] are recognized: balasma (or ribama)--one who buys and sells at a profit (riba means profit), paying for the goods, which were originally obtained on credit, after the sale; sabarma--one who buys in one place, pays for his goods in cash, then takes them elsewhere and sells them at a profit (sabar means trade); dilelma--a broker or commission agent (dilel means commission). The dilelma arranges sales between prospective buyer and prospective seller and takes his commission from one or the other, depending on who first contacted him, and for whom he is attempting to obtain the most favorable price. Lastly, the fatoma is a dilelma who operates in a large town, from his house, as is indicated by the name fatoma (fato means house). People coming into town with goods to sell, primarily livestock, are accommodated in the fatoma's house while he seeks out prospective buyers, arranges for the sale at the best possible price, and takes a commission from the sale-price paid to his guest, the seller.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 142]

[GEIDAM]

627 arbitration is encouraged, so long as the complainant has his
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[779] grievance adjusted.

627 Carrying out sholo is one of the most important functions
662 of the individual in a position of political authority. It is
431 subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be
[192] a source of difficulty. The words kunjo and nasha are used for any sort of gift. Kafelo is the traditional gift which the small man, the talaka, gives to the important man, the kantuoma. Risa (Arabic) means simply a bribe. Wushira is the fee paid
[779] to the court after a dispute is settled. According to Alkali Baba Kura, kafelo and risa amount to the same thing, and both are forbidden by Maliki law since gifts given with the expectation of preferences in the future are haram (forbidden according to religious law). Giving of kafelo is traditionally done nevertheless.

627 Before the hearing of a dispute, both parties give kafelo
[431] to the mediator. If no kafelo is given, the dispute will not be heard. After a ruling is made in the dispute, the side which has received a favorable decision gives wushira to the medi-
[693] ator. The reasoning involved in the giving of wushira is that if the case had gone to court a set fee would have been paid. When a case is heard in Sholo, therefore, the mediator receives as wushira a smaller fee than would have been paid in court.

Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[462] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[162] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

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585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman,(1) and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

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584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] [595] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

586 town heads. Resort to higher courts occurs only in cases where settle-
692 ment by these local adjudicators is refused by one or both of the parties. This usually happens in the following instances: (1) annulment cases where there is a failure at consummation of the marriage; (2) when a man wants the return of the bridewealth because of his wife's request for a divorce only a few months after the wedding; (3) when there has been a beating which draws blood, thereby involving the litigants in an argument over blood money which must be paid by the assailant to the injured party and his/her family; (4) when any matter becomes so contentious as to be impossible to reconcile with the immediate help of relatives, friends, and local leaders.

586 Informants claimed that at least half of all divorces resulted in the remarriage of the couple. In light of the large number of divorces, this statement seemed contradictory to the observed facts
• [192] at first glance. However, the Kanuri word for divorce (dammyin) really means "to leave a spouse", i.e. it makes no distinction between divorce and separation in its semantic reference, which is an accurate description of the facts, since all divorces begin as separations. When viewed in this light the informants' statements make sense, since many separated couples are re-united. The reunion of a man with his separated wife was described as being very informal and inexpensive. He merely gives a small gift to the woman and the relatives (sometimes) with whom she is staying, and she returns to his compound without ceremony. There is, however, a limit to the number of times a man and woman may separate and re-unite. The third time a woman leaves her husband's compound, she does so in the knowledge that return is impossible under the terms of Kanuri law. That is to say, after the first and

829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. variety). Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi dea (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor.(1)

177 The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders. Although the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres. Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward; slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Geidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

(1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

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most of them (whom the Kanuri contact) are Christians. Informants remarked that Ibo Christianity, like all the rest of their European skills, is newly acquired.(1) The widespread attitude towards Ibos is reflected in the oft repeated stereotype about their alleged cannibalistic practices (Niamali kam shrin - Ibos eat people) which indicates the Kanuri ambivalence towards this group. They are despised but feared at the same time.(2) This is due primarily to the much greater degree of westernization of the Ibo generally as compared to the Kanuri. Iboland in the eastern region of Nigeria is overpopulated and yet has a long history of mission education. Because of the need for western trained personnel over all of Nigeria, there has been an emigration of Ibo mechanics, clerks, postmasters, traders, truckers, builders, lawyers and even a doctor or two to all parts of the country. Thus a despised pagan group is seen to have more income, higher status jobs, more facility with western type liti-

(1) One western educated Kanuri told the writer that the high numbers of educated Ibos proved that they (the Ibos) know how to bribe Europeans into giving them qualifying certificates and higher degrees.

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(2) The notion of "eating" also includes the ideal of being cheated, which the Kanuri feel is always a strong possibility in their dealings with Ibos. The stories of Ibo cannibalism are rife all over northern Nigeria — with strong support from credulent Europeans who share the general belief. The empirical validity of these stories is unknown to the writer — however, they seem to have very little basis in fact in the contemporary society, and are even somewhat doubtful for the aboriginal culture of the Ibo. There is no mention of cannibalism in Forde, D. & Jones, G. I., The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking People of South-Eastern Nigeria, (1950). The only reference to the subject in Meek, C.K., Law and Authority in Nigeria (1937) p. 67, is to a fright given to initiates by one of the priests that their testicles may be eaten during the course of the initiation ceremony. Finally, Talbot, P.A., In the Shadow of the Bush (1912), gives one reference to a conversation in the Calabar region (p.246) in which the people told him that cannibalistic rituals were practised "up until quite recently". He mentions cannibalism again (p. 260) giving his source of information to be his carrier boys, who were strangers to the particular group he describes as having "the filed teeth and the shrunken appearance usually associated with cannibal rites". Although this is by no means a complete survey of the literature it suggests a lack of empirical validity in the last few decades at least, for the practice of Ibo cannibalism.

262 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may
262 be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with
264 a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bèlàm (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bèlàm, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins, bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
441 closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men, there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the different kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and

286 [192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature
of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and
indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was
originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today
these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desir-
ability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one
of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, work-
manship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kan-
uri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men
have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often
worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not
be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of
excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-
sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the
waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover
the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the
wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over
the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a
sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which
range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rare-
ly wear prints).

425 Permission should be sought
632 for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
423 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots; this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[827] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm are.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
827 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

438 442 443 mai gida[1] who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 101bs. per bag) on credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had [578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximately 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

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[192] [571] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

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602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kèsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kèsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kèsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different [591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the [428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on [671] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanun (your [603] mother) or yanzá (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

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Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

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Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

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883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

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192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

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posed to divorce so often; he is not supposed to have liaisons with divorced women, and he is supposed to behave in a judicious manner as one of the leading members of his community. Thus many young married men living in or near the compound of an older relative or some non-relative, who might be a political and economic superior, refused to be called mature even when they were married. They claimed that they were still young men and that they had still some way to go before they could be called mature adults. Carrying this point further, men whose occupation required that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives limited the application of the word "mature" to themselves, and did so rather proudly. For example, one man of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the district head's father and who was himself a lifelong servant of the district head of Magumeri, accepted a definition of himself in general as a mature man. Indeed he said, laughingly, he would soon be an old man. He explained that he was mature because he had a married daughter, a farm, a nice compound, a wife who he asserted proudly had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he thought he should be dubbed "mature." When asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his district head without the latter's instructions, he quickly replied, "Oh no! In that sense, I am still a small boy." This was in no way shameful for him since his recognition in the community and his status in the society as a whole stands upon his subordinate relationship to the district head.

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There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term for the mature man whose meaning also embodies the same ideology of adult behavior. The woman who has had a child can be referred to by a special term that indicates that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and added a new member to her husband's household and to both of their families. Middle-aged women can be referred to by another term which distinguishes them from younger woman and from old women whether or not they have given birth to children. In practice such terms are not observed in common use, the woman's status and age being described in other terms.

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Ideally an adult woman should be married and should desire to remain so. She should be obedient to her husband, have and want children, and perform her womanly tasks promptly and efficiently while remaining chaste within the walls of her husband's compound, leaving it only when absolutely necessary. She should, however, maintain contact with her own family and return there for important family ceremonies. As one would expect, those who come closest to this ideal in their own behavior often tend to agree with this image of womanly perfection and give it their unqualified support. However those who divorce often and easily tend to qualify their agreement. Thus in answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband demanded you always stay inside the compound?" a woman who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years answered simply, "He is the head of the household," meaning "I must obey." Contrarily, a woman who at the age of thirty-five had been married and divorced four times replied, "Then I would make him divorce me. I would leave him immediately."

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While men who are unmarried or between marriages live very similar lives to married men, divorced women are striking in their contrast to their married sisters. A married woman among the Kanuri is tied to her husband's household and

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are available, then try for the best explanation knowing that new facts will very probably force a change in the historical picture you have created to best explain the facts. The greater the number of facts, the fewer the possible number of different historical interpretations that can be applied to any particular case. With these rules in mind let us examine briefly what facts are at hand to help us with Kanuri origins.

First of all we have the Kanuri legends themselves which state that they came originally from Yemen—a legend they share with most of the Muslim people of the western Sudan. Let us call this the local theory and come back to it after considering other available facts. Subsistence farming and cattle keeping came into the area of the central and western Sahara about 5000 years ago, as evidenced by a number of archaeological sites in the area. At that time the Tibesti region north of Lake Chad was much wetter and the lake itself was enormous. It stretched well into the Sahara desert, especially into a region just south of the Tibesti known as the Bodele depression, which even today is well below the present level of Lake Chad itself. People settled in this region and utilized both domesticated plants and animals for their basic means of subsistence. Since that time, however, there has been a steady desiccation of the central Sahara which has dried up the Tibesti and the Bodele depression while the water has retreated in a southwesterly direction towards the present site of Lake Chad. As late as 500 B.C. merchants from Carthage were voyaging to the Tibesti to trade with people who lived in a wet climate among crocodiles, hippopotami, and giraffes.[1] Certainly what evidence we have suggests a very ancient trade between the people of the entire Sahara and those of North Africa. This was much expanded by the introduction of the camel sometime in the first or second century A.D. which facilitated trade across much drier portions of desert and over much longer distances. If we add to this evidence the fact that the Kanuri language is related to the central Saharan group of languages—and these are as a group only very distantly related to all other African language families—then a picture or at least a theory begins to emerge.

The Neolithic agriculturalists in the southern Sahara were drawn further south between 1000 B.C. and 1000 A.D. as the waters of the desert began to recede southward.[2] As they moved southward they pulled the Saharan trade with them, and competition among groups in the Chad basin produced some differences in power and recognized status among clans who lived in the area. Leading lineages within these clans began to unite to govern the activities of clan members until finally the various clans formed loose federations with a leading clan and its leading lineage as the royal or kingly one.[3]

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[1] See Rhys Carpenter, "A Trans-Saharan Caravan Route in Herodotus," *Journal of American Archaeology*, Vol. 60, 1956, pp. 231–42.

[2] This process was also occurring in another area of "desert capture," the upper Niger bend where desert wet regions north of the river receded towards the south. The Niger itself bends into the Sahara, because like the Chad basin there are lowlands to the north of the great bend. Thus it is no accident that the Chad basin and the upper Niger bend have witnessed some of the earliest developments of centralized states in the western Sudan—they were the two areas into which the people of the desert could most naturally and easily move as desiccation proceeded.

[3] In his book on Bunyoro, John Beattie very concisely defines a lineage as "all the descendants in one line (that is, either through males only or through females only) of a particular person through a specified number of generations. It differs from a *clan* in that while usually all the

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to
[174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

602 younger brother (kərami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The kərami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
174
[197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and • 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 197 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

13 Vegetation is open orchard bush with fine-leaved thorny trees predominating over an occasional broad-leaved variety. The terrain although very gently undulating here and there is for the most part flat and low lying (elevation 1,000 feet) with a more or less continuous short feathery grass cover. The loose, deep, easily worked sandy soil is excellent for cultivation while the lack of a thick vegetation cover makes the clearing of new farmland a relatively easy task.

241 The main cereal crop is millet and a considerable amount of guinea corn (sorghum) is grown, especially in the southern portions of the Emirate. In addition to the grain staples, beans, maize, cassava, cucumber, tomatoes, and squashes are also cultivated, while groundnuts 242 are used as the cash crop. In recent years, the agricultural department has been introducing fruit trees into the southern portions of the Emirate and scattering small orchards here and there through the northern bush with the idea of developing a local fruit industry.

101 [197] The people we are concerned with refer to themselves as Kanuri and speak a langugage of the same name. They call their territory Bornu and sometimes refer to themselves as kam Bornube (the people of Bornu). Among Hausa speakers in Nigeria the Kanuri and their language are known as Beri-Beri, but the Kanuri rarely use this term unless they are away from Bornu.

144 [142] Racially the Kanuri are difficult to place. Like other people at the southern rim of the Sahara they vary from negroid to caucasoid in appearance and in skin colour from coppery brown to very 143 dark. Studies by Chalmers on blood group characteristics have shown 144 that when lumped with other northern Muslim peoples the Kanuri indicate considerable similarity in ABO, MNS, and Rhesus blood groups, to

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177 been left out of the historical accounts of the area or have been played down so considerably that the reader finds it easy to forget that the Sudan is geographically adjacent to the Guinea coast. Lady Lugard[1] set the style for this kind of thinking when she described the Sudan as "facing north". Yet the gold, the slaves, and the lowly kola-nut, which became popular as an article of consumption from Kano to Tripoli, all required well established relationships and contacts between the peoples of the Sudan and those to the south of them from very early times.

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• 197 Evidence on the early beginning of the Kanuri people is scant. Linguistically they belong to the central Saharan group of languages which extends like a boot into modern northeastern Nigeria, but for the most part takes up the area of the central Sahara, reaching north to include a good portion of Fezzan, all of Tibesti, and stretching eastward in the desert until it meets the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, the so-called Hamito-Semitic group.[2] Greenberg comments on the distinctiveness of the central Saharan group of tongues, and we may safely attribute to them a
174 respectable time depth. Gautier[3] has shown that Lake Chad delivered water
133 into the Bornu region in past times. According to another writer[4] the whole territory northeast of Lake Chad was a great swampy shallow area until the early centuries of the Christian era. This was maintained by the overflow through a river valley (the Bahr el Ghazal) which is now only a dry depression. The surplus Chad water still flows along this passage today beneath the soil. Less than a century ago, Nachtigal[5] saw the first

(1) Shaw, F.L. (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency (London), 1905, p.3.
(2) Greenberg, J.H., Studies in African Linguistic Classification: IV Hamito-Semetics, SWJ, 6, 1950.
(3) Gautier, E.F., Sahara the Great Desert, (London) 1935, pp.68-69.
(4) Tilho, J. in Geographic Journal LVI, 1920, quoted in Carpenter, Rhys, A Trans-Saharan Caravan route in Herodotus, Americal Journal of Archeology, Vol. 60, 1956, p. 240.
(5) Nachtigal, G., Sahara und Sudan, p. 77ff

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829 place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

[198] Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somehwat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Nagumeri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name. [551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

572 to include as many people as possible under the category of friend. On the other side of the question, what we in our culture would consider a very close friendship can be restricted or terminated for any one of a number of reasons, running from a shift in residence
572 to uneven upward mobility on the part of the friends. When friends
201 actually do have to part, great protestations of affection and sadness are often made at the time of leave-taking, especially and in much greater part, by the person remaining behind. Occasions like this are not uncommon. On one of these, a local official had received a much higher office in the capital. At a small gathering of his friends before his departure, heavy emotional displays of sadness and actual bereavement were made by many of his friends — they were losing such a good friend — why was he leaving them? — couldn't he stay? — did he realize how sad he was making them all feel? — he would forget them all now — etc. There was no mention whatsoever of his good fortune in receiving such an honourable and prestigeful promotion in the State. The sadness seemed more an expression of the group's dissatisfaction with their friend's departure than one of melancholy at his leaving, and it lasted only until his departure on the part of all but his very close ashirmanzé (intimate friend) who because of other circumstances in the situation had extremely few real friends and, therefore, suffered a more profound loss.

829 There is a cultural evaluation of interpersonal relations which underlies all Kanuri attitudes about their social life. Relationships achieved and/or ascribed are good, and more importantly, they are potentially profitable and satisfying phenomena. Conse-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Tributes could be quite large; there are records of payments from Kanem to Bornu in the sixteenth century that mention amounts of 1000 head of cattle per year. 175 651

Along with taxation and other demands such as annual military service, there was a system of exemption whereby persons or groups were released from their obligations to the state in return for some service—usually prayers and other religious duties. These exemptions, *Mabram,* were made by royal declaration in writing which stipulated that facets of a person's obligation were henceforward considered to be *haram* or forbidden, like the eating of pork. One of the oldest of these, given to the family of Umme Jilma, declares that the family is forever exempt from (a) entertaining the king's men during the dry-season military and tax collection campaigns, (b) from *diya* or blood compensation for injuries inflicted on others by accident, and (c) all forms of tribute and taxes. In time, however, all these exemptions were often honored more in the breach or renegotiated. Thus one sixteenth-century monarch ordered a large group to go to war. These people promptly refused on the basis of a *Mabram* given them by a previous ruler. When the king insisted, the entire group prepared to leave his kingdom. However a compromise was worked out in which they accepted military service and paid practically no taxes. This very same group is mentioned again in the traditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Shehu Laminu ruled that their exemptions should pertain only to the leaders of the group, not the entire set of male line descendants of the original holders of this privilege, who by this time had become a very large population. 175 651 701

In its apogee during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bornu kingdom was an expansionist power, and warfare was the state function par excellence. According to traditions and written records, as many as seven or eight military campaigns a year were not uncommon; this meant an expedition might leave Bornu every six or eight weeks during the dry season. With so much militarism the techniques of warfare elaborated accordingly. From at least the sixteenth century onward, Bornu imported muskets, swords, chain mail which were vital and ancient parts of the Saharan trade, although such armaments were also manufactured by Bornu craftsmen as well. 175 721 411 914 939

The army itself was organized into regiments, representing a local area or an ethnic group under their own leaders, and they went into battle according to a well laid out military strategy. Campaigns were amost always conducted against walled towns. The shield bearers advanced first; then after it was felt that the poison arrows of the enemy were exhausted, the rest of the army would advance either storming the walls or forcing the town dwellers to come out and fight—whereupon muskets and cavalry were used. Generally speaking open encounters were quite unusual; the Bornu army was large, well disciplined, and well equipped, while the town dwellers were weak in all these respects and would usually try to flee once the siege went against them. Fallen towns were then mercilessly looted and the inhabitants killed or enslaved. 175 704 72

After the campaign and the distribution of booty by the leaders, the army disbanded. Leaders of various territorial ethnic groups swore allegiance to the king and arranged for the next campaign to be held so many days hence. At that time, criers were sent around to local markets stating the date and place of rendezvous for the army. Able bodied men were expected to go or send a representative bear- [203]

634 647 554 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connections to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri. The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from [661] Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to [203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to guage properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

634 647 662 The prison warder who kept the little jail in Magumeri, although not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

631 634 642 personnel, and ratifies all appointments, dismissals and transfers of the N.A. The DH may be informed of directives either from the Waziri's office or from the relevant Department which would also inform their local District personnel.

648 Officially, today, the British personnel both technical and administrative, perform an advisory, not an authoritative, part in the political organization. Although much of the "advice" is given at the center, there is some contact between the colonial service officials and the District during the touring duty of the officers. Such visits are always publicized beforehand to the local officials and the British officer is always accompanied by a Shehu's Representative. Technical officers are generally concerned with their own particular program in the area and unless they feel that the local authorities are being uncooperative, they do not interfere in local or State politics. The administrative officers have a much wider range of interests which covers all areas of government not directly under the concern of some technical department, i.e. taxation, courts of law, District Councils (local government) and complaints by the peasants against their chiefs. Some also take an interest in one or more technical branch and report their findings to the relevant department after their touring duties have brought them into contact with local programs.

634 203 [631] Informally the DH has a house in the palace ward in the capital and his followers there are links between himself and the center. The Wakil (chief follower) in charge of the town house visits the Shehu regularly and represents the DH in the capital. Besides this source of contact with the center, the DH receives information from N.A. messengers, policeman and traders who travel continually from Maiduguri through the Districts. By the judicious giving of gifts to

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
634 which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
665 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Waziri
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Waziri with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bərzum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

366 494 161 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 494 484 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Ierwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest

443 [203] [273] [525] and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 692 [632] Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

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Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	3	-	2	1	2*a	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5*b	1	5*c	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4*d	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

*a one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

*b four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

*c one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

*d two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

7

GEIDAN

own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on. 634 652

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government. 642 634

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas. 634 [178]

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria. 665 634 642 648

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the 665 208

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
• 208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true reli-
gion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
[563] Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them cor-
[579] rect, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C.
and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us
here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and
eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian par-
ties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-
Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a
one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emi-
rate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There
are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until
January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern re-
gion was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the
former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this re-
gion between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be
represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these
have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more
modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within
this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and
political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals.
Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tra-
dition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it
has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

[GEIDAN]

651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in [208] his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
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632 571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

632 871 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated [554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A.(1)

632 423 [622] All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan 632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 643 [644] [212] ble, and these men maintained Bornu at an apogee of greatness until well into the seventeenth century. One of these rulers, Idris Alooma, had a court scribe at the beginning of the seventeenth century, who wrote a number of accounts of his royal master's military expeditions. Luckily these have survived to give us a picture of Bornu warfare and government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, too, that Bornu was first mentioned on European maps, and from this time forward its fame became part of the legends of unknown kingdoms that lay inside the unexplored interior of Africa.

Bornu traditions claim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a decline in the power of the state. This is explained by the claim that the monarchy was becoming weak and overburdened with pomp, rituals, and religious study by the monarch. The ruling Mai appeared in public in a *fanadir*, or cage, which only his most trusted servants could approach and rarely led military expeditions himself. Much of this may be a reinterpretation of Bornu history by the second dynasty and their followers, who would naturally have played up the failures of the previous regime, when they took over in the nineteenth century. Contrarily 175 648 there are traditions of many successful military campaigns during this period and Bornu's reputation as a great kingdom was still very widespread. Thus a wandering Englishman, Richard Tulley, who visited Tripoli at the end of the eighteenth century, spoke glowingly of what he had heard of Bornu's power. Parenthetically, he claimed that one of the Kanuri noblewomen living in Tripoli could speak the Italian language fluently.[6] On the other side of the case, Tuareg and Tubu raiders attacked the northern boundaries of Bornu and harassed the caravans with greater intensity than before.

The activities of these raiders are said to have increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is important to realize that the entire southern Sahara was a hotbed of unrest during this two hundred year period. In the 1590s the armies of El Mansur of Morocco finally managed to cross the Sahara and destroy the great empire of Songhai. Its cities of Timbuctu and Gau never again became the great emporia of trade, politics, and learning they had once been. The Moroccans could not establish, so far from home, any stable administrative organization capable of replacing the one they had destroyed. This suddenly released vassal groups in the Sahara, many of whom bordered on Bornu, and these were now free to raid, stimulate revolts, and pillage caravans, while their cousins to the west fought over the remains of the Songhai empire and the control of western trade 175 routes across the Sahara. It was during this same period of unrest that, all across 648 the Sudan, wandering holy men, especially nomadic Fulani of Futa Djallon in 668 Guinea, in Masina in the Upper Niger, and even in present day Nigeria, were expressing this disorder in religious terms. They preached through their leaders for a return to a truer and purer form of Islam. Often they claimed that those round them were pagans and had to be subdued in a holy war to reestablish Muslim order and law. It is in the light of all this turbulence that the so-called decline of Bornu 175 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should be seen. Elsewhere empires were 648 tottered or being formed, as in Futa Djallon; but Bornu remained, shaken perhaps by the general unrest of the period but still it survived, controlled its trade routes,

[113] [6] R. Tulley, *Letters Written During a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli*, Vol. II, (London: 1819), p. 51.

*177 191 speakers of these languages as of English. It has been noted that both Shuwa and Fulani pastoralists are found in considerable numbers in Bornu Province. The members of the group of *[634] NA Malams seem to be outstanding in their knowledge of other languages. Not only do they all speak Hausa and English, but three in addition speak Shuwa Arabic, two speak Fulani, and one speaks Mandara.

*177 • 212 Turning to reading ability (Table XVII), it can be seen that 15 of the sample (34 per cent) are able to read in English script, while 24 of the sample (54.5 per cent) are capable of reading in Arabic script. Writing the Kanuri language in Arabic script preceded the entry of the British into the area by several centuries; the British introduced writing in Latin (English) script and have taught this form of writing in the schools. It is clear that many more individuals are capable of writing in Arabic script today than in English script. It is also apparent that almost half of the sample are illiterate in any script.

*[565] Of those who can write well in English script, 10 of the *[634] 11 fall into two groups: the Aristocracy and the NA Malams. Most of the individuals in the six other groups are unable to write in English script. The pattern of those who are capable *[634] of writing in Arabic script is quite different. Once again the NA Malams are an outstanding group. Not only can they all write [792] in English script, but all can also write in Arabic script. Of course the Koranic Malams can also all write in Arabic script.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256]

[BEIDAN]

Table XVII

2. Ability to Read in either English or in Arabic script

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	English script			Arabic script		
	yes	little	no	yes	little	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	1	3	1
Koranic Malams	1	-	2	3	-	-
Canteen operators	-	-	6	2	1	3
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	1	-
Kabuna	-	2	4	1	1	4
Craftsmen	-	-	6	-	1	5
Talaka	-	1	7	1	3	4
Low-status Individuals	-	-	4	-	1	3
Totals:	11	4	29	13	11	20

[GEIDAM]

*177 But in every one of the eight groups there is at least one
• 212 individual who can write a little in Arabic script. Most of
*463 the Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Low-status Individuals can neither
*554 write in Arabic script nor in English script. However, several
*565 of the Talaka can write a little at least in Arabic script.
*177 The two types of script divide the two educational systems
871 which operate side by side among the Kanuri. English script
212 is taught in the schools; Arabic script is taught by the Malams.
*565 Those who have had some extended contact with the Western
*634 schools (the NA Malams and the Aristocracy) can write in English script. Those who have studied with a Malam can write in Arabic script. Individuals who fall in this latter category are found in all of the eight groups, and several are among the Talaka. It is noteworthy that the NA Malams, who all write in English script, can also write in Arabic script.

*177 Table XVIII presents data on the possession of Western
405 material goods. The first column compares those who own, or
*565 have owned a wrist watch. All six NA Malams and 4 of the Aris-
*634 tocrats owned a wrist watch at the time that they were asked. Though a number of individuals in the lower class groups, particularly in the Talaka group, have at one time owned a wrist watch, none owns one at present. This of course reflects the wealth differences among the groups. An individual Talaka may own a wrist watch for a short time, until he finds that he needs cash and sells it to some one else. Members of the NA Malam group and the Aristocracy are sufficiently wealthy to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 258]

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651 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.(1)

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651 From the earliest records extant of the Kanuri empire in Kanem right up until the arrival of the British, a system of tax exemption obtained called the Mahram. Although it most often applied to religious mallams, who were recognized in this way for their esoteric knowledge in matters of law and religion, special services to the king were sometimes [212] [451] rewarded in the same way. These exemptions were always recorded in writing, so that when the British arrived and began instituting their own form of universal taxation many of these documents, some claiming 990 years of [114] exemption, turned up. They were collected, translated and subsequently published by Palmer.(2)

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692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Mainin Kanendi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanendi were twelve [693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

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[562] On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

000 555 871 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognised, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, 571 medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, [212] own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

871 563 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, September 1955.

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

Linton (1952: 77) has also suggested that peasants view any attempts to change their economic condition with suspicion when these originate from their rulers. The peasant, often quite justifiably, feels that anything his rulers offer as a chance to improve conditions is probably much more to the ruler's advantage than to his own. 177 829

This was very certainly the case in Magumeri, and had occurred several times before. Thus, only a few weeks before the fertilizer demonstration began, the Village Head of Magumeri had tried to convince people of the worthiness of literacy. His argument centered around the idea that when literate the peasants would be able to catch their rulers, including himself, for issuing false tax receipts (Cohen and Frank, 1960). When the people refused to volunteer he forced a number of individuals to sign up for the literacy courses. It is difficult to say exactly how many were forced to "volunteer" for the fertilizer demonstration, but that coercion was involved is undoubtedly true. 212 • 177 829 [242]

On the other hand, a strange and almost unprecedented thing occurred at the final meeting when the people were asked whether or not they would use the fertilizer in the coming year. District Council meetings were usually very stiff affairs in which a formal agenda was followed under the guidance of a British District Officer. Very often a District Head rehearsed these "democratic" meetings first to make sure motions would be seconded, voted on properly, etc. On this occasion, an African District Officer was present, and the District Head gave the members of the Council a definite choice as to whether they would accept the fertilizer or not. Bornu is an autocratic country and subordinates are usually ordered about, unless the matter is a trivial one. The outward signs of democratic procedures introduced by colonial rule are very superficially imposed upon feudal autocracy, so that effective social action is carried out dictatorially. This is an ancient society and people are traditionally accustomed to these procedures. That dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use, or not use, fertilizer in years to come, immediately defined it as a trivial and unimportant matter upon which people could make up their own minds. 242 177 634 642

GEIDAM

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Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2*a	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5*b	1	5*c	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4*d	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

*a one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

*b four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

*c one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

*d two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

132 The rainfall ranges from twenty-two to twenty-seven inches, in normal years, and is heavier as one moves from north to south. The important point that must be kept sight of is the fact that ninety percent of the rain falls in June, July, August, and September, while the months from October through June are almost totally dry. Indeed even within the four-month rainy season, about eighteen inches of the annual rainfall comes during July and August, so that in exceptionally dry years, June and September can easily turn out to be rainless months.

The various seasons are tied closely to the basic facts of rainfall and lati-
[137] tude. As the rain begins in June the dry sandy soil suddenly comes to life with large stretches of new grass and new leaves on the died-up thorn bushes. From atop one of the Bornu ridges, or from the roof of a house, the entire landscape, as far as the eye can see, starts to change color from yellow-brown to a soft green. The weather cools delightfully, the rains become more frequent, and the short daily
[221] storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by
[821] far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for every-
[136] body because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust
[151] 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morning, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind.
[221] The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter"
[241] but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees
[821] seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers, all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social relationships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

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423 592 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer, simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 241 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader 423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings. [428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in [691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 [241] Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering. [221] These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 467 Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived [622] in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather [178] worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

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their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

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ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[73] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a catastrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts [442] [439] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the 433 [434] world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts [illegible] the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but 433 233 563 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

[BEIDAM]

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
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178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

As a man and woman grow older they demand and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

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During the harvest season (November to February) divorced women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the temporary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

581 [585] [221] [595] [589]

Production

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Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

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The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

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In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

443 the very end of the haggling. Thus it may take only two or three min-
435 utes to narrow a seller down from fifteen shillings to something a-
437 round five; but will it be 5/6d or 4/6d; 4/9d or 5/3d; or 5/- even? - this last seesaw in pricing may take fifteen or twenty minutes. For although norms of price may be set for market day or longer on any commodity, there is always a small range of a few pennies around the norm which can be called the "real" price. This is not a single price, but really a range within which serious haggling takes place.

435 Finally, it should be noted that price in Bornu vary with
221 the seasons. In general, the harvest period from November to the end of December is a time of plenty, while July and August, the growing season, is a time of shortage. Prices on all commodities, except food, fall during the wet season when incomes are at their lowest and men are taking time off from their dry season activity to tend their fields. They then rise around the harvests when cash crops are sold and money is more plentiful. Thus the Maria Theresa dollar can be bought for 6/9d to 7/- in July, but goes up as high 8/- to 9/- in November after the
[262] harvests. Food is scarce during the wet season, surplus sellers are short (some even stop selling) and prices of bulk (per 200 lbs. bag) rise when other prices are falling. Similarly when other commodities are rising in price after the harvest, food, which is plentiful, falls in value.

The Organization of Trade

443 At the local level in Bornu, trade is handled by retailers. Under this heading come sellers of food items, cooked and uncooked foods, sundries, medicine, charms, medical services, builders, etc. With one

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 During 1956-7 the Agricultural Officer of Bornu Province
177 was a Kanuri who had studied tropical agriculture in Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and India. He was very enthusiastic about the introduction of citrus crops into the area, and spent a large part of his time helping to get this programme under way in the southern part of the province. He was also interested in introducing super-phosphate fertilizer into the agricultural practices of Kanuri cultivators to increase the yield of millet and groundnuts.

241 The average yields for the province using traditional techniques are approximately 600 lbs. of groundnuts (decorticated) and 400 lbs. of millet (threshed) per acre. The yields diminish as one travels north towards the desert, and farm sizes increase in proportion, although farm size is also dependent upon family size, marriage stability, and the socio-economic relations of the cultivator within the community (Cohen, 1959). Research has
[242] proven that the use of super-phosphate fertilizer can raise agricultural productivity in Bornu from 25% to 40% above that normally obtained with traditional growing techniques.

Two methods of planting crops are known. The bulk of the farm plots for most cultivators are the *kulo karabe* or far farms.[1] These are located beyond a two hundred yard perimeter (approximately) around the village. Here crops are planted
[221] a week or two after the first rains, hoed twice during the wet season, and harvested in the period from November to the end of December. In the *kulo fatobe* or near farms, within a two hundred yard perimeter around the village, and within the household itself, maize and vegetables are planted with compost, mostly from sheep, goats, horses, and burnt ashes. This is placed on the soil during planting, and may be applied again during the growing season. Sometimes the compost is put into the ground along with the seeds.

101 The following course of events was observed in Magumeri,
[162] a comparatively small district capital (population 2000), forty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri, the provincial capital.

[1] Literally this expression means "bush farm," and *kulo fatobe* translated literally would be "house farm." For purposes of descriptive convenience and accuracy, the writer has coined the phrases "near" and "far" farms.

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
• 222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geldam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

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[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

[GEIDAM]

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
• 226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
671
[651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P.4]

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A naming ceremony—women sitting in front of the mother's hut. (Crowd includes Diana Cohen, wife of the author).

Horsemen saluting a chief in Magumeri.

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361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within the are-
361 the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their [622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is [788] always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev- [443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. [302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their [291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts [231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as [554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to 197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a [illegible] group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands [illegible] northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of [193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the [195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustwo[illegible] I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his 000 obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

553 money, which helps to allay the expenses of the ceremony, is collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. When the face marks have been cut, and the uvula removed, the father sends a subordinate to tell the women inside the name he has chosen for his child. When the subordinate returns the name is supposedly revealed to the seated men. However, the father or his friend, who has collected the money, usually tells the gathered men at the same time as the women are being told. It is at this time that the sex of the child is made public. The Koran reading being finished the head mallam leads the entire male assemblage in the fatiha (first verse of the Koran) and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts are passed around to all males, as well as perfume for dipping the fingers, and prayer beads. Each reader of the Koran receives a few pennies, in addition, as a token of gratitude from the new father. He must also give a small present of money to the barber and the head mallam as well as the leading woman who helped organize the activities inside the compound. Each of these may receive a couple of chickens or more if the father is wealthy and/or wishes to give the impression that he is a "big" man.

[231] A ram is killed and cooked during the day by the women of the compound, their relatives and friends. The skin is given to the head mallam. Some food is given to the poor, and at the father's instructions, other portions are sent to the houses of relatives, friends and high status persons. The naming ceremony is a day of keen pleasure for the namesake of the new child, if he or she is present, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection with which they are regarded by the family.

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as much respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential

592 461 in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Mukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

231 463 435 434 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d. to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional income of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/- per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between 4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0. for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission" because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about £167.0.0.

434 [452] However, he does not actually take in all this income as cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He complained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

000
231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accomodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts [442] [439] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the 433 [434] world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but 433 233 563 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they [437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs, on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most northeasterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep different breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk [438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an [442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies. [434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

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491 dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the
[366] European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds
across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town
361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has
no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In
three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded
by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying
compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe,
but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the
[249] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found
[134] garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly
[36] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering
[232] area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the
town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is
648 the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the
colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where
Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart
from the African town. In this case, the sole government build-
ing is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high
on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house,
remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years
ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied
by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during
a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied
by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

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44 439 276 [592] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[655] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439] sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233
563 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
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439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
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433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
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ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

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44 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of
439 matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kero-
177 sene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cow-
[237] hides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same Euro-
[314] pean trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts
44 as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth,
439 once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the
452
244 use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balasma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

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44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[448] [465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

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132 The rainfall ranges from twenty-two to twenty-seven inches, in normal years, and is heavier as one moves from north to south. The important point that must be kept sight of is the fact that ninety percent of the rain falls in June, July, August, and September, while the months from October through June are almost totally dry. Indeed even within the four-month rainy season, about eighteen inches of the annual rainfall comes during July and August, so that in exceptionally dry years, June and September can easily turn out to be rainless months.

The various seasons are tied closely to the basic facts of rainfall and latitude. As the rain [137] begins in June the dry sandy soil suddenly comes to life with large stretches of new grass and new leaves on the died-up thorn bushes. From atop one of the Bornu ridges, or from the roof of a house, the entire landscape, as far as the eye can see, starts to change color from yellow-brown to a soft green. The weather cools delightfully, the rains become more frequent, and the short daily storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for everybody because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morning, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind. The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter" but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

[221] [821] [136] [751] [221] [241] [821]

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

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361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 361 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their [622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is [988] always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev- [443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. [302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their [291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts [231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as [554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to 197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of [193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the [195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

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mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

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Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

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241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
571 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give
[123] them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

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and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having [illegible] given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

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423 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer,
592 simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the
241 community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader
423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings.
[428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in
[691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams
[241] or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering.
[221] These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in
467 each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived
[622] in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather
[178] worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

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463 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them
592 to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a
159 skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continu-
571 ous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who
[253] wander through the area.
[554]
[177]

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together.
[428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the
[241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his appren-
[964] tices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also
[434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's
592 meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep
571 and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the
253 time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before
159 the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the
434 market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have
[221] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has
[572] unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[245] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[665] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439] sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
• 241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[645] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[178]

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[731] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a cataatrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

[GEIDAM]

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

• 241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head
[465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment
241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some
565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
464 may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
[178] proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm
241 427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 634 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
[423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

241 634 [554] him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal 241 643 466 farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

241 463 565 554

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

241 565 554 463 [462] are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the 241 previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none 433 depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

463 The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

13 Vegetation is open orchard bush with fine-leaved thorny trees predominating over an occasional broad-leaved variety. The terrain although very gently undulating here and there is for the most part flat and low lying (elevation 1,000 feet) with a more or less continuous short feathery grass cover. The loose, deep, easily worked sandy soil is excellent for cultivation while the lack of a thick vegetation cover makes the clearing of new farmland a relatively easy task.

241 The main cereal crop is millet and a considerable amount of guinea corn (sorghum) is grown, especially in the southern portions of the Emirate. In addition to the grain staples, beans, maize, cassava, cucumber, tomatoes, and squashes are also cultivated, while groundnuts
242 are used as the cash crop. In recent years, the agricultural department has been introducing fruit trees into the southern portions of the Emirate and scattering small orchards here and there through the northern bush with the idea of developing a local fruit industry.

101 [197] The people we are concerned with refer to themselves as Kanuri and speak a langugage of the same name. They call their territory Bornu and sometimes refer to themselves as kam Bornube (the people of Bornu). Among Hausa speakers in Nigeria the Kanuri and their language are known as Beri-Beri, but the Kanuri rarely use this term unless they are away from Bornu.

144 [142] Racially the Kanuri are difficult to place. Like other people at the southern rim of the Sahara they vary from negroid to caucasoid in appearance and in skin colour from coppery brown to very
143 dark. Studies by Chalmers on blood group characteristics have shown
144 that when lumped with other northern Muslim peoples the Kanuri indicate considerable similarity in ABO, MNS, and Rhesus blood groups, to

592
593 These three compound heads all farm near one another on the split-
[241] up land of their Mo-Bro (they also have cleared other plots), often helping one another in farming duties. They present a united front to the community at large and if one appears in court, the others will also be present.

591
593 The youngest half-brother also learned the butcher's craft, but he has married and moved away to another section of the butcher's quarter and today has virtually nothing to do with his three half-brothers. Some of this half-brother's statements indicate the background of disunity among siblings. He had been raised until puberty in the house of X who was married to his Mo-Sis in the capital. After puberty he came to the house of his Mo-Bro in Magumeri, who was now dead and whose place as compound head had been
592 taken by the eldest of the half-brothers. This brother "taught him
593 the knife" (i.e. instructed him in butchering) and he in his turn
874 gave bwzum (respect) to the half-brother, who was now also his compound head. Here is a paraphrase translation of his own attitude to the relationship:

> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother, who was head of the house — therefore I had to give to my brother the same respect as a father and keep myself under his orders. I wanted a wife (all my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my eldest brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation properly — he said — continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse, and learn the butcher's trade and I will feed you and give you money for spending and buy your clothes. But I was not happy and saved my money in secret and saved enough to take a wife of my own — they were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage but he still wished for me to stay in the compound — but I did not wish to do this and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my Mo-Sis in Maiduguri, owned here in the butcher's quarter.

556 565 829 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1) The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 369 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic [166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban [103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var- [241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labour-
[463] ers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics,
[177] clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European
562 origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say
592 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and [illegible] kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving
562 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery
323 production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/
000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>serwa</u> (co-

476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

Production

433
182 Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

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241
[132] The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241
433 In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

241 433 their surplus crop at the local markets.

Although not exact, because of the exclusion of non-cultivators from the sample, some measure of the variation in crop production is shown in the following table of average productivity among the cultivators of the farm survey.(1)

TABLE XI

Table of Average (calculated) Yields for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	Millet (bags, threshed)ø	Groundnuts (bags, decorticated)ø
Farmers	22	9
Craftsmen	17	5
Traders	7	4
Political and Religious Specialists	5	2

ø One bag of threshed millet, average weight - 190 lbs.
ø One bag of decorticated groundnuts, average weight - 200 lbs.

Increases or decreases in production from previous years were reported by 24 (32%) of the 75 cultivators. The following are the reasons given for this variation:

TABLE XII

	N
1) Increase or decrease in number of wives	8
2) Other activities interrupted farm work during the growing and harvest season	7
3) Sickness	6
4) More help in the compound (male)	1
5) Soil depleted	1
6) Damage by smut	1
Total:	24

Thus increase or decrease in number of wives, non-farming activities, and sickness during the growing season seem to be the larg-

[128] (1) These figures are constructed from the acreage of each farmer, multiplied by the average yield per acre in the sample. Reported yield figures on millet (not groundnuts) were so at variance with calculated yield that their reliability is extremely questionable. This may not be due entirely to deliberate falsification by respondents, since they were asked to estimate yields in bags, whereas for the most part this crop is stored in large underground pits, or aboveground storage shelters.

• 241 433 est factors affecting crop fluctuations from year to year. The seven cases of loss in crop which resulted from inattention to farm work because of other activities, refer mainly to economic pursuits, especially retail and wholesale trade, which took the man away from his household during the growing season. The one exception to this rule was a man who had been to Maiduguri with his family in order to fight a court case.

The table on occupation and crop production reveals the pattern of crop production among the various groups in the community. The increases and decreases in production give some measure of the amount of variation that may be expected from year to year. What follows is a discussion of the factors that affect this variation.

[164] [136] The growing season is also a time of general biological increase in Bornu. The rain not only brings the blessing of fertility to the land, it also initiates a period of increased malaria, guinea worm and other plant and animal infestations, as well as the arrival of cattle nomads whose herds may stray into a cultivator's plots, and periodic hordes of locusts. These factors may at any time reduce a farmer's yield and add a constant element of uncertainty to his life. It is no wonder that prayers, charms, and divinatory practices are utilized in combination with the more "rational" agricultural techniques.

The amount of land under cultivation, and its location close to, or far away, from the settlement varies with the kind of primary occupational interest of the farm owner. This is easily seen in the table of average yields above, in which farmers and craftsmen have much larger yields than traders or religious and political specialists. These figures point up the fact that in Bornu a man's non-farming activities especially if they are in trade, politics or religion, tend to impinge

241 433 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the District Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
[571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
[586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
[571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bèrzum subordinates again help determine the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
[476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily salaries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
241 464 571 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure availability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties or working bèrzum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).
(2) See below p. 303.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilize the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groudnuts have been as follows:(1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ∅
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

ø Maiduguri market (average)
∅ General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fèlongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

[435] [432] [251]

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

[412] [372]

322 433 443 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Nguburu) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher
463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[231] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as much respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than some who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the Kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential

592 461 in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Bukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

425 Permission should be sought
632 for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
423 in the "house" farm section is already cleared ahd bounded into plots; this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm are.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 571 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 874 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. 241 On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; 464 476 (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists (1) provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups (2) reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

241 592 571 241 476 571 241 464 571

511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).
(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

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121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[131] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual
[177] trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
•241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

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turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565 554 [369]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

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242 177 During 1956-7 the Agricultural Officer of Bornu Province was a Kanuri who had studied tropical agriculture in Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and India. He was very enthusiastic about the introduction of citrus crops into the area, and spent a large part of his time helping to get this programme under way in the southern part of the province. He was also interested in introducing super-phosphate fertilizer into the agricultural practices of Kanuri cultivators to increase the yield of millet and groundnuts.

241 The average yields for the province using traditional techniques are approximately 600 lbs. of groundnuts (decorticated) and 400 lbs. of millet (threshed) per acre. The yields diminish as one travels north towards the desert, and farm sizes increase in proportion, although farm size is also dependent upon family size, marriage stability, and the socio-economic relations of the cultivator within the community (Cohen, 1959). Research has [242] proven that the use of super-phosphate fertilizer can raise agricultural productivity in Bornu from 25% to 40% above that normally obtained with traditional growing techniques.

Two methods of planting crops are known. The bulk of the farm plots for most cultivators are the *kulo karabe* or far farms.[1] These are located beyond a two hundred yard perimeter (approximately) around the village. Here crops are planted [221] a week or two after the first rains, hoed twice during the wet season, and harvested in the period from November to the end of December. In the *kulo fatobe* or near farms, within a two hundred yard perimeter around the village, and within the household itself, maize and vegetables are planted with compost, mostly from sheep, goats, horses, and burnt ashes. This is placed on the soil during planting, and may be applied again during the growing season. Sometimes the compost is put into the ground along with the seeds.

101 The following course of events was observed in Magumeri, [162] a comparatively small district capital (population 2000), forty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri, the provincial capital.

[1] Literally this expression means "bush farm," and *kulo fatobe* translated literally would be "house farm." For purposes of descriptive convenience and accuracy, the writer has coined the phrases "near" and "far" farms.

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829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life.
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

•241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are
592 heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

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followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view.

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research.

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school.

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

13 Vegetation is open orchard bush with fine-leaved thorny trees predominating over an occasional broad-leaved variety. The terrain although very gently undulating here and there is for the most part flat and low lying (elevation 1,000 feet) with a more or less continuous short feathery grass cover. The loose, deep, easily worked sandy soil is excellent for cultivation while the lack of a thick vegetation cover makes the clearing of new farmland a relatively easy task.

241 The main cereal crop is millet and a considerable amount of guinea corn (sorghum) is grown, especially in the southern portions of the Emirate. In addition to the grain staples, beans, maize, cassava, cucumber, tomatoes, and squashes are also cultivated, while groundnuts 242 are used as the cash crop. In recent years, the agricultural department has been introducing fruit trees into the southern portions of the Emirate and scattering small orchards here and there through the northern bush with the idea of developing a local fruit industry.

101 [197] The people we are concerned with refer to themselves as Kanuri and speak a language of the same name. They call their territory Bornu and sometimes refer to themselves as kam Bornube (the people of Bornu). Among Hausa speakers in Nigeria the Kanuri and their language are known as Beri-Beri, but the Kanuri rarely use this term unless they are away from Bornu.

144 [142] Racially the Kanuri are difficult to place. Like other people at the southern rim of the Sahara they vary from negroid to caucasoid in appearance and in skin colour from coppery brown to very 143 dark. Studies by Chalmers on blood group characteristics have shown 144 that when lumped with other northern Muslim peoples the Kanuri indicate considerable similarity in ABO, MNS, and Rhesus blood groups, to

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 571 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

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The Course of Events

For the three years prior to 1956, the agriculture department of Bornu Province had sent super-phosphate to the District Head of Magumeri. The District Head called in his Village Area Heads and distributed the fertilizer among them. These Village Area Heads were in turn under instructions to give out the fertilizer to local cultivators. Some did so, some did so half-heartedly, and some not at all. Since there was no great pressure from the higher echelons of the political organization to get the programme under way, the super-phosphate was simply considered a matter of local choice. Peasants who tried the fertilizer claimed that it was useless.

242-177

In early June, 1956, the Agricultural Officer sent a letter to all District Heads informing them that he intended to carry out a lecture tour of the Province. The District Head of Magumeri sent out directives to make sure that a large group of people would gather in the district capital for the occasion. The talk centred round two main points. First, the great superiority of European technology; here references were made to motor cars, radios, aeroplanes, and to the fact that super-phosphate fertilizer increased the productivity of indigenous crops. Secondly, the Officer remarked repeatedly that for the last three years the peasants had been using the fertilizer improperly by depositing the super-phosphate pellets into the ground with the seeds. This provided no benefits whatsoever for the plants, and might easily do them some harm. The lectures were given in Kanuri, the native language of the Agricultural Officer.

On June 30th, 1956, Malam Abdulla Yajuwa an agricultural field worker, from the Bornu department of Agriculture came to Magumeri. His instructions were to carry out thirty or more demonstration trials in the Magumeri area on low fertility far farms (*kulo karabe*). This was to be done in cooperation with the cultivator who would permit Malam Abdulla to mark off one acre of farm plot, divide this into two halves, and apply super-phosphate fertilizer to one half and not the other. The farmer was to accompany the field worker so that the method of application could be observed and explained.

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242 177 Two one-acre plots were to be used for each peasant, so that the utility of the fertilizer could be seen on both millet and groundnut plots. In addition, the field worker was to keep careful records on date of sowing, date of application of fertilizer, dates of first and second weeding and harvesting, farmer reaction to super-phosphate, name and village of the cultivator, and finally, the weight in pounds of millet and groundnuts harvested per half acre on the demonstration plots. The field worker was instructed on the necessity of weighing the harvest from each half acre in the presence of the owner, so that each peasant would see the difference in yield from the treated and untreated portions of the plots. The instructions on this last point were very strongly worded and field workers were made to feel particularly responsible for the final demonstration to the farmer of the weight of crops coming from each part of the demonstration plots. Field workers were also told to play down the efficacy of this particular stock of super-phosphate pellets by commenting on its age and its probable loss of power in comparison to new super-phosphate which could be expected to give much more powerful results. The field worker was also asked to make the point that this free application was only for the purpose of demonstration, and that anyone wishing to obtain super-phosphate fertilizer in the future would be expected to buy it. (Actually, the plan was to distribute the fertilizer the following year at a very nominal price, well below its actual worth.)

The District Head organized a meeting of Magumeri cultivators and introduced Malam Abdulla and his project. The [632] Village Head of Magumeri and the local school teacher, both [875] highly respected men in the village, made short speeches [illegible]-[554] tolling the virtues of the fertilizer, and the Village Head asked for volunteers who would participate in the project. Only a few came forward, others were then ordered to do so, and the rest of the Magumeri sample was obtained through the participation of the school teacher and servants of the District Head, all of whom had their own farm plots. Malam Abdulla also went to two other villages in the area, after obtaining the permission of the District Head, and obtained "volunteers". In

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one of these, Chingowa, he was refused any cooperation by the Village Head at first, because this leader had heard nothing about the project from the District Head. When the District Head sent out a directive about the demonstration, the cultivators were forthcoming.

242-177

During the next few weeks, Malam Abdulla went round to the farms of all participants choosing infertile unfertilized plots. He then measured off two one-acre plots (if possible) and divided these in half. Four to fifteen days after the plants had germinated he applied the super-phosphate in the company of the cultivator. He explained in a friendly, cheerful, manner how it was necessary to make a small hole two to four inches away from the stalk and pour in a few pellets.

From July until harvest time in the fall, Malam Abdulla made monthly visits to all participants in the demonstration. During these visits he extolled the virtues of super-phosphate fertilizer, and together he and the cultivator went out to the plots and measured the height of the plants, and examined them comparatively. It was obvious in almost all cases that the plants treated with super-phosphate were larger, healthier, and broader-leafed. The contrast was especially marked for groundnuts since the untreated plants looked generally to be about half the size of the treated ones.

At harvest time Malam Abdulla did his best to make appointments with all the participants so that he could be on the spot to separate treated from untreated crops, and to keep the yields of the experimental one acre separate from other plots not included in the demonstration. This was not possible for sixteen out of seventy-eight cultivators. These men simply harvested their crops and took no notice of the experimental plots even though they had participated in the scheme up until harvest time.

For the rest, the results were varied, but the overall technological success of the demonstration was indisputable. For those measured, there was a mean increase in millet of 30.3% per test plot, and a mean increase of 35.1% for groundnuts. Variation was large, although almost everyone obtained at least a 10% increase on their fertilized plots, while some received

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242 177 gains running up to 300%[2]. In two cases for groundnuts and ten for millet, the increase on the test plot was less than 10% of that on the non-fertilized one. These twelve plots were owned by nine people: allowing for eight cases of negligence through absense or sickness, this leaves forty-three cultivators who experienced a significant (more than 10%) increase in productivity due to the action of super-phosphate fertilizer.

After the harvest season (November to January) had ended nothing more was done on the project for some time. Malam Abdulla prepared his report and turned it in to the Agriculture department at the capital, but remained in the Magumeri area. In March a District Council meeting was held in Magumeri, and the fertilizer was on the agenda for discussion.

242 177 634 The District Council, under the chairmanship of the District Head is composed of Village Heads, Ward Heads and some elder compound heads from the various villages and hamlets of the district. The body, a British innovation, discusses local planning, and votes on the disbursement of a small amount of money known as the District Council Fund.

This was a rather special occasion for the Council, for they were to have an African District Officer rather than a European, which was the usual practice. Generally speaking, the meeting differed considerably from all other Council meetings attended by the writer. The people seemed much more relaxed, much less stiff and formal compared to previous occasions. Comments passed back and forth between one person and another, whereas at previous sessions, people had sat silently, and never spoke unless spoken to first by a superior. The resulting loss in orderliness was offset by a large gain in freedom of expression. [782] Many participants remarked afterwards on this difference and spoke favourably of the African District Officer, who prayed with the people at both the beginning and end of the meeting.

242 177 During the meeting, the District Head announced that the super-phosphate fertilizer was to be available within the next month or two for sale to those who would like to buy it. Several

[2] The standard deviations for these averages are as follows: millet, 25.2; groundnuts, 20.1.

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objections to the fertilizer were voiced immediately. The school teacher of Magumeri gave a short talk extolling the virtues of super-phosphate and reminded the people that European technology was "a wonderful thing". He also repeated the claim that there had been widespread misuse of the fertilizer in the years before Malam Abdulla had come to show them how to use it correctly. Although this was heard in polite silence, objections to the fertilizer were still raised after the school teacher had finished. Several older men murmered, *faida ba* (useless), *ngəlagnyi* (no good) and similar negative phrases. Finally, Malam Abdulla spoke to the meeting for about twelve minutes. He gave a rough summary of his work in the Magumeri area, and remarked repeatedly that the demonstration had been a complete success with many farmers. He explained that in those cases where the fertilizer had failed to give results, the farmers in question had done little or no hoeing, and the crop failures were therefore due to negligence and not the super-phosphate.

However, when the District Head asked the people to estimate how many would be interested in purchasing bags of super-phosphate pellets, there were no volunteers. On the contrary several old men stood up and gave sharply condemnatory speeches about the fertilizer. It was claimed that this fertilizer worked in Kano, Katsina, and Zaria, i.e. elsewhere in Northern Nigeria, where the soil was much redder. In Magumeri the soil was yellow, and needed compost or cattle dung; the super-phosphate was not entirely useless, but for the Magumeri area it was not practicable. Without standing up, several others made similar comments, and a negative consensus was soon reached. The super-phosphate fertilizer was the wrong kind of thing to use on farms in this area. No one rebutted these arguments, and no one mentioned the successful demonstration after Malam Abdulla had spoken.

The District Head closed the matter by saying that he would have a letter written to the agriculture department reporting the views of the Magumeri peasants, and asking for a field worker to be sent who would teach the people how to use the new fertilizer.

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And so, after ten months of work the project was back where it had started. It may be that in future years the people will come to accept super-phosphate fertilizer; now, however, there is as much resistance to it as there was at the beginning of the demonstration.

Analysis

The demonstration of super-phosphate fertilizer in the Magumeri area was in most essentials a technical success. The programme was introducted by a Kanuri field worker employed by the Agriculture department which was under the direction of a senior Agricultural Officer who was himself a Kanuri. What went wrong? Why did the people so unanimously reject the innovation?

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In discussing factors affecting economic growth, Linton (1952: 76) has commented that people will improve their lot unless they have had adverse experiences in the past with a particular innovation. This point is particularly relevent to the situation under discussion.

Some of the people in Magumeri had used the fertilizer in previous years without adequate instruction. By placing the pellets in the ground with the seed, they had damaged the plants in some cases, and killed them in others. When the Agricultural Officer made his speech in June, 1956, people remarked afterwards that the *bundar nasarabe* (European compost) was useless. It was agreed that European technology was very wonderful, but the Europeans did not grow millet and groundnuts, and therefore knew nothing of the techniques necessary for such cultivation. Therefore the speech was in effect a failure. A field worker who had rapport with the cultivators could easily have discovered this important fact and the department would then have been aware that they were not planning an innovation at all but rather that they had a battle on their hands against a confirmed negative opinion. That references were made to the previous misuse of the fertilizer indicates that there was some appreciation of this fact. However simple contradiction was not sufficient to change these attitudes.

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Linton (1952: 77) has also suggested that peasants view any attempts to change their economic condition with suspicion when these originate from their rulers. The peasant, often quite justifiably, feels that anything his rulers offer as a chance to improve conditions is probably much more to the ruler's advantage than to his own. 177 829

This was very certainly the case in Magumeri, and had occurred several times before. Thus, only a few weeks before the fertilizer demonstration began, the Village Head of Magumeri had tried to convince people of the worthiness of literacy. His argument centered around the idea that when literate the peasants would be able to catch their rulers, including himself, for issuing false tax receipts (Cohen and Frank, 1960). When the people refused to volunteer he forced a number of individuals to sign up for the literacy courses. It is difficult to say exactly how many were forced to "volunteer" for the fertilizer demonstration, but that coercion was involved is undoubtedly true. 212 177 829 [242]

On the other hand, a strange and almost unprecedented thing occurred at the final meeting when the people were asked whether or not they would use the fertilizer in the coming year. District Council meetings were usually very stiff affairs in which a formal agenda was followed under the guidance of a British District Officer. Very often a District Head rehearsed these "democratic" meetings first to make sure motions would be seconded, voted on properly, etc. On this occasion, an African District Officer was present, and the District Head gave the members of the Council a definite choice as to whether they would accept the fertilizer or not. Bornu is an autocratic country and subordinates are usually ordered about, unless the matter is a trivial one. The outward signs of democratic procedures introduced by colonial rule are very superficially imposed upon feudal autocracy, so that effective social action is carried out dictatorially. This is an ancient society and people are traditionally accustomed to these procedures. That dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use, or not use, fertilizer in years to come, immediately defined it as a trivial and unimportant matter upon which people could make up their own minds. 242 177 634 642

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

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followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242. 177 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

•242 177 This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demonstration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

[829] The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

242 177 561 [576] Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age. However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite, and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training, [554] and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people. 242 177 [829] Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Abdulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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242.
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[829]

own farm plot. This added to the general impression of the fertilizer as an intrusive item, and one which had no practical value under local conditions.

Conclusion

The human side of innovation has often been emphasized as being just as important as the technological. The Magumeri experience reiterates the fact that the social and psychological context of innovation requires careful analysis so that variables affecting innovation may be isolated and prepared for before any development programmes are put into action. If the place of social relations, as compared to technology, in farm production had been taken into account, the results of this experiment might well have been less disappointing. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that all technology is imbedded in a welter of cultural accretions. It is the responsibility of the innovator to isolate cultural characteristics of technology which are necessary to its successfull operation, from those which are simply there because of the cultural origins of the item. This is what lies at the root of flexibility as opposed to rigidity in the introduction of western technology to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

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433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
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433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
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244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
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[655] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
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433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

A network of European trading companies exists throughout
439 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
442 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
473 The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[731] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a catastrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts [442] [434] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the 433 [434] world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but 433 233 563 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

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632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563
167 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621
called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621
563 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
177 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[273] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621
[243] have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[285]
[463]

632 621 [243] [285] [463] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sɔgdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koldi make sɔgdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] [283] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] [622] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] [323] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Craftsmen who make the fine sitting mat (bɔji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

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491 dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the
[366] European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds
across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town
361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has
no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In
three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded
by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying
compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe,
but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the
[249] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found
[134] garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly
[36] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering
[232] area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the
town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is
648 the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the
colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where
Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart
from the African town. In this case, the sole government build-
ing is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high
on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house,
remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years
ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied
by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during
a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied
by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

44 439 177 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kerosene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] [237] [34] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cowhides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same European trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth, once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balasma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

44 439 452 244

[648]

[GEIDAM]

44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[448] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in
[465] the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

1

The Setting

The Land and the People

FOR AT LEAST a thousand years the drama of empires rising, falling, expanding, and shrinking has been played out in an immense area of Africa at the southern edge of the Sahara known as the Sudan. These states, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Hausa kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, and others like them, from the upper Senegal River basin to the upper Nile, form a band from east to west across Africa. Their histories provide some of the most resplendent grandeur of Africa's past. Many of these states have now been consigned to the history books; Ghana and Mali have disappeared although modern countries have resuscitated their names; Songhai was destroyed by the Moroccans at the end of the sixteenth century; the Hausa states were altered as they came under the hegemony of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and little is known as yet about the early states to the east of Lake Chad. On the other hand, Bornu in the northeastern corner of Nigeria has continued its sovereignty in the Chad Basin throughout a millennium of tribulations and triumphs and it goes on today organized as a separate emirate within Bornu Province.

Like most of the Sudan, Bornu is open savannah country, generally quite flat except for a few stable dunes covered with scrub in the north and several long low ridges running northwest to southeast in the southern part of the country. The ridges are probably ancient lake-shores of a great inland sea whose contemporary remnant is Lake Chad—a large shallow fresh water lake into which flow a number of rivers from the south and west. The soil is sandy and covered with scrub bush grass, and scattered trees, mostly thorny ones, except for the large spreading boabab, which dots the horizon here and there. In the 1930s the Nim, a hardy shade tree from India that thrives on the semi-desert conditions of northern Nigeria, was introduced to provide some forest preserves and year round shade in the villages. Here and there, especially at the bottom of the ridges, are large flat surfaces of hard clay that turn into gray-black mud during the rainy season. These provide clay for building materials and pottery, as well as water holes for the cattle of local villages and wandering nomads.

Chapter VIII

[p. 229]

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 ### The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organiza- [571] tion with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] [632] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
183 questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only
[123] lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
[251] and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains unsoten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
[152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this confict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

• 251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fblongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 433 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [581] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house- [252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (<u>fəle</u>) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

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Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

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Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

463 592 159 571 253 554 177 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. [428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the [241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] [964] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also [434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 592 571 253 159 434 [221] [512] The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

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ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

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man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Maguneri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishama (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

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[434] hold. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

592 511 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously
[184] from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those
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[262] the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

592 261 571 576 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

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Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Gei-
dam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of
cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves
of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-
time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages
and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men.
In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is car-
ried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by
a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, net-
ted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the
Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market,
where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the
products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited
regional exchange is effected through the market. External

782 [793] [792] untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 177 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage. All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 182 [576] [275] [262] [772] [757] 796 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

[GEIDAM]

796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

[BEIDAN]

796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[579] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
579 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubəro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of prop-
556 erty by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Magumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

Consumption

511 128 In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

264 For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male
262 head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of
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262 [264] [782] where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, occra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet.(1)

S 11 In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 zaka(2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half zaka per person. Using the zaka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 [435] lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Magumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 zaka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

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[146] (1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

[804] (2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A zaka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quahtities of grain, beans and nuts. Four zaka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one sa (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 sa per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 zaka per buhu. Zaka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

511 The expenditure for condiments, vegetables, cooking oil, meat or fish, etc. varies from household to household, for this reflects the individual tastes, and more especially the standard of living of any particular family unit. The lowest reported was 2/6d per week for an unmarried man whose aged mother cooked for him and herself in their small compound, while the highest was £5.5.0 (105/-) given by the District Head to his wife for the meat, fish, rice, chickens, condiments, oil, etc. In about two-thirds of the cases, however, the figures fell between 3/- and 5/- per household per week. If the person had any identification with urban life, as several did who were in Magumeri for the farming season, then this weekly expenditure seemed to be somewhat higher, ranging between 5/- and 9/- per week.

Using 3/- to 5/- as the weekly market money that the rural peasant householder spends on additional necessities for his staple foods (median value of roughly 4/-) an annual minimum for this part of the peasant diet can be set at about £10.0.0 for the average (four person) family. That is to say, the figures from budget interviews in combination with the survey material, give a rough estimate of the minimum amount(measured in cash values) required to keep this constructed "average" household unit in its nutrient requirements at prevailing (1955-57) prices — this is £41 sterling per annum (approximately $125.00).(1)

• 262 Although the consumption of millet porridge is fairly standard for all levels of the population - what goes into the soup, and the scale of differences among other foods eaten, varies with socio-

(1) This does not mean that the average family buys $125.00 worth of food per year since almost every family grows some part of its nutrient requirements. See above p.272 for the approximate amounts of millet produced by various occupation groups.

• 262 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may
262 be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with
264 a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bèlàm (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bèlàm, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
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Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
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443 the very end of the haggling. Thus it may take only two or three min-
435 utes to narrow a seller down from fifteen shillings to something a-
437 round five; but will it be 5/6d or 4/6d; 4/9d or 5/3d; or 5/- even? - this last seesaw in pricing may take fifteen or twenty minutes. For although norms of price may be set for market day or longer on any commodity, there is always a small range of a few pennies around the norm which can be called the "real" price. This is not a single price, but really a range within which serious haggling takes place.

435 Finally, it should be noted that price in Bornu vary with
221 the seasons. In general, the harvest period from November to the end of December is a time of plenty, while July and August, the growing season, is a time of shortage. Prices on all commodities, except food, fall during the wet season when incomes are at their lowest and men are taking time off from their dry season activity to tend their fields. They then rise around the harvests when cash crops are sold and money is more plentiful. Thus the Maria Theresa dollar can be bought for 6/9d to 7/- in July, but goes up as high 8/- to 9/- in November after the
[262] harvests. Food is scarce during the wet season, surplus sellers are short (some even stop selling) and prices of bulk (per 200 lbs. bag) rise when other prices are falling. Similarly when other commodities are rising in price after the harvest, food, which is plentiful, falls in value.

The Organization of Trade

443 At the local level in Bornu, trade is handled by retailers. Under this heading come sellers of food items, cooked and uncooked foods, sundries, medicine, charms, medical services, builders, etc. With one

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 462 the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the house-
[434] hold. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

592 511 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously
[184] from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those
• [264] in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their
[369] male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among
264 salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish
[262] the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

592 261 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He
571 would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have com-
576 plained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

000 Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[436] [1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

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796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bori, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumori Ashembe, at Ngumori Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[272] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed [illegible]nd with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditio[illegible]n every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-
[264] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

Firstly, shame-avoidance
602 whose criterion is whether or not the incumbents may eat food to-
264 gether or in the presence of one another, and secondly, shame-respect wherein food may be shared but ego must sit with eyes downcast and only the most necessary conversation passes between the parties. As a general rule the first holds between affines, although Table I illustrates the variability in this respect, and the second holds among consanguinal kin. There is a strong shame-avoidance relation between ego and his senior in-laws (kèsai); that is to say he will not eat in their presence, and he will not enter a hut alone with any of his female kèsai unless he has been in the habit of doing any of these before marriage.(1) This latter refers to the case of a preferential cousin marriage or marriage with the daughter
606 of a close friend. A polite person (male speaking) would manifest signs of shame-avoidance behaviour, no matter what his previous relationship with his future father-in-law, around the time of the marriage. It is then up to the in-law in question to remind him of their prior relationship and to persuade him that there should be no nungu between them now that they are son-in-law and father-in-law to one another.

593 Ideally, ego should show shame-avoidance in the presence of his wife when they are in public and only the most necessary conversation should pass between them. After many years of marriage or in the case of a barren marriage depending on the wishes of the couple involved, much of the formality of shame-avoidance (except

(1) An upper class informant claimed that a man should never even visit his in-laws alone but should always go in the company of friends.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 565 In some cases, more ofteh among the upper classes, if a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela- [577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper [834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass 576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem- [565] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class [264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

836 [589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a wom-
582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.
885 581 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be
• 264 realized that man from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like
437 to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b)
581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

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is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bələm). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

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796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubaro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

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796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bari, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumari Ashembe, at Ngumari Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[272] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-
[264] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 177 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[772] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

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632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serəkin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dogora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

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632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[385]
[463]

*177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were men-
825
*829 tioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bi-
492 cycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." An-
493 other Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kali)."

*177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the
825
*829 answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle?
492 Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew
493
*554 how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not dignified (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would
*[634] rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Crafts-
*[663] men) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and overwhelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their
*[565] reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

*177 Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western
276 items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and
• 273 drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-
[784]

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*177 European-
276 pean-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cig-
• 273 arettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally
[784] avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found
[792] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and
[441] the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 The last items involving Western material goods concern
291 the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers,
*829 presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-
[792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams,
* [634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against
* [463] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger.
* [565]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Table XXII

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• 273
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*463
*554

9, 10. Smoking cigarettes; drinking beer.

	9. Do you smoke cigarettes?			10. Do you drink beer?		
	yes	used to	no	yes	used to	no
Aristocracy	2	-	3	1	-	4
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-	-	3
Canteen Operators	-	-	6	-	-	6
NA Malams	1	1	4	-	1	5
Kabuna	-	-	6	1	-	5
Craftsmen	-	1	5	-	1	5
Talaka	3	-	5	1	1	6
Low-status Individuals	2	-	2	-	-	4
Totals:	8	2	34	3	3	38

342 Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Magumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Magumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

621 [273] In Magumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

184 This then is Magumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu. [114] After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

563 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or
829 confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana or Owoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status people - kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a
[464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri
[273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri
[461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still regarded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is probable that the existence of urban classes and a nobility among the Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Owoza and the Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kanuri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

517 tening to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
[554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonaceae Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

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366 494 161 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 494 484 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 [203] [273] [525]

443 692 [632] Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alterna- 591
tives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or pa- 592
tron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus [593]
if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between house- 621
holds, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. 592
The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles [361]
southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa [162]
250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Sur- [103]
rounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworon-* [276]
go which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and [302]
cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named 621
Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. 592
He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled 159
with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a 571
younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima,* and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 177
series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy
Kanuri traders have established with the European trading com-
panies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44
fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439 554
ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 452
who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the
heads of large households. At the other end are the small re-
tailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit,
who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439
of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276
The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola
nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at
all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women,
adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494]
by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by
truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435]
the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the sea-
son, much more widely than any other item sold in the market.
Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at
a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492]
to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large
quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more
remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

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44 439 remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The
• 276 Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his
[592] household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle.
439 Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since
[233] large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in
439 importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos
563

*177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were mentioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bicycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." Another Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kpli)."

825 *829 492 493

*177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle? Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not dignified (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Craftsmen) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and overwhelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

825 *829 492 493 *554 *[634] *[463] *[565]

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• 276 273 [784]

[GEIDAM]

*177 European-
• 276 pean-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cig-
273 arettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally
[784] avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found
[792] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and
[441] the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 The last items involving Western material goods concern
291 the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers,
*829 presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-
[792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams,
*634 Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against
*[463] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger.
*[565]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

GEIDAN

Table XXII

*177
• 276
273
*565
*463
*554

9, 10. Smoking cigarettes; drinking beer.

	9. Do you smoke cigarettes?			10. Do you drink beer?		
	yes	used to	no	yes	used to	no
Aristocracy	2	-	3	1	-	4
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-	-	3
Canteen Operators	-	-	6	-	-	6
NA Malams	1	1	4	-	1	5
Kabuna	-	-	6	1	-	5
Craftsmen	-	1	5	-	1	5
Talaka	3	-	5	1	1	6
Low-status Individuals	2	-	2	-	-	4
Totals:	8	2	34	3	3	38

[p. 229]

Chapter VIII

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization [571] with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been [illegible]d (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scal[illegible] process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] [632] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

517 tening to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
[554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

• 276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 177 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

632 621 [243] [355] [463] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (səgdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area. 632 463 The people of Koldi make səgdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts- [323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bəlli), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

[GEIDAM]

44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
438

Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in
[305] the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe
[282] and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers
[322] shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths,
[294] covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

632 [GEIDAM]

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[GEIDAM]

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[285]
[403]

632 [GEIDAM]

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.
439

[77] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing, traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining
44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market, serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen
[192] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sabda (Saturday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each
44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are
439

[GEIDAM]

177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

262 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may
262 be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with
264 a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bèlèn (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bèlèn, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins, bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
441 closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men, there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the different kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and

• 286 [192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature
of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and
indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was
originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today
these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desir-
ability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one
of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, work-
manship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kan-
uri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men
have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often
worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not
be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of
excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-
sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the
waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover
the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the
wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over
the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a
sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which
range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rare-
ly wear prints).

291

291 NORMAL GARB--nude and covered parts of body; services of clothing (e.g., protection, vanity, modesty); standard costume; age and sex differences; seasonal variations; styles and fashions; description of individual garments; means of attachment and suspension (e.g., belt); etc. See also:

Cyclical trends in fashions 178
Sumptuary laws 434
Sexual modesty 834
Swaddling and infant attire 854

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 3]

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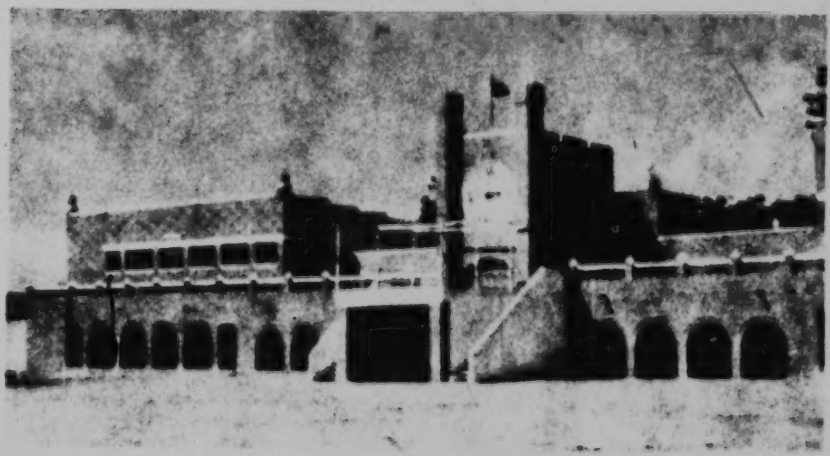
(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

631
344



1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[p.4]

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A naming ceremony—women sitting in front of the mother's hut. (Crowd includes Diana Cohen, wife of the author).

Horsemen saluting a chief in Magumeri.

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231

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 361 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their [622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is [188] always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev- [443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. [302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their [291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts [231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as [554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to 197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of [193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the [195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his ooo obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "kemanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and
[673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[805] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[534] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

*177 Euro-
276 pean-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cig-
273 arettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally
[784] avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found
[792] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and
[441] the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 The last items involving Western material goods concern
• 291 the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers,
*829 presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-
[792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams,
*[634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against
*[463] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger.
*[565]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

Table XXIII

*177 14, 15. Wearing European Items of Clothing: shoes, trousers.
*291
*829
*565
*554
*463

	European shoes:			European trousers:		
	has them	doesn't have but would wear	wouldn't wear	has them	would wear	wouldn't wear
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2*a
Koranic Malams	1	1	1	-	-	3*b
Canteen Operators	5	1	-	-	-	6
NA Malams	6	-	-	4*c	-	2
Kabuna	2	2	2	-	3	3
Craftsmen	3	1	2	1	-	5
Talaka	5	1	2	3	1	4
Low-status individuals	4	-	-	1	1	2
Totals:	30	7	7	11	6	27

*a Malam Jalo said that he wore European trousers long ago when he was a school-teacher but that he wouldn't wear them now.

*b Liman Habib, the young Liman, said that he wouldn't wear them because they don't go with a Kanuri gown (kulugu).

*c Malam Kasam, the veterinary, stated that he occasionally wears them but doesn't like them; prefers Kanuri trousers (yangai).

Malam Ali Malami, the dispenser, wears European trousers as his work pants.

BEIDAN

*177 Those who object to the trousers make up 61 per cent of the
291 sample, while those who objected to wearing shoes are only 16
*829 per cent of the sample. A majority of the NA Malams state that
*634
*565 they wear European-style trousers, but several of their re-
*463 sponses indicate that wearing trousers is related to the nature
441 of their work, and one, the Veterinary, states that he wears them though he dislikes them. One Aristocrat notes that he wore trousers in the past when he worked as a school-teacher but does not wear them now that he no longer does that sort of work. The Craftsmen, the Koranic Malams, and the Canteen Operators give a very high proportion of responses indicating refusal to wear trousers. The first two of these, the Craftsmen and the Koranic Malams, also included individuals who were unwilling to wear shoes, so that their responses to the two questions are rather consistent. However, the Canteen Operators show a complete reversal. All of them said that they either had or would wear European-made shoes, but not a single member of that group would wear European-style trousers. There is clearly a difference in the attitude of the sample towards wearing European-made shoes and European-style trousers. The majority have no objection to wearing shoes but do object to wearing trousers; the group which is most sensitive to the difference between the two items of clothing is the Canteen Operators. They choose with the majority with respect to both shoes and trousers, but in both cases they do so to a man, as if to indicate that they as a group exemplify the norms of correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

286 [192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature
of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and
indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was
originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today
these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
• 291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desir-
ability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one
of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, work-
manship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kan-
uri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men
have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often
worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not
be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of
excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-
sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the
waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover
the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the
wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over
the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a
sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which
range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rare-
ly wear prints).

291 In a culture where houses are often extremely similar from person to person, within any one strata of society, clothing tends to give expression to individual tastes and desires. On a broader scale, difference in dress reflects class divisions and higher and lower echelons of the status dimensions discussed in previous chapters, giving cultural support and emphasis to these social distinctions. Thus on a normal work day in Magumeri these differences are readily apparent.

511 The actual amount of expenditure for clothing is a function of income and social status and seems to range for many of the peasant population (over two-thirds of the budgets) between three and thirteen pounds sterling per annum for each male household head. If we take £9.0.0. as a rough median value per rural male householder, the calculated rural expenditure for food (£41.0.0) and clothing (£9.0.0) is about £50.0.0 per year, in cash and kind (translated into cash values at local Bornu prices).

[562] The following table, taken from nineteen of the more reliable budgets, illustrates the relationship between occupation and clothing expenditures, as well as pointing up the fact that most women's clothes are bought by men. The extremes of the table are: (1) a District Head who buys a larger amount and a better quality of clothing as a mark of his high status, as well as giving away many gifts of robes to his followers; (2) a servant of the District Head who buys no clothing at all, since the D.H. supplies him with his needs; (3) a wealthy trader from the city who utilizes clothing expenditures, among other things, to raise his social status commensurate to his recent rise in wealth.

Tiv FF57

6: Buchanan K-5 (ca. 1952)1953. MS12 Hausa MS12

Fulani MS11

Kanuri MS14

Nupe FF62

H
142
144
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T
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K
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F
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FIG. 11—Hausa villagers, Zaria Province. The Hausa are numerically the major tribal group in the Region; racially, they show a predominance of savanna Negro elements.

FIG. 12—A pagan hunter of the Jos Plateau. These primitive people appear to have some Negrito elements.

FIG. 13—Nupe villagers, Niger Province. This group from one small village reflects racial complexity of parts of the Region—tall savanna Negro, stocky forest Negro, and person of Arab descent.

FIG. 14—Tiv of Benue Province. The Tiv, predominant people of the Middle Belt, appear to have racial affinities with the peoples of the southeastern forest rather than with the peoples of the northern plains.

FIG. 15—A Kanuri of Borno Province. The Kanuri are a hybrid group, of mixed Negro-Caucasian origin.

FIG. 16—Fulani of the Bauchi region. Fulani ancestry is Caucasian, reflected in brown skin, wavy hair, and narrow nose. Today they show traits of intermarriage with Negro neighbors.

[GEIDAM]

The second category is the tradesmen. They depend less on a special 463 441
craft ability than on their general skills in buying and selling at a profit. Through their knowledge of the operation of the economic system they assist in the distribution of goods, and earn their livelihood by taking for themselves a percentage of the value of goods which pass through their hands. The trades- 463
men and the craftsmen are two specialized groups within the social system of the town of Geidam whose activities are largely centered within the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The third category of specialists typically found in an urban community are specialists in maintaining the bureaucracy, and though there is an economic component to their activities, these fall more properly within a consideration of the political organization, so that discussion of the role of this group of specialists will be deferred.

Table III lists the major types of craftsmen found in Gei- 463
dam, and notes in addition whether they are organized under a 467
single head, whether they are localized in one section of the town, and the extent of their participation in the market. The seventeen types of craftsmen listed in Table III are all full-time specialists. They are highly skilled at their crafts, and no Geidam man would attempt to perform for himself the services, or to manufacture the products, which the craftsmen supply. Eight crafts in Geidam are each organized under a single head. The head [292]
of a craft group such as the barbers, or the butchers, is appointed by the Ajia of Geidam and is given a kulugu as a mark of office.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 138]

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei
[463] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[462] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[893] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumaribe (ngumari means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zamabe (Zama means Friday). The Liman Ngumaribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [762] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [884] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con-
634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that
297 Malam as the Liman Zamabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zamabe was
554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumaribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent
785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken
183 [561] into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

[GEIDAM]

44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
438

Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bəjis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained through the market. 433 In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterized by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
• 294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishama (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

262 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may
262 be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with
264 a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bèlèn (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bèlèn, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins, bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
441 closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men, there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the different kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them 301 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seen to indeate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

Table XXV

789
*301
*565
*463
*554
*634
441

13. Religious Behavior: wearing charms (laya).

	wears many	wears a few	wears only when traveling	has them at home	has none
Aristocracy	1	1	2	1	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	-	-
Canteen Operators	-	2	4	-	-
NA Malams	4	1	1	-	-
Kabuna	3	-	3	-	-
Craftsmen	2	3	1	-	-
Talaka	2	1	2	2	1*
Low-status Individuals	1	1	1	-	1**
Totals:	14	11	14	3	2

* has never had any

** doesn't like laya; drinks Koranic ink (alo).

302 sexes and constitutes one of the minor expenses to be reckoned with by
301 the ceremonial initiator. Men and women wear rings of silver or some other white metal and women also wear bracelets, anklets, hairpins, ear
302 plugs, and necklaces. Women darken their eyes with antimony, and colour their front teeth red. Males have their heads shaved by a barber once every two or three weeks, sometimes letting it go for an entire month. Women dress their hair every fifteen days. Female friends, relatives or neighbours dress one another's hair in turn. Men give their wives a regular allowance to cover the cost of hair dressing which includes expenditures for pomade, cloves, special needlelike objects for braiding and other materials that go into the elaborate confection of a Kanuri woman's hair styling. Men and women also (not universally) dye their hands and feet in indigo and henna respectively.

511 In the budget interviews the composite expenditure for ceremonials, entertainments, stimulants and cosmetics ranged between £3.0.0 to £12.0.0 (per annum) with one person lower (£2.0.0) and three higher (£15.0.0, £20.0.0 and £88.0.0) - those higher were two N.A. officials and a city trader; all, therefore, non-peasants. Taking the median point as our measure of central tendency, we can allow about £8.0.0 sterling for this category of consumption in the average (four person) rural household. This brings the calculated rural expenditure in cash value to £58.0.0 per household.

Operating Expenses

Operating costs are those expenditures which are not consumed for their own value as entertainment, or subsistence items, but are necessary expenses, which maintain the economic unit as a productive entity. In this category are such things as housing, tools, labour, land, transportation, taxes, fuel and seeds.

6: Buchanan K-5 (ca. 1952)1953 MS12 Hausa MS12

Tiv FF57
Fulani MS11
Kanuri MS14
Nupe FF52

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FIG. 11—Hausa villagers, Zaria Province. The Hausa are numerically the major tribal group in the Region; racially, they show a predominance of savanna Negro elements.

FIG. 12—A pagan hunter of the Jos Plateau. These primitive people appear to have some Negrito elements.

FIG. 13—Nupe villagers, Niger Province. This group from one small village reflects racial complexity of parts of the Region—tall savanna Negro, stocky forest Negro, and person of Arab descent.

FIG. 14—Tiv of Benue Province. The Tiv, predominant people of the Middle Bek, appear to have racial affinities with the peoples of the southeastern forest rather than with the peoples of the northern plains.

FIG. 15—A Kanuri of Borno Province. The Kanuri are a hybrid group, of mixed Negro-Caucasian origin.

FIG. 16—Fulani of the Bauchi region. Fulani ancestry is Caucasian, reflected in brown skin, wavy hair, and narrow nose. Today they show results of intermarriage with Negro neighbors.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

361 Everyone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 361 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their [622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means [988] that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev- [443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. [302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their [291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts [231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as [554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to 197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of [193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the [195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his ooo obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

586 587 with ease. Since most men marry a number of times in the course of a normal life, they are likely to marry women who have been married previously and whose earlier marriage (or marriages) has ended in divorce. An important distinction is made between a marriage with a girl who has never been married before, and marriages with women who have been married previously.

585 302 a) Marriage with a virgin. The adult Kanuri woman wears her hair in a striking coiffure which resembles a Trojan helmet. Adolescent girls who have not yet married wear their hair in totally different fashion. Their hair-do is divided into three parts, and they are referred to as kalə yaskə, a term for their particular developmental stage which derives from the hair-do that characterizes the stage. Since very high priority is placed on virginity for a girl before marriage, a first marriage with a kalə yaskə is equivalent to marriage with a virgin.

584 Marriages are frequently arranged, but consent of both boy and girl plays a part, even in marriages in which the boy is marrying for the first time and the girl is a kalə yaskə. A boy may come to his father to say that he likes a particular girl. It frequently happens then that the boy's father will go to the house of the father of the girl, bringing presents with him, to arrange the marriage. The father of the boy may also select a particular girl as wife for his son, ask the boy if he likes the girl, then make the arrangements with the father of the [565] girl. A talaka may marry the daughter of a very good family, if he can raise the money needed for her bride-price. The sole

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
• 302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [581] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house- [252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (fole) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

[GEIDAM]

632 563 167 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come [162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 621 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper. [162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula- [622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves [651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection 632 621 563 177 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and members of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Kabam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of [302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in [771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude [275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip [534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the 632 621 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all [243] have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition [285] [463]

[BEIDAN]

796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubɔro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553
[562] On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

861 We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

> the warnings are frequent. The "boogy-man" threat is more often used as a warning. For example, last month a group of travelling entertainers brought a very large, ugly hyena to town ... apparently Kachella gana was shown the thing from a distance, and ever since the hyena has been used as a deterrent to investigating the contents of medicine bottles, or venturing beyond the compound door. It works, although Kachella is inclined to laugh somewhat incredulously. (1)

Continuing with the same excerpt, it will be noticed that positive as well as negative learning is begun early and definite, patient teaching by socializing adults is a normal part of every day's activities for the young child:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little adoptive grandson, "Kachella, pick the plate up. Now take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now take that other plate and cover the food over (plates are made of grass). That's right, very good." The operation which would have taken the grandmother a second has been carried out only after two minutes of patient instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

858

The inception of sex roles begins with the onset of childhood and the end of weaning. The boys are <u>tada gana</u> (small boys) and wear the appropriate small smock and begin to have their heads shaved in the child hair style of the father's agnatic group. This small boy's hair style often depicts the political affiliations of the father's agnatic group and/or its territorial origins. Thus all the household groups connected to a political leader or coming from a particular town may share the same small boy's hair style. Some lower class informants in the large urban centre stated that they used whatever hair style they pleased for their small boys when it was observed that no rule seemed to be followed.

302 [858] [602] [184]

858
302 After weaning, the girls are <u>fero gana</u> (small virgin girls)

(1) Excerpt from correspondence by Diana Cohen with the Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto (1956).

858 or kala yashu (three heads), the latter referring to the distinctive
• 302 three pronged hair style of pre-pubertal females. The young girls are
soon more fancifully dressed and their eyelids blacked with antimony.

855 Until the age of three or four, children are kept for the
857 most part within the compound, going out only with older members. After four or five, the child begins to explore beyond the compound and meets children of his own sex in the immediate vicinity. These form peer groups who play together and gather together quickly to witness any excitement of the town. They stay away from groups of male elders who may sit conversing under a tree, but otherwise roam the town and later even the surrounding bush area freely as long as their growing amount of household tasks are complete.

868 The girls start to learn the intricacies of preparing food,
[412] carrying water, and the ever present task of grinding millet either on a quern or more commonly in a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, and the family dry season activity, as well as being on hand for running messages. Pressure in the acquisition of these skills is steady and slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but to a Western eye extremely severe. The reason is most often the continual or perhaps sudden relinquishing of a skill which by such time should have already been acquired. A young boy of ten was beaten for omitting to gather grass for his father's horse; this is a skill which boys of seven to nine should have already learned. The severity of the punishment is noted by all children within earshot. Thus the beating of one child in a village or a ward not only punishes his neglect of learned skills but advertises to all, within hearing distance of the child's screams, that punishment is not just a matter of threats but is an awesome, painful reality if limits are transgressed.

881 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she men-
582 struates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e.
585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time
[302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a fero gana (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it:

[833] 881 [885]

> She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When she bleeds, then she is kanu kura (a mature woman) and she knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offerings to the poor).

885 [302] Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a completely different person immediately upon taking up the status of married woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the compound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities become progressively remote from their own.

Chapter VIII

[p. 229]

Political Organisation

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organiza- [571] tion with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract withih themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the [632] small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

517 teming to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
[554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gwerongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for 177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

302 sexes and constitutes one of the minor expenses to be reckoned with by
301 the ceremonial initiator. Men and women wear rings of silver or some other white metal and women also wear bracelets, anklets, hairpins, ear
302 plugs, and necklaces. Women darken their eyes with antimony, and colour their front teeth red. Males have their heads shaved by a barber once every two or three weeks, sometimes letting it go for an entire month. Women dress their hair every fifteen days. Female friends, relatives or neighbours dress one another's hair in turn. Men give their wives a regular allowance to cover the cost of hair dressing which includes expenditures for pomade, cloves, special needlelike objects for braiding and other materials that go into the elaborate confection of a Kanuri woman's hair styling. Men and women also (not universally) dye their hands and feet in indigo and henna respectively.

511 In the budget interviews the composite expenditure for ceremonials, entertainments, stimulants and cosmetics ranged between £3.0.0 to £12.0.0 (per annum) with one person lower (£2.0.0) and three higher (£15.0.0, £20.0.0 and £88.0.0) - those higher were two N.A. officials and a city trader; all, therefore, non-peasants. Taking the median point as our measure of central tendency, we can allow about £8.0.0 sterling for this category of consumption in the average (four person) rural household. This brings the calculated rural expenditure in cash value to £58.0.0 per household.

Operating Expenses

Operating costs are those expenditures which are not consumed for their own value as entertainment, or subsistence items, but are necessary expenses, which maintain the economic unit as a productive entity. In this category are such things as housing, tools, labour, land, transportation, taxes, fuel and seeds.

443 With one [442] [438] exception,[1] locally produced items such as medical services, pottery, meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 442 443 571 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are <u>bèrzum</u> (discipline-respect) and <u>aman</u> (trust).[2] Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

<u>(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)</u>

438 442 443 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age, has lived in Magumeri for seven or eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] [302] (1) <u>Gworongo</u>, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is produced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, 195
so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. 576 People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. 197 But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most [178] Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria. [191]

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. 178 But they are, if you like, diagnostic 177 features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related 302 ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash 412 carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are 531 tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life 171 are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one 304 ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not 171 significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August [114] 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and [101] hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. [121] During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 883 581 156 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage. The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on 883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in 882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter 871 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against 578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 883 584 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 [304] Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teenage period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such [554] as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 571 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885
192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

174 184 563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

173 614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

175 567 554 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas, ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna, 175 567 644 839 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of [304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six, who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's 175 567 household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:

644 839 554 Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the four greatest chimas. On his death his title goes to the adim presently holding the title of:

Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim, and another of the four greatest chimas. He is succeeded by the holder of the title:

175 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi
567 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
554 new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
[304] was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
175 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
567 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The
554 susana of an important noble shares some of that importance
592 by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
928 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
567 themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his mas-
576 ter, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to
178 Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and
[673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[271] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. If the young girl is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

582 584 [304]

582 584 304 881

> When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

587 567 [593]

In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced woman who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553 On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal
[562] naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

885 of any institutional prolongation of a girl's unmarried status beyond
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871 puberty is regarded by the people as leading to the ruin of her normal development as it is conceived in the culture. (This opposition is also exacerbated by the fear of a loss of power of dispensation over the girl by her guardian when she attends school).

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304 For young boys the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence is marked by circumcision. It is apparent from the variation in age, running anywhere from seven to twelve years for the circumcision of boys, that physiological maturation has very little to do with the timing of the ceremony for any particular boy. The boy's family, especially the head of the household (usually his father), decides the issue on the basis of family readiness to perform the ceremony. Often a large group of boys, sometimes as many as thirty or forty in large towns, are cut when a leading family performs a circumcision for one of its members.

The important thing for the Kanuri is not the readiness of any particular young boy for the ceremony in terms of either his behavioural or physiological development: The deciding factor is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationships with the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Have a lot of friends and relatives been asking repeatedly when little Aba is going to be circumcised? Have the household members, especially the head, attended a great many marriages, naming ceremonies, etc., of other community members and given gifts on these occasions? Is it now time to reap the benefit of all that participation by having a ceremony of one's own, to which many people will come and many gifts of goods and money will be obtained? These

881 304 [571]

and questions like these are the determining factors in the timing of a circumcision ceremony and they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the roadway to manhood for the young boy, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

As would be expected in a stratified society there is much variation in the elaborateness of the circumcision ceremony, depending upon the rank of the family involved, the number of boys being circumcised together, and the upward mobility motivations of the family head. Generally speaking, the period of circumcision is fifteen days. In the traditional ceremonies the boys are cut at a first and smaller celebration and then remain in their compounds for fifteen days, after which a large ceremony is held.

"They must eat good food and rest until their wound heals," said one informant. The consensus of opinion seems to be that it is "better" to have a group of boys circumcised together rather than singly. This may include several boys from one large extended family. More often the ceremony is initiated by a person of higher rank, such as a hamlet head, a Village Head, a District Head, or some person of noble family. People of lesser rank who have some subordinate relationship then try, or are asked, to have their own sons included. Social distances between the families concerned are, however, not exceptionally great. Thus a peasant's son might conceivably have been circumcised with a hamlet head's son or perhaps even a Village Head's son but it would be most unlikely that he would reach much higher in

881 his connections. The limitations on such social incongruities are
304 twofold. First of all, it would be considered undecorous in the eyes of the community and the person labelled as ro kura (literally: big life, i.e. "pushy" or overly ambitious). Secondly, the elaborateness and therefore the expenses involved increase enormously up through the status hierarchy of the society so that, unless the person has a great deal more wealth than his social position generally implieb, he must of necessity carry on the ceremony only with the ranks immediately above or below himself in the social structure.

Exceptions are quite common to both group circumcision and to the two ceremonies held first on the day of the cutting and secondly fifteen days later. Impecunious peasants often prefer a single public ceremony on the day of the cutting. Informants explained that by restricting the ceremony in this fashion they were trying to control the expense.

Adolescence

882 The period after circumcision until marriage is a culturally recognized status for boys. It lasts from about the age of seven to twelve up to the period of eighteen to twenty-two years. For both males and females there is a blurred period between childhood and the next stage of life which in both cases ends roughly at puberty. However, for girls this commonly occurs after their first marriage, while for the boys it does not.

After circumcision the boy can be socially regarded as zairo (literally: attractive in a male sense). However, informants explain that he is still tada gana (a small boy) until he is capable of ejaculation, or until the growth of his pubic hair. The term tada gana is retained and applied to the adolescent to describe his immaturity or

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

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192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

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44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
438

Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[342] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
• 311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

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128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
[125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[651] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it-
[662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

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144 southern Nigerians. The comparatively high frequency of Rho (cDe) chromosome, characteristic of other African populations south of the Sahara, is also present among the Kanuri.(1)

361
162 The Kanuri are sedentary agriculturalists and live in various sized settlements scattered homogeneously throughout the Emirate. In their language they distinguish three kinds of settlements primarily on the basis of size. The largest category, birni (city) refers to centers of population containing 12,000 to 15,000 and over. Besides Maiguguri, the capital, there are only two or three other centers of such large proportion. Villages (bala) form the most numerous category and vary in population from a few hundred to about ten thousand. The last category, hamlets (baladea), contain from fifteen to twenty up to several hundred. For political purposes and the gathering of national census data hamlets are lumped in with villages and called village areas. This makes it difficult to tell from census data what proportion of the population of these village areas live in the village itself as compared with the number living in the surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. Village area tax rolls from one district (Nagumeri) indicate that about one-half the population listed for any village area actually live in hamlets around the village included in its jurisdictional area.

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[361] At first sight the Bornu countryside appears to be quite thickly populated. When travelling through the bush on horseback or truck, settlements and their encircling farms follow one another after intervals of bushland with unending regularity. This first impression is misleading however for most of the area is uncultivated, unpopulated bushland and the population density is only forty to sixty per square mile. This conclusion

(1) Chalmers J.N.M. and others; THE ABO, MNS and Rh Blood Groups of the Nigerians, Eugenics (London) 17, 3, 168-176, 1953.

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• 311 is also supported by estimates made by officials of the Bornu agricultural department whose records indicate that only seven per cent of the total Emirate land area is under cultivation while another eight to nine per cent is resting land. Since the agricultural potential of the area is relatively homogeneous this means that there is no land pressure and no problem of over-population.

631 Bornu Emirate is a political unit, among others, within Bornu Province and the latter is in turn one of the provinces making up the Northern Region, the largest of the three regions, of Nigeria. The Emirate is under the nominal rule of the Shehu of Bornu and his council, with this latter body under the executive direction of the Wazirí of Bornu. These leaders all reside at the Emirate capital, Maiduguri, which is also the capital of Bornu Province. The entire area of the Emirate is divided into twenty-one districts each under a District Head who resides in the district capital. In its turn, each district is sub-divided into village areas under the headship of a Lawan (village area head). Finally under the Lawan are the wards of his village and the hamlets surrounding his village within the village area boundaries. These wards and hamlets are headed by men called Bèlama.

648 The colonial government cuts across this semi-traditional structure. Its center is at Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region of Nigeria, and its representatives reside throughout the region, with their headquarters at each provincial capital. The Resident Officer of Bornu Province is the senior colonial official in the province and is responsible to Kaduna for the administration of several Emirates and divisions of the province of which Bornu Emirate is only one, albeit the largest. Government departments of education, forestry, agriculture, and the like are responsible for their programs throughout the entire province and work through local native authority departments in each Emirate.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
[131] many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[642] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
.311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178 A number of material changes have been introduced which
494 have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[653] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] [651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

243 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months
221 of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans,
243 okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions.
312 These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts
[492] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading com-
[434] panies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the
433 world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Ka-
[334] nuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They
233 keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but
433 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam
233 and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in
563

511 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

[GEIDAM]

44 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of
439 matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kero-
177 sene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cow-
[237] hides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same Euro-
[Ex] pean trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts
44 as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth,
439 once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the
452 use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends
244 to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balama) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into
[448] the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

[GEIDAM]

44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

[GEIDAW]

44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
438

Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] • [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Maguneri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishana (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fālongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

• 322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two 433 calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calculated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season, he does not produce for the market at all; but takes private orders which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from 3/3 to 5/- or about 4/ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about 3/-
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him a cash income of approximately £45.0.0.; when this is added to his crop production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at £86.0.0.

461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Besides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossipping and moralizing about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

632 621 they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Eco-
[243] [355] [463] nomic specialization along ethnic lines is a common character-
istic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koldi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups
[732] specializing in a single economic activity are also found living
[283] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For
[621] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as
[622] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized
[281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific
[285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts-
[323] men who make the fine sitting mat (<u>boji</u>), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen,
[441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen
[735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

14

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labour-
[463] ers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics,
[177] clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European
562 origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say
592 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and in kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving
562 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery
323 production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/
000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>serwa</u> (co-

[GEIDAM]

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438

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342 476 565 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the owner. This method is only practised in the construction of house types 342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists 331 565 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la- [369] [563] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contractors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur- [427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages [369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea- [425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving 423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the 632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are [illegible]ngly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[p.4]

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A naming ceremony—women sitting in front of the mother's hut. (Crowd includes Diana Cohen, wife of the author).

Horsemen saluting a chief in Magumeri.

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

• 342 361 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their [622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is [788] always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev- [443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. [302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their [291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts [231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as [554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the 197 few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of [193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the [195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his ooo obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

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All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waz-634 iri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by 662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of 592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound [342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in [361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to 634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol-592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men 571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants 571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci-634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully 571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis-571 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, 678 no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize 634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci-571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan 578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-632

369 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists
632 of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at
121 the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less
[622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village.
[463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors.
[622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger,
[565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are
[595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and
[592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and
342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sagdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

632 [366] The towns are market centers, and frequently also administrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nguro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
556 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size
342 of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sagdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled, thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
565
342 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.
556

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are sim-
[363] ilar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern,
[492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided
[463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
361 the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's
[614] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

ooo Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

• 342 Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Magumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Magumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

621 [273] In Magumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

184 This then is Magumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu. [114] After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

369 Another difference noticeable immediately to the 216.
342 stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live
829 in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush" the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several of the rich leaders in Bornu were building, under private contract, city houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity, and cement floors.

369 In Magumeri, complaints against rural people are always heard
829 from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never marry a "bush" girl.
[585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town, the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the dignitaries of Magumeri were of such a low quality that it became a standing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared, respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids the civil servant in the bush, unless his confidence is won over through continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

121 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

000
231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accommodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

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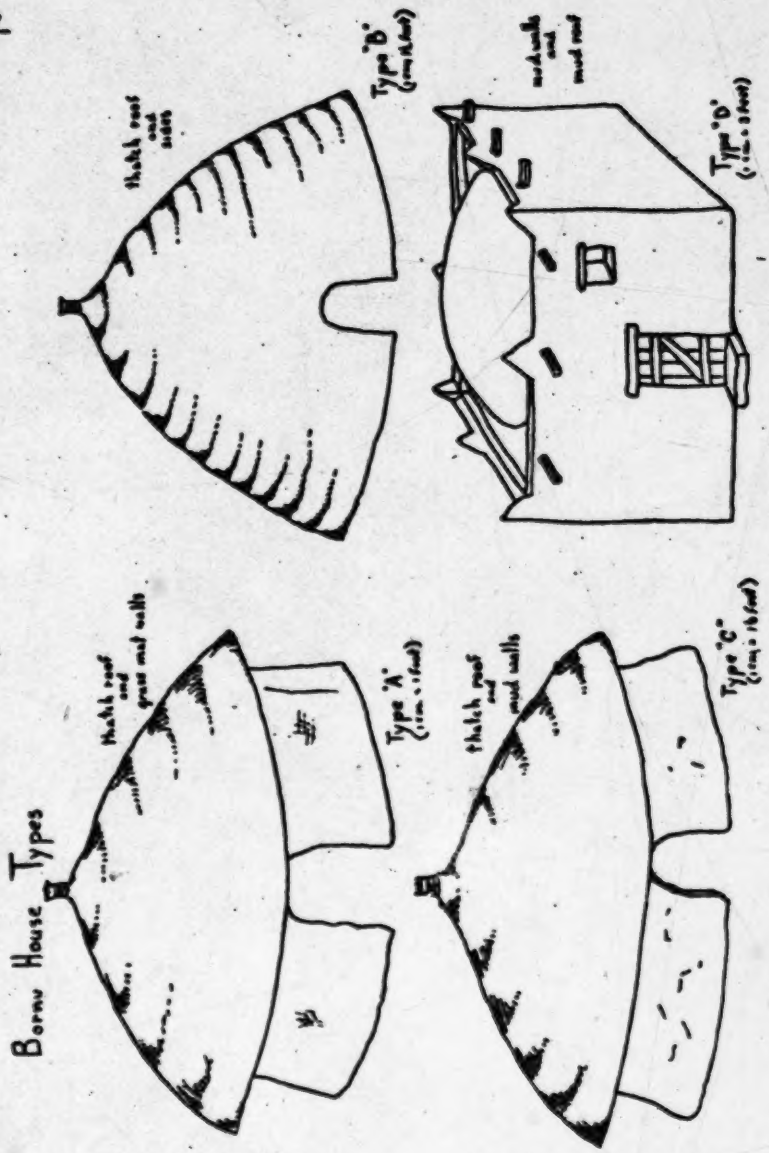

Borno House Types
thatch roof and grass mud walls
Type "A"
thatch roof and mud walls
Type "C"
thatch roof and mud
Type "B"
mud roof and mud walls
Type "D"

342 476 565 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the owner. This method is only practised in the construction of house types 342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists 331 565 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilise specialist la- [369] [563] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contractors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur- [427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages [369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea- [425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving 423 632 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

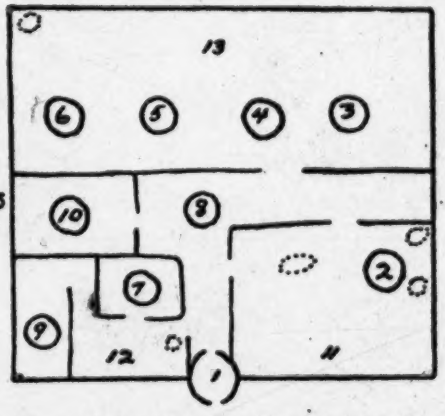
592 181 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri household, although it is an example which was actually observed.(1) It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
[595] 4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
[343] 11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area

dotted lines show granaries



592 Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the [736] wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

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[595] (1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magumeri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside [823] (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

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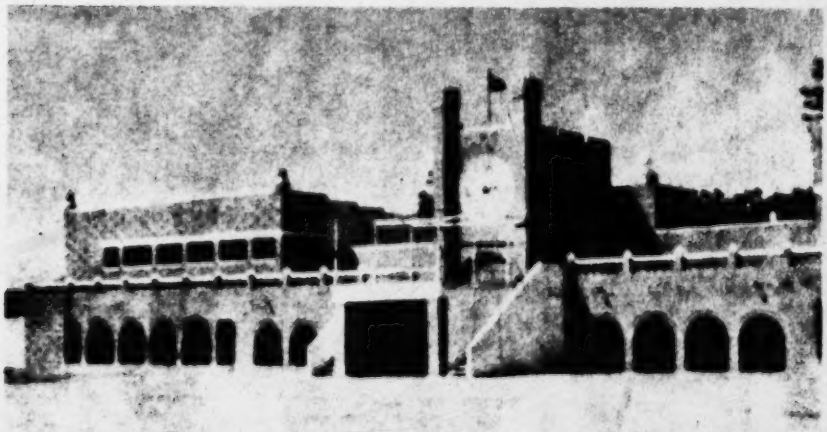

592 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extend-
565 ed discussion will be reserved for a later point.
369

• 351 To this point the compound has been described as an area
392 enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanzə fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zəgəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now [illegible] described.

592 Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty
567 (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population
[565] do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

[GEIDAM]

366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees.
443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [684] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

have an adequate home at the time.

634 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima
351 Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table
592 XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zagosa of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 The principles of household affiliation have been de-
565 scribed in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual
554 composition of forty-three households is presented. In each
463 row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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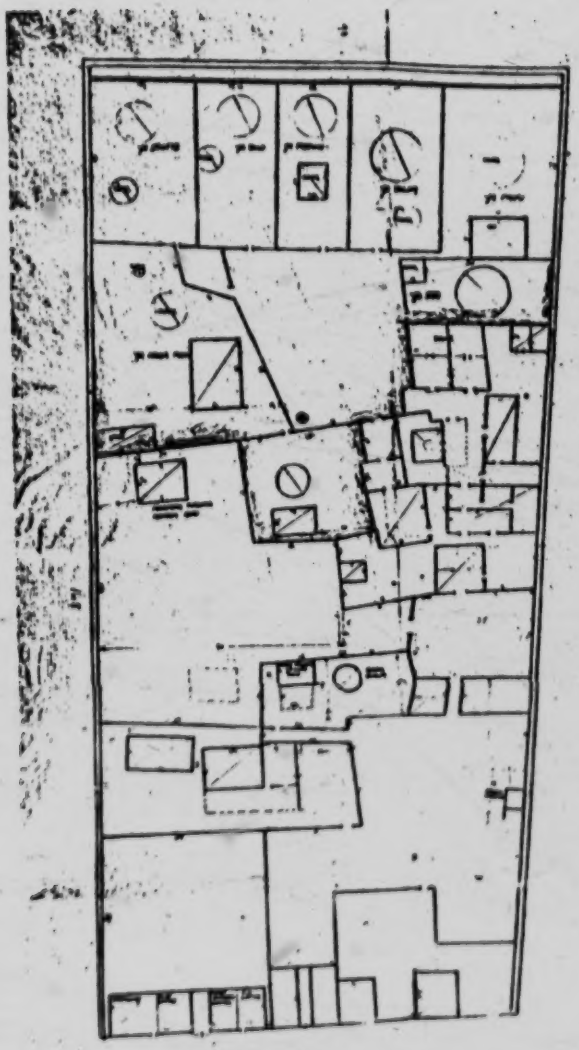

Figure 4 - Diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha.

572
829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendhip relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalized recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealized Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

592 Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion
[571] that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal rela-
[602] tions in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realized that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily
592 identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass
• 351 matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Ceidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

461 on the gourds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

178 415 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

592 <u>Ka'anami's Compound</u>

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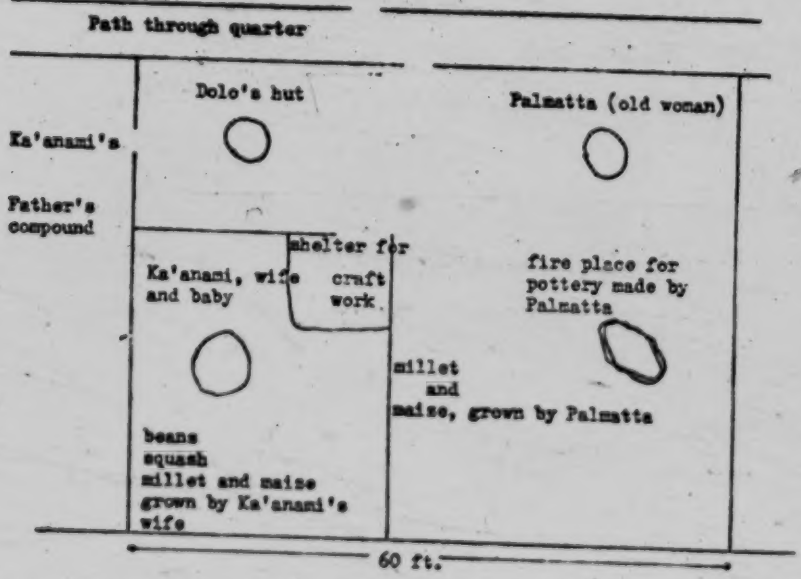

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

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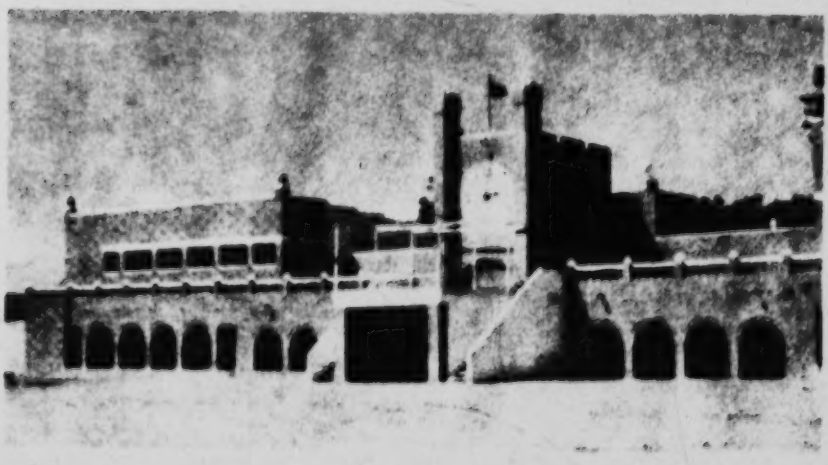

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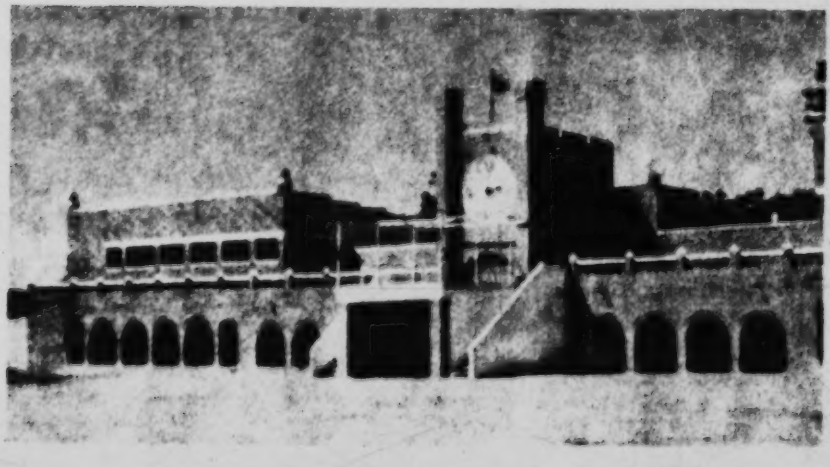

571 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

000
231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accomodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

114 361 177 in the town proper, in a Kanuri house, since it was obviously impossible to live as all other Europeans did, more than a mile from the Kanuri people, surrounded by fellow White men.

1. Foci of Communal activity.

• 36 If an archeologist living centuries in the future were to excavate the ruins of Geidam, he would be able to establish from the physical characteristics of the community that this was undoubtedly an urban community, provided that he excavated with great care. He would find a large area, the market-place, devoted to trade; specialized structures devoted to religious activity, in particular the large central mosque; and others devoted to the government bureaucracy, the largest of these being the Ajari, the 'palace' of the District Head. In addition, he would note great differences in the size of dwelling places or compounds, and would infer that households varied widely in size; [463] this would imply social stratification. Lastly, there would be revealed economic specialization in different sections of the town, indicating the presence of specialized craftsmen. On the basis of solely physical evidence, Geidam would be considered an urban community.

This view is strengthened considerably if one looks at the activities of the people of Geidam. However, as we are still concerned with the physical nature of the community, let us first examine the activities of the townspeople in relation to the various sections of the town, which serve as foci of communal activity.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village-units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 361 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look [622] for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means [788] that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost everybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself [443] are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. [302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their [291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts [231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as [554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the 197 few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of [193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the [195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his 000 obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

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By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs. 175 633 634 642 643 [662]

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital. 175 692 634

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili. 175 634 614 [192]

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself. 175 642 634 182 731 361 [648]

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations, 175 634 361 643 [563]

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In later generations

175 they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial
361 organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his
634 slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked
417 by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of
567 his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or
[792] the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

175 There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the
651 Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on some-
[192] thing, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two
[193] main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

175 One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To
178 understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept
554 of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble ti-
66 tles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The ti-
[551] tles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waz-634 iri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by 662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of 592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound [342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in [361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to 634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol-592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men 571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants, 571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci-634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully 571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis-678 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize 634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci-571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan 578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-632

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178 A number of material changes have been introduced which
494 have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
312 charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[653] [361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
[651] attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks,
178 roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

• 361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[178]

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

632 [366] The towns are market centers, and frequently also administrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nouro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
556 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size
342 of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sagdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled, thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 565 342 556 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks, with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are similar to a city block. [363] Streets are laid out on a grid pattern, [492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 [563] Wards may have different characters, especially in large towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided [463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 361 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's [614] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

[GEIDAM]

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
[137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[56] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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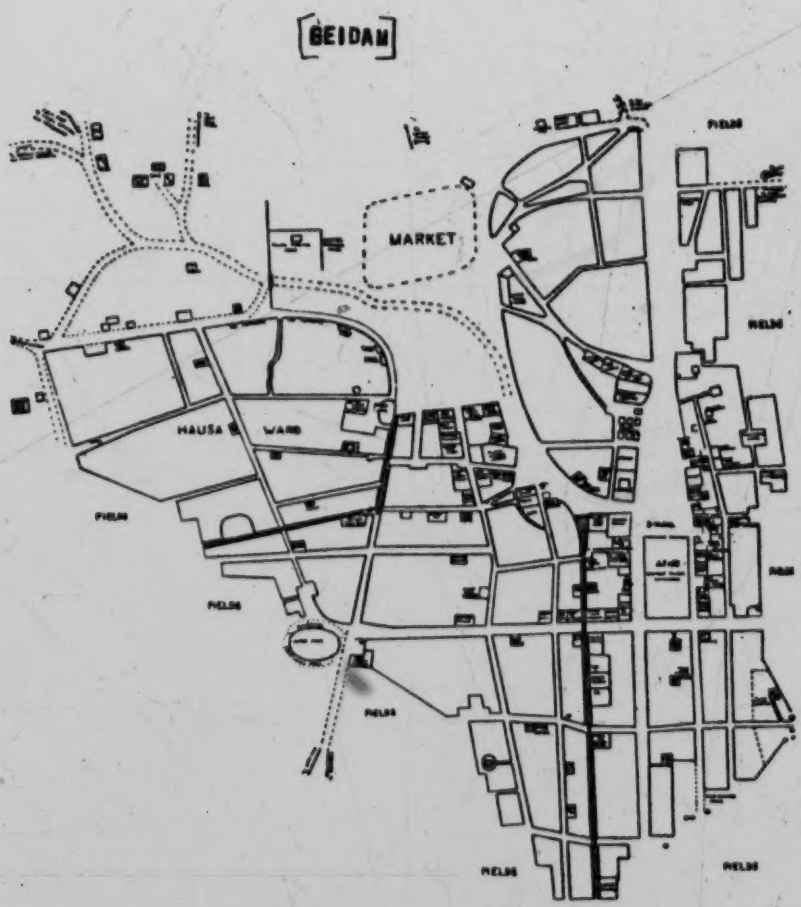

Figure 3 - Map of the town of Geidam.

[GEIDAM]

491 [366] dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town 361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe, but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the [249] [134] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly [36] [232] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 648 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart from the African town. In this case, the sole government building is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house, remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

[GEIDAM]

361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 177 [439] There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

114 in the town proper, in a Kanuri house, since it was obviously
•361 impossible to live as all other Europeans did, more than a mile
177 from the Kanuri people, surrounded by fellow White men.

1. Foci of Communal activity.

36 If an archeologist living centuries in the future were to excavate the ruins of Geidam, he would be able to establish from the physical characteristics of the community that this was undoubtedly an urban community, provided that he excavated with great care. He would find a large area, the market-place, devoted to trade; specialized structures devoted to religious activity, in particular the large central mosque; and others devoted to the government bureaucracy, the largest of these being the Ajari, the 'palace' of the District Head. In addition, he would note great differences in the size of dwelling places or compounds, and would infer that households varied widely in size;
[463] this would imply social stratification. Lastly, there would be revealed economic specialization in different sections of the town, indicating the presence of specialized craftsmen. On the basis of solely physical evidence, Geidam would be considered an urban community.

This view is strengthened considerably if one looks at the activities of the people of Geidam. However, as we are still concerned with the physical nature of the community, let us first examine the activities of the townspeople in relation to the various sections of the town, which serve as foci of communal activity.

[GEIDAM]

366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees.
443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

* 361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14
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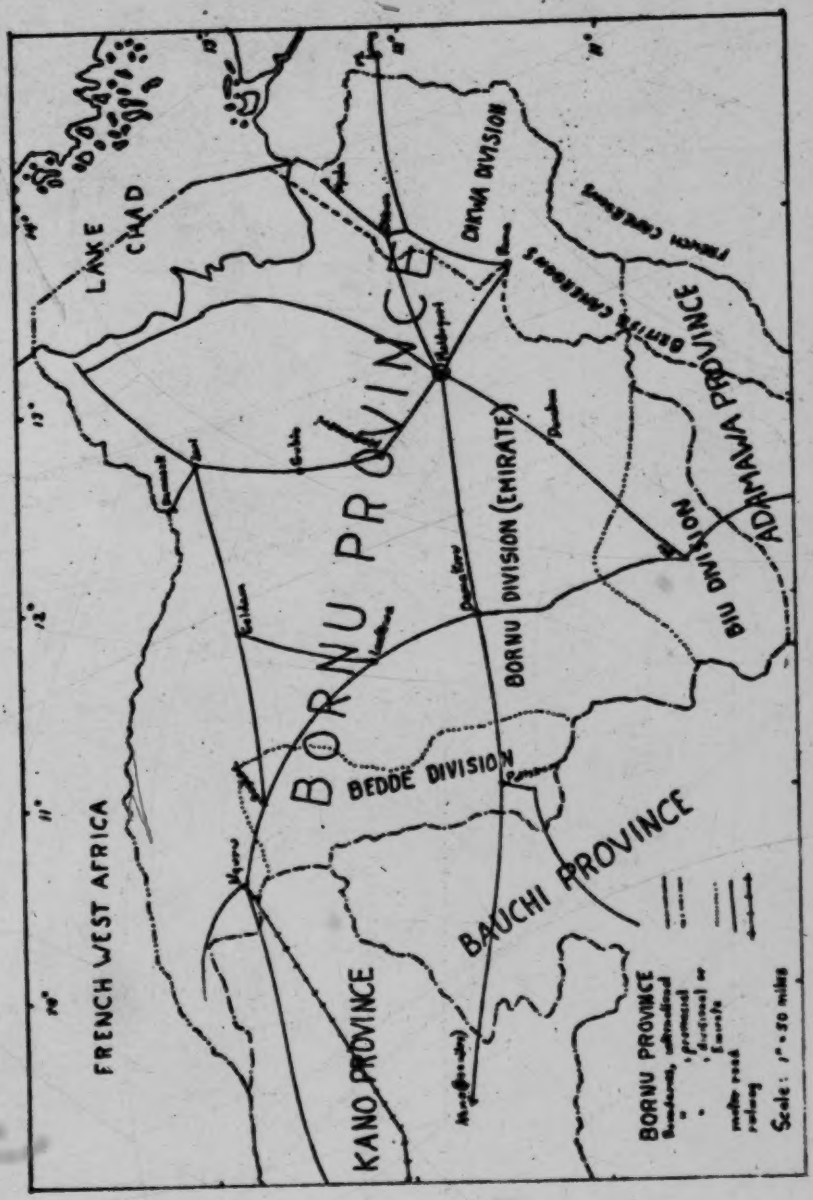

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144 southern Nigerians. The comparatively high frequency of Rho (cDe) chromosome, characteristic of other African populations south of the Sahara, is also present among the Kanuri.(1)

• 361
162 The Kanuri are sedentary agriculturalists and live in various sized settlements scattered homogeneously throughout the Emirate. In their language they distinguish three kinds of settlements primarily on the basis of size. The largest category, birni (city) refers to centers of population containing 12,000 to 15,000 and over. Besides Maiguguri, the capital, there are only two or three other centers of such large proportion. Villages (bala) form the most numerous category and vary in population from a few hundred to about ten thousand. The last category, hamlets (baladea), contain from fifteen to twenty up to several hundred. For political purposes and the gathering of national census data hamlets are lumped in with villages and called village areas. This makes it difficult to tell from census data what proportion of the population of these village areas live in the village itself as compared with the number living in the surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. Village area tax rolls from one district (Magumeri) indicate that about one-half the population listed for any village area actually live in hamlets around the village included in its jurisdictional area.

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[361] At first sight the Bornu countryside appears to be quite thickly populated. When travelling through the bush on horseback or truck, settlements and their encircling farms follow one another after intervals of bushland with unending regularity. This first impression is misleading however for most of the area is uncultivated, unpopulated bushland and the population density is only forty to sixty per square mile. This conclusion

(1) Chalmers J.N.M. and others; THE ABO, MNS and Rh Blood Groups of the Nigerians, Eugenics (London) 17, 3, 168-176, 1953.

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103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road, Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

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621 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
000 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

634 Like other district capitals,
[621] Magumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
[368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an infrequently used District Council House, and a district office in which the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in the diagram below.

361 Diagram Map of Magumeri Village
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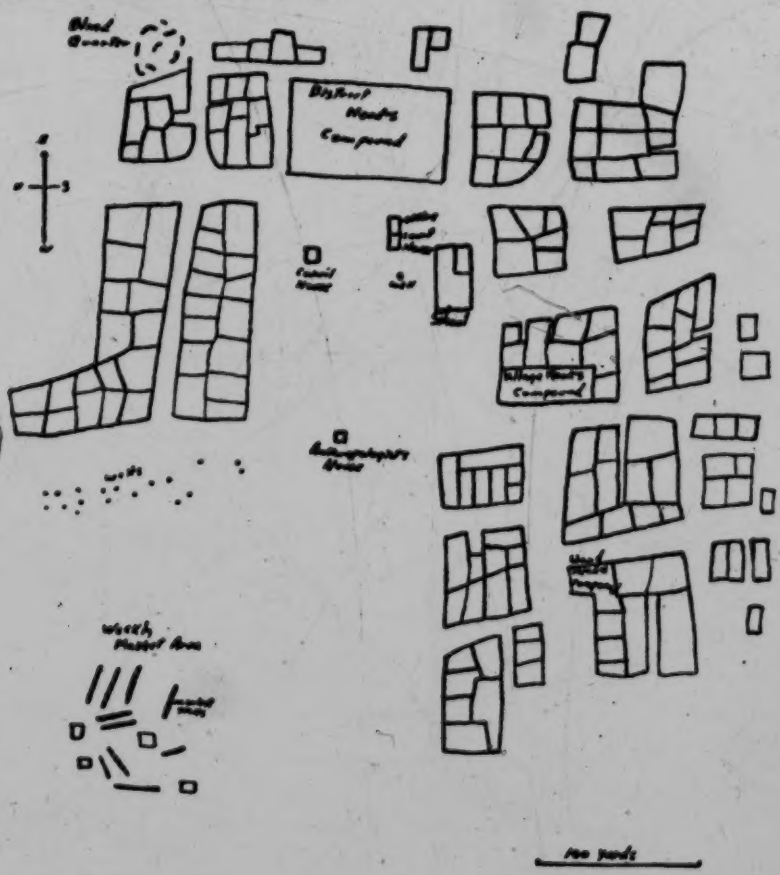

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However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly [103] in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Yo [361] (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damasak and Geidam, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province. [648] His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north- [721] east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire 175 of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portugese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe sometime around the beginning of the 17th century.(1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of Timbuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.(2)

[721] When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have 174 fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.
(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara, London, 1933, p. 73

175 721 to Bello and complained that violence was being used for political aggrandizement, not religious conversion. Bello replied that the attacks were justified because of the oppression of the Fulani in Bornu, and the heathen practices of the Kanuri people, and because of aid given by Bornu to Kano and Katsina to resist the holy war.

Between 1809 and 1811 the capital fell again to the Fulani and was retaken a second time by Laminu for the Kanuri, but it was abandoned from this time forward as the center of the Bornu state. The results 175 178 of these few years were cataclysmic for the history of Bornu. The Fulani 727 643 invasion was halted, although the western vassals were now under the sovereignty of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto. Bornu had survived the Jihad (holy war), but at the cost of her famous capital of Birni Gazargamo, and the loss of a dynasty of rulers, the Magumi Sefuwa, who had retained the monarchy for 1000 years. For in appealing to Laminu for help, the Kanuri Mai triggered off the beginning of his and his family's end as the effective monarchs of Bornu, meanwhile initiating the beginning of the Kanembu dynasty which sits on the Bornu throne today.

175 643 The traditional Mai set up a new capital, called Kafela (open place) near the present town of Monguno, and Laminu resided for a while at [103] nearby Ngorno on the shores of Chad. However the constant threat of inun- [361] dation from the Lake forced him to move his headquarters further inland to [721] Kuka which became the 19th century center of the Bornu state. Ruling from behind the scenes, with the Mai still on the throne as a puppet, Laminu tried to re-consolidate the kingdom from 1820-35, by recapturing the western vassals, and even at one point (1826) by menacing Kano. It was during this period that Denham and Clapperton visited Bornu and in their publications we have a good record of the contemporary court life and politics of the kingdom, as well as some glimpses into the nature of everyday life in

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
178 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
175 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which
726 warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the carriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged. 175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 • 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village. 175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

595 irum to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwalirum), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

595 632 162 [589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are atypical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of [125] the population than is commonly the case. The following table on num- [361] ber of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Nguburu, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

[585] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

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five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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[128]

Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

Chapter VIII

[p. 229]

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organiza- [571] tion with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

• [361] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the [632] small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

571 621 This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

621 632 The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head [651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years 571 621 622 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Bulama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[Text continues on p. 233]

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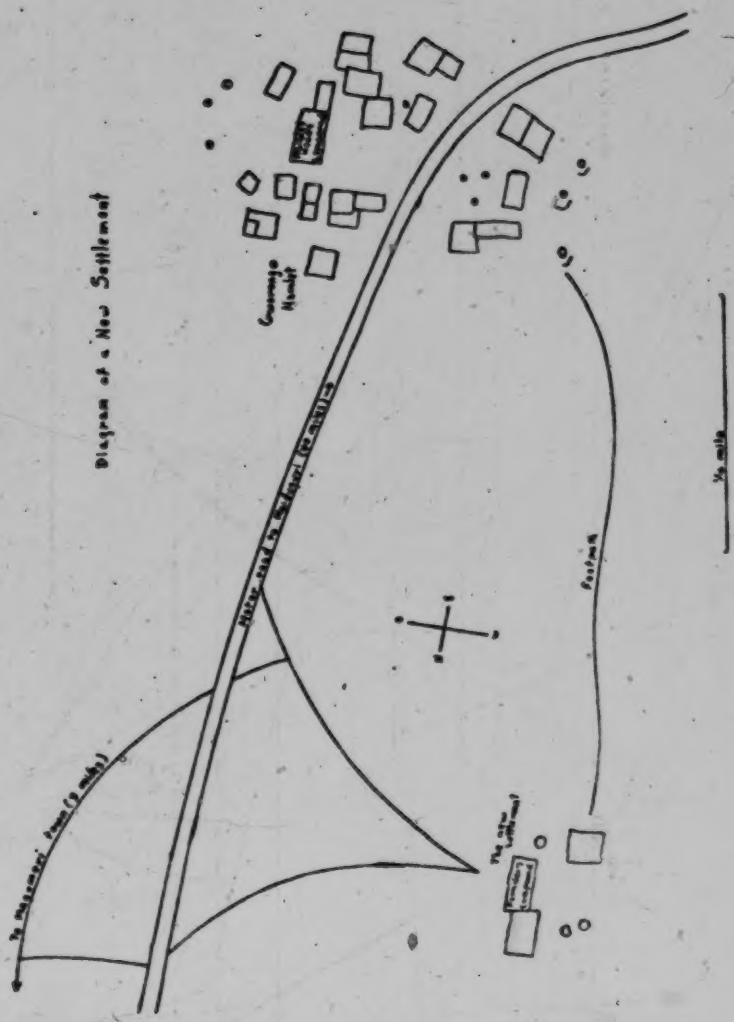

• 361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

571 632 621 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional units of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (nguro) under its Bblama is slowly approaching the condition where another Bblama will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 571 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this study by the term extended household organization. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as kin who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
• 363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

632 [366] The towns are market centers, and frequently also administrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nouro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
556 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size
342 of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sagdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled, thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
565
342 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.
556

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are similar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern, [363] [492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large [563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided [463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
361 the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's [644] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

ooo Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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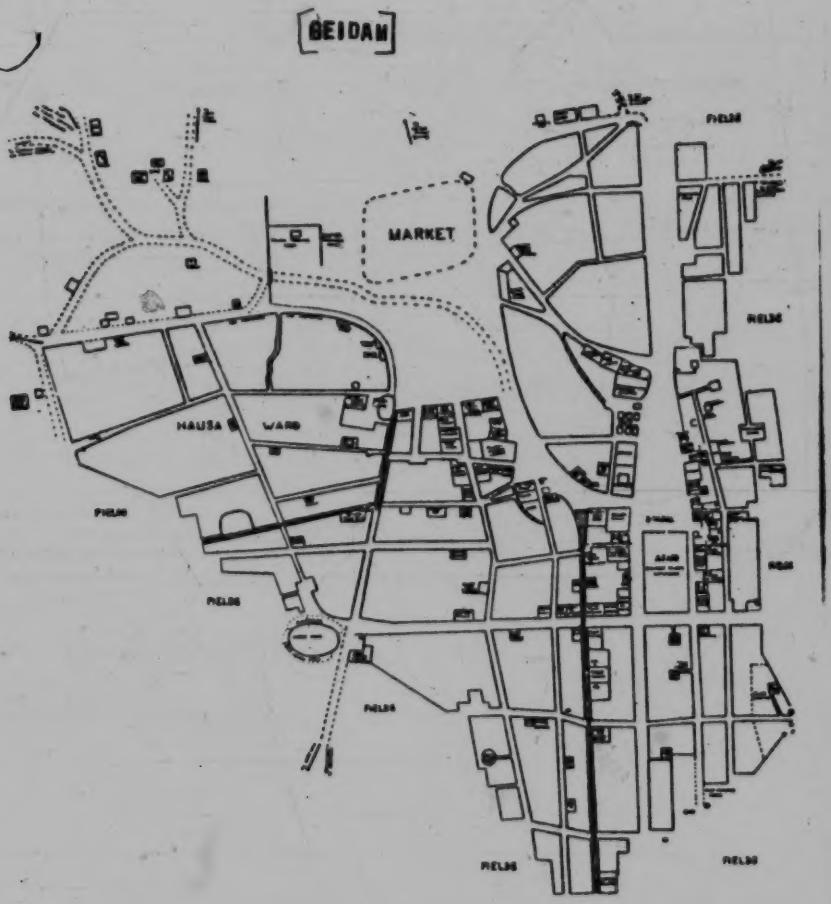

Figure 3 - Map of the town of Geidam.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Gei-
dam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of
cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves
of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-
time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages
and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men.
In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is car-
ried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by
a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, net-
ted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the
Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market,
where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the
products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited
regional exchange is effected through the market. External

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
• 366 sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily
[439] markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
[369] into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

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363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

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[366] istrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nouro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
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556 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size
342 of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sogdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled, thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
366 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a
368 town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
632 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves
463 strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
171 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more
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633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 [496] largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos. Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total dis-
131 tance covered amounts to 170 miles. Though distances are great
49 and the condition of the roads is very poor, trade is dependent
438 on trucks which are the life-line of the country. Goods come into Geidam by truck from both Maiduguri and Nguru. They are then distributed throughout the countryside by merchants and tradesmen, using camels and donkeys to transport their goods.
[366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri villages north of Geidam, nor do roads lead east along the Yobe River to the villages and towns there, Geidam is an important regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location is therefore an important factor in determining the nature of the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles
[366] west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

[GEIDAM]

491 dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the
[366] European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds
across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town
361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has
no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In
three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded
by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying
compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe,
but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the
[249] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found
[134] garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly
[36] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering
[232] area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the
town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is
648 the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the
colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where
Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart
from the African town. In this case, the sole government build-
ing is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high
on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house,
remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years
ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied
by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during
a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied
by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

[GEIDAM]

361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 177 [439] There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

[GEIDAM]

• 366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees. 443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

[GEIDAM]

632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serakin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dagora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

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108 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road. Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

361 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a
621 U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

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five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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[128]

Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44
[441] of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market economy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

366 494 161 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 494 484 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest 443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of [203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, [273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale [525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 692 [632] Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

438 guri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
442

Ajimi regularly obtains his nuts from four of these traders, all of whom he visits, and all of whose goods he inspects and prices before he decides where to place his order. He strongly asserts that his primary criterion in making the decision as to where to buy is the quality of the nuts. Two of the suppliers are Kanuri, one of whom owns his own lorries; the other two are Hausa. Ajimi has gone to other suppliers in the past but could not, at the time of this study, remember their names. By going to the same supplier over and over again with his uncle's money, he builds up confidence, and has on several occasions obtained an extra kwando on credit from one of the Kanuri suppliers, the profits ofwhich he kept entirely for himself.

435 Although there is some variation in price, it generally
438 occurs at the retail level, while for bulk shipments cash prices re-
442 main fairly constant, and it is quantity which varies with supply, quality and demand. Thus £20.0.0 is generally the price for a kwando of kola-nuts (a large rafia rope-bound package). A kwando contains seven thousand to eight thousand nuts depending upon their size, quality and the state of the market at any particular time. After returning to Magumeri, Ajimi generally gets back about £32.0.0 per kwando and returns the money, plus half the profits (i.e. £6.0.0) to Alkali Bukar. This buying and selling procedure takes him between thirteen to seventeen days or roughly two weekly market cycles.

572 He wholesales his nuts in the Magumeri area and regularly
438
442 attends the Magumeri (Sunday), Gamiram (Thursday),(1) and Ardoram (Monday)
[366] markets.

(1) He avoids the more usual Thursday market at Ngubura and attends the Gajiram market because it has no motor road, and he finds less competition and a smaller number of kola-nut wholesalers there than at Ngubura.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] [368]

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
366
368 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
632
463 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
171
182 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

of the dandal to watch.

368 788 The central mosque of Geidam also faces on the dandal, along its northern edge. Geidam has several smaller mosques, and although it is not necessary for a Moslem to go to the mosque to pray, Friday prayers at 2 PM (Duar) have become communal prayers. At that time almost the entire adult male community of Geidam gathers to pray. The mosque itself will hold only a small portion of the community, no more than 300 or so. All others gather under the shade of trees which line the northern and southern edges of the dandal, and while the Liman leads prayers in the mosque itself, all go through the ritual positions of prayer in unison following his lead. On the Friday Sabbath, the mosque and the dandal become the focus of attention.

368 Along the dandal, to the right and left of the entrance-way to the Ajari, are a number of buildings housing branches of the administration of the town. On the northern edge is the police charge-office, the court, and the community reading room. The courthouse serves daily as a center of activity. On the southern edge are the police barracks, the prison, the dispensary and [554] the primary school. Along with these compounds housing various types of officialdom are to be found the compounds of several important men whose gateways also face out onto the dandal.

The dandal, leading up to the chinna of the political head of a town, is the traditional political center of that town. Just as the market-place serves as the focus of all local commerce, the dandal serves as the focus of political, ceremonial and religious activity.

[GEIDAM]

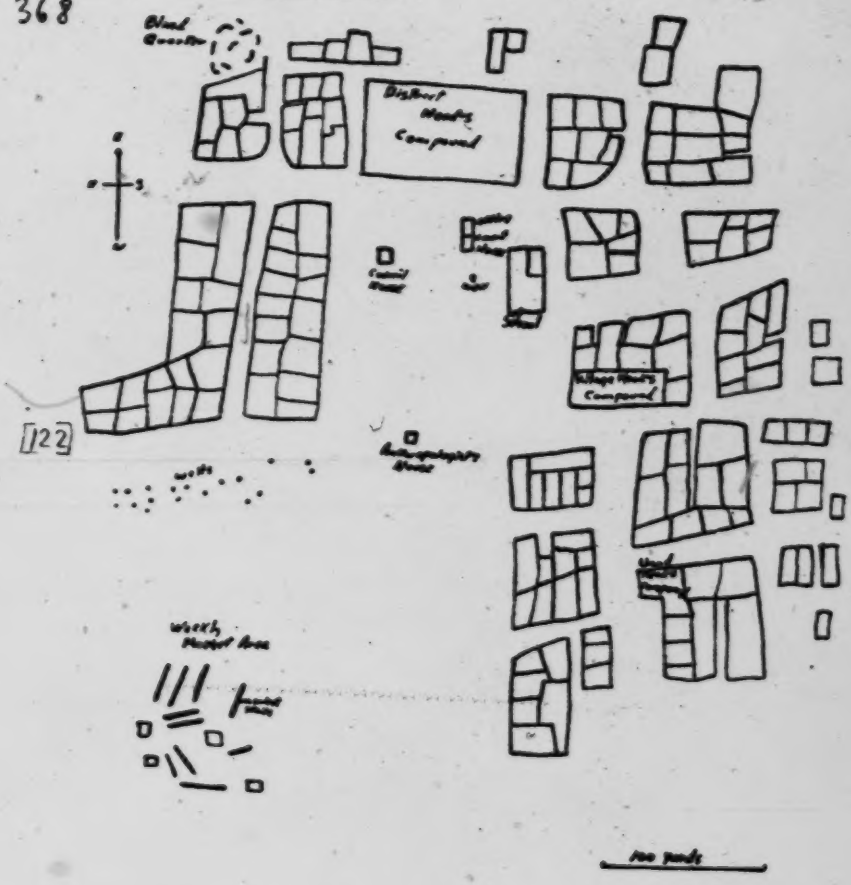
632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serakin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dagora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

634 Like other district capitals,
[621] Magumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
[368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an infrequently used District Council House, and a district office in which the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in the diagram below.

361 <u>Diagram Map of Magumeri Village</u>
368



[122]

634 The District organization is roughly similar throughout the twenty-one such divisions in Borno Emirate. Each District shares the [368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a [491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

634 A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in 64 consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

634 The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most [644] impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the 634 palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household 571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

634
651 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts, the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

634
631 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their
648 enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

643
• [368] In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization.
[101] As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major pur-
462 chases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transporta-
tion, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the house-
[434] hold. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

592 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because
511 they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously
[184] from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those
[264] in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their
• [362] male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among
264 salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish
[262] the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

592 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have
261 often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He
571 would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join
576 him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

000 Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[436] [1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
[842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[178]

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geidam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
366
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484]
[369] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175
643 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

779 marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights
58 of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support
[593] of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does
not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement;
[182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All
of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies,
are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in
Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million peo-
[161] ple. About one-third live in towns with a population of more
than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital,
which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying
villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten
towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of
these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu
Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26
towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost
a third of the population.

369 Although there may be some question whether a town with a
632 population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear
121 that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly ap-
proaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less [622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sagdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
366
368 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

• 369 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
632
463 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
171
182 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

582 369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.

582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-

[833] sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy

[591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
578
152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
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• 369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is considerable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of younger people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

h. The Family.

As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It follows, too, that under those circumstances the household is
[595] small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

592 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extend-
565 ed discussion will be reserved for a later point.
369

351 To this point the compound has been described as an area
392 enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanza fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zəgəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty
567 (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population
[565] do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

There is still another way to become part of a large house-
592 hold. This is the most informal of the various sets of rela-
• 369 tionships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is ex-
369 tremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
874 some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
463
571 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector, and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the komanzə fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and [673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

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121 tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The
184 Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy,
[09] and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal
[36] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizantal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 197 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- • [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

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796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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128 within that community. This section, then, is a particularization of the section on social organization in the preceding chapter. It will deal with kinship in an urban community; the data on which the present discussion is based are taken from a sample of individuals (the construction of which will be discussed later) chosen from the community of Geidam. It should be considered against the more general background provided earlier.

Much of the data in this section are presented in the form of tables, wherein individuals are grouped into categories which are contrasted with each other. There are eight groupings in all, and each stands for a category within Kanury social structure which is significantly represented in the town of Geidam. At this point in the discussion, all of the categories should be readily recognizable since their roles in the community have previously been described and discussed. In the following chapter, Chapter IV, they will be considered in yet another context as the problem of acculturation will be treated in terms of categories in Kanuri social structure. At that time, the manner in which the various categories were selected, and the choice of individuals who make up the categories will be described in detail.

1. Marriage.

582 It had been mentioned earlier that boys in the small vil-
369 lages marry earlier than they do in the cities. It may be seen

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G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 • 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momoŋ Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

567 status of slave therefore does not really exist as an important determinant in defining the place of these people within the Geidam community structure.

565 In terms of the traditional stratification system, most of the people of Geidam are talaka, neither aristocracy nor slaves.

2. Urban Social Structure.

463 The second variable, urban social structure, is much more 369 important in defining social stratification in Geidam. Most 565 Geidamites are specialists of one sort or another. In contrast to the village farming population, most of the people of Geidam make a living by practicing some special skill. They are middlemen in trade, craftsmen, religious specialists and bureaucrats in the political system. It is primarily this differentiation which defines the community as an urban community.

463 One might divide the various specialties found in the 565 community of Geidam in a number of ways. Specialties requiring manual skills might be contrasted with those requiring intellectual abilities; specialties requiring long periods of training might be grouped and compared with those requiring only a little specialized training. The approach adopted here in dividing the various specialists in the Geidam community into groups which might be compared is to look at the sphere of culture with which each of these groups of specialists is concerned. Thus there are several groups of specialists in

prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain groups in the community structure, particularly among the talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one another in the community of Geidam represents the social structure of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a result of the interaction of the three variables discussed here: the traditional system of social stratification, the urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of the Industrial West.

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

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a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with women of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural factors and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status Individuals are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered to them.

Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an educated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marrying such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of English and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an educated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged.

175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Ale river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village.

175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province: 1915

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons[1] of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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[567]

In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south.[2] This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted *circa* 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

581 than high ranking men, if they had to choose between these two attributes
581 in a husband. This type of distinction was more easily elicited from
• 369 urban persons or upper class informants than from rural peasants, who only
565 discuss such a question in a fantasy-like conversation which many are not willing to do. Lower class informants in the rural areas often refused to consider questions about whether they would like to marry wealth or rank answering only "andi tala" (we are peasants or commoners).

581 Crosscutting the foregoing classification of marriage with virgins or non-virgins are several subclassifications which describe in a somewhat sharper fashion the nature of the relationships involved in the contraction of the marriage.

581 According to custom any variety of marriage may be a Ayia
593 kulle, a marriage of seclusion or partial seclusion. In practice, this
565 kind of marriage is almost totally restricted to the upper classes and usually implies only a partial seclusion. The woman may go out to visit under cover of darkness and escorted, or may even go out of the compound during the day, again escorted, for some very special reason such as a rite de passage ceremony which she is obligated to attend. One very high ranking District Head claimed that his senior wife, who had been married to him for many years, had never been out of his compound except when he changed Districts, and once when he had arranged an escorted trip to Mecca for her.

Women of this kind are exempt from any of the ordinary wifely duties which take them beyond the compound walls, such as getting water at a public well, or helping on the farm, etc. It is no wonder then that such marriages are almost totally restricted to the households of the higher ranks of society. No man wishes his wife to be seen excessively in public. However it is only the rich and powerful who can afford

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases
[369] the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatized occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognized, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a zower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri cul-
582 ture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must
871 have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] [648] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [271] [369] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in the large urban centre. 565 463 602 At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
183 questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only
[123] lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
[251] and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
[152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this confict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

369 342 829 Another difference noticeable immediately to the stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush" the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several of the rich leaders in Borau were building, under private contract, city houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity, and cement floors. 216.

369 829 In Maguneri, complaints against rural people are always heard from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never marry a "bush" girl. [585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town, the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the dignitaries of Maguneri were of such a low quality that it became a standing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared, respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids the civil servant in the bush, unless his confidence is won over through continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

121 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

556 565 829 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1) The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 369 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic [166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban [103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var- [241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

565 one of the other
• 369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e.
[178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri musko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory func-
[828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

43
458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

433
571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

433
55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds,
433
369 and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

342 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large
476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types
342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la-
[369] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contract-
[563] ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
[427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages
[369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea-
[425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving
423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the
632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of bèrsum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sakelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the
369 rural scene.

442 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trad-
443 er in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called
452 locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger
[405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other
[434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from re - ceipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below
435 the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part
[455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on
571 by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys"
[212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

• 369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this more or less quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept <u>arziyi</u>. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

178 511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes 178 511 have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in 369 the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

433 The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predicability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.

2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialisation of labour

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578 Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizon-
156 tally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfort-
571 able with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State.
56 This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked" (1)
571 by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating.
178 However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the
571 system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this
369 argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford: Blackwell, 1955.

178 571 369 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 571 511 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical relationships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

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600 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kantuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565 554 [364]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri are Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life.
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fālongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

[435] [432] [251]

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

[412] [372]

322 433 443 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Nguburu) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

571 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

592 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extend-
565 ed discussion will be reserved for a later point.
369

351 To this point the compound has been described as an area
• 392 enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanzə fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zəgəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty
567 (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population
[565] do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

[BEIDAM]

#177 212 #463 #554 #565 But in every one of the eight groups there is at least one individual who can write a little in Arabic script. Most of the Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Low-status Individuals can neither write in Arabic script nor in English script. However, several of the Talaka can write a little at least in Arabic script. #177 871 212 565 634 The two types of script divide the two educational systems which operate side by side among the Kanuri. English script is taught in the schools; Arabic script is taught by the Malams. Those who have had some extended contact with the Western schools (the NA Malams and the Aristocracy) can write in English script. Those who have studied with a Malam can write in Arabic script. Individuals who fall in this latter category are found in all of the eight groups, and several are among the Talaka. It is noteworthy that the NA Malams, who all write in English script, can also write in Arabic script.

#177 405 #565 #634 Table XVIII presents data on the possession of Western material goods. The first column compares those who own, or have owned a wrist watch. All six NA Malams and 4 of the Aristocrats owned a wrist watch at the time that they were asked. Though a number of individuals in the lower class groups, particularly in the Talaka group, have at one time owned a wrist watch, none owns one at present. This of course reflects the wealth differences among the groups. An individual Talaka may own a wrist watch for a short time, until he finds that he needs cash and sells it to some one else. Members of the NA Malam group and the Aristocracy are sufficiently wealthy to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 258]

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Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2*a	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5*b	1	5*c	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4*d	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

*a one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

*b four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

*c one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

*d two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

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own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

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Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

452 But credit *per se* plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of *bhrsum*
571 and *aman* are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the *shkelma* (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the
369 rural scene.

442 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trad-
443 er in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called
452 locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a young
[405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other
[434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from re - ceipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below
435 the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part
[455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on
571 by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys"
[212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Tributes could be quite large; there are records of payments from Kanem to Bornu in the sixteenth century that mention amounts of 1000 head of cattle per year. 175 651

Along with taxation and other demands such as annual military service, there was a system of exemption whereby persons or groups were released from their obligations to the state in return for some service—usually prayers and other religious duties. These exemptions, *Mabram*, were made by royal declaration in writing which stipulated that facets of a person's obligation were henceforward considered to be *haram* or forbidden, like the eating of pork. One of the oldest of these, given to the family of Umme Jilma, declares that the family is forever exempt from (a) entertaining the king's men during the dry-season military and tax collection campaigns, (b) from *diya* or blood compensation for injuries inflicted on others by accident, and (c) all forms of tribute and taxes. In time, however, all these exemptions were often honored more in the breach or renegotiated. Thus one sixteenth-century monarch ordered a large group to go to war. These people promptly refused on the basis of a *Mabram* given them by a previous ruler. When the king insisted, the entire group prepared to leave his kingdom. However a compromise was worked out in which they accepted military service and paid practically no taxes. This very same group is mentioned again in the traditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Shehu Laminu ruled that their exemptions should pertain only to the leaders of the group, not the entire set of male line descendants of the original holders of this privilege, who by this time had become a very large population. 175 651 701

In its apogee during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bornu kingdom was an expansionist power, and warfare was the state function par excellence. According to traditions and written records, as many as seven or eight military campaigns a year were not uncommon; this meant an expedition might leave Bornu every six or eight weeks during the dry season. With so much militarism the techniques of warfare elaborated accordingly. From at least the sixteenth century onward, Bornu imported muskets, swords, chain mail which were vital and ancient parts of the Saharan trade, although such armaments were also manufactured by Bornu craftsmen as well. 175 721 [411] 714 439

The army itself was organized into regiments, representing a local area or an ethnic group under their own leaders, and they went into battle according to a well laid out military strategy. Campaigns were amost always conducted against walled towns. The shield bearers advanced first; then after it was felt that the poison arrows of the enemy were exhausted, the rest of the army would advance either storming the walls or forcing the town dwellers to come out and fight—whereupon muskets and cavalry were used. Generally speaking open encounters were quite unusual; the Bornu army was large, well disciplined, and well equipped, while the town dwellers were weak in all these respects and would usually try to flee once the siege went against them. Fallen towns were then mercilessly looted and the inhabitants killed or enslaved. 175 704 72

After the campaign and the distribution of booty by the leaders, the army disbanded. Leaders of various territorial ethnic groups swore allegiance to the king and arranged for the next campaign to be held so many days hence. At that time, criers were sent around to local markets stating the date and place of rendezvous for the army. Able bodied men were expected to go or send a representative bear- [203]

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of
[172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and
175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid
177
[148] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with
[487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the
[411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century
[179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh
[183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

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567
[439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
178 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
175 726 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

632 others are of more recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organization.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher pol-
631 itical organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organization above
634 the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the
631 Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the hoad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial.
[492] When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe
[411] and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

858 or kala yaaku (three heads), the latter referring to the distinctive
302 three pronged hair style of pre-pubertal females. The young girls are soon more fancifully dressed and their eyelids blacked with antimony.

855 Until the age of three or four, children are kept for the
857 most part within the compound, going out only with older members. After four or five, the child begins to explore beyond the compound and meets children of his own sex in the immediate vicinity. These form peer groups who play together and gather together quickly to witness any excitement of the town. They stay away from groups of male elders who may sit conversing under a tree, but otherwise roam the town and later even the surrounding bush area freely as long as their growing amount of household tasks are complete.

868 The girls start to learn the intricacies of preparing food,
[412] carrying water, and the ever present task of grinding millet either on a quern or more commonly in a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, and the family dry season activity, as well as being on hand for running messages. Pressure in the acquisition of these skills is steady and slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but to a Western eye extremely severe. The reason is most often the continual or perhaps sudden relinquishing of a skill which by such time should have already been acquired. A young boy of ten was beaten for omitting to gather grass for his father's horse; this is a skill which boys of seven to nine should have already learned. The severity of the punishment is noted by all children within earshot. Thus the beating of one child in a village or a ward not only punishes his neglect of learned skills but advertises to all, within hearing distance of the child's screams, that punishment is not just a matter of threats but is an awesome, painful reality if limits are transgressed.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fālongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 433 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

[GEIDAM]

44 438 439 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown, does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamelware, and everything sold by the taborma are all imported into Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reaching these retailers in the market-place. Saborma from other small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell them in their own towns, and saborma from Geidam go out to the small towns and villages with their goods.

44 438 439 563 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found living in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day to sell particular items with which they are associated and to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns solely to exchange their goods for those made by the townspeople; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes; Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and basket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts, [415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

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44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
439 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
563 ly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the
[415] Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439 process through which Western goods, imported by the European
177 trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

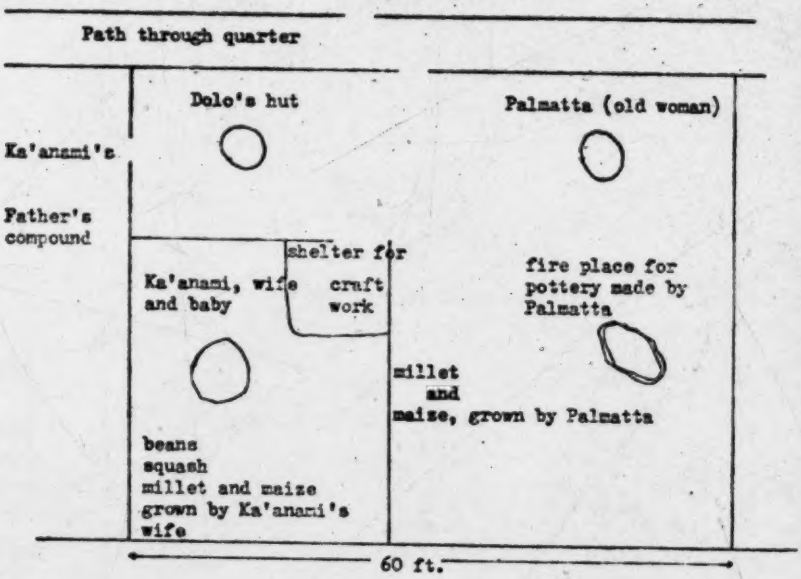
44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
177 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The
452 companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are baləsma in Kanuri terms.

[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[571] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

461 on the gourds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

178 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced
415 in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

592 <u>Ka'anami's Compound</u>
351



[GEIDAM]

128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
[125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[651] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it-
[662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
67
[651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

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175 634 642 643 421 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territorially based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord remained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 634 622 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a village head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both. 175 634 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings expand in size, and he tried to help this process alon[illegible] not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them [illegible]iders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and abili[illegible] supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so th[illegible] was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 622 632 634 642 643 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zəgəsə (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zəgəsə are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household possessions. He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

• 422 593

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holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles. 175 123 554 66

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs. 175 433 175 423

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area. 175 463 469 [443]

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere. 175 43 [567] [286] [184]

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed. 175 431

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu- 175 439 437

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and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

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423 592 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer, simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 241 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader 423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings. [428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in [691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 [241] Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering. [221] These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 467 [622] [178] Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose '<u>Mais</u>' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [565] <u>Shehu</u> (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
• 423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[178]

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
643
565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
178
565 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
177
565 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
644
565 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
631 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
423 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fashion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments
[651] and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
565
631

554 565 644 Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Karliroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

175 423 631 565 554 644 Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.

175 565 554 567 The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaigama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

175 554 565 The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

[GEIDAM]

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for 425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal 695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head [465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment 241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some 565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and 464 [175] may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap- 241 proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm 427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced. 241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him. 634 [423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

632 571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

632 871 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated [554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A. (1)

632 423 [622] All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan 632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

634 571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'una if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Magumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live 634 571 either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization 561 are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labour-
[463] ers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics,
[177] clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European
562 origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say
572 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving
562 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery
323 production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/
000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>serwa</u> (co-

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Palongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 433 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher
463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as much respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the Kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

342 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large
476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types
342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la-
[369] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contract-
[563] ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

• 423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
[427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages
[369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea-
[425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving
423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the
632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

425 Permission should be sought
632 for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
423 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots; this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm are.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

• 423 [829] political leader, and/or it means that the person has inherited land through his agnatic relationship to a previous community member.

A second characteristic of Kanuri land tenure is its progressively private character through time, especially after an inheritance. Thus if A receives a plot in the house farm area from his Lawan and three seasons later leaves the town the land returns to the dispensing power of the political leader. However, if A receives land from his father and wishes to leave the area, he may give the land to a friend, or attempt to sell it, especially if he considers it a "good" farm plot. That is to say, after land use rights have passed on through inheritance, the dispensation of these rights comes (more properly) under the power of the inheritors using the land. However, things are not quite so clearcut in practice as this description implies. Thus much depends on the particular political leader and the peasant in question. The writer has seen land rented by A to B when it had only been given to A by the Lawan a few years before, and there are numerous stories of Lawans attempting to repossess land use rights or their dispensation after several generations. Thus the second characteristic is more properly speaking a tendency among other. Kanuri land tenure as observed today is really the result of three forces which operate in greater or lesser intensity through time. These are (a) the rights of land dispensation of the political leader, especially to land adjacent to the settlement; (b) the rights of agnatic kin members over inherited land; and (c) the right accruing to anyone through clearing new land and using it. The stability of this ownership system depends primarily upon the political relations between households and their local political leaders. Given a working political unit in which rights, duties and obligations of superiors and subordinates in the community

423 are not in conflict, then no trouble emerges from these potentially conflicting criteria of land ownership.

425 428 [182] The following table, indicating sources of land acquisition, demonstrates the fact that for the most part Kanuri land tenure is closely related to traditional modes of socio-political organization.

TABLE XVII

Table of Modes of Land Acquisition for Seventy-five Cultivators

(1)

Occupation	No. of plots	Inherited #	Inherited %	From pol. leader ϕ #	From pol. leader ϕ %	Cleared bush #	Cleared bush %	Bought or given as a gift #	Bought or given as a gift %	% of row totals
farmers	48	31	64.6	7	14.6	9	18.8	1	2.1	100.0%
craftsmen	27	17	62.9	10	37.1	0	-	0	-	100.0%
traders	26	14	53.9	5	19.2	5	19.2	2	7.7	100.0%
pol. & rel. specialists	23	10	43.5	10	43.5	2	8.7	1	4.3	100.0%
Totals	124	72	58.1	32	25.8	16	12.9	4	3.2	100.0%

ϕ From Lawan or Bulama.

The table indicates that 58.1% of all farm land in the three towns examined was acquired through inheritance, i.e. kinship affiliation, while an additional 25.8% was obtained through some political relationship between the cultivator and his local leader. In other words, 83.9% of all land was acquired by producers as a result of their traditional roles in either the kinship or political organization of the rural scene, whereas only 16.1% of the land holdings were the result of individual effort, purchase or gift.

425 It should also be noted that the 25.8% of all land obtained from political leaders refers to cleared, bounded plots, not bushland.

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted 571 that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements,
425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his ser-
874 vice. On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives;
241 (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or
464 his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contri-
476 bute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar (1) and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Kagumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
• 425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[645] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[78]

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[73] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a catastrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

565
556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
436
437 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
• [425] is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through eco-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
592
565 head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>bərzəm</u> or <u>dərcja</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
67
[651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

[GEIDAM]

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for 425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal 695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head [465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment 241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some 565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and 464 [178] may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap- 241 proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm 427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced. 241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him. 634 [423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

874
882 ber because he still does chores for him, and claims to give the senior about fifteen per cent of his receipts. Furthermore, he does not yet know how to cut face-marks, remove uvula, or perform circumcisions, and thus attends all these ceremonies with his senior barber in order to continue his education. He hopes that by next year he may be allowed to perform some of these operations under supervision. When he has finished his education, it will not be necessary to do anything for the senior. However, he will always pay respect to his ex-teacher for many years to come.

Other apprentices, who were living with strangers, but had gone into the same occupation as their fathers, claimed that they were freer in this situation than if they were in training in their own house-
882 holds. They also stated that it "was nice" (kɔji) to travel around and
(821) see other places in Bornu. The "freedom" was observed to refer to sexual experimentation, not discipline-respect with the compound head. As we have mentioned, it is considered shameful for children to discuss or acknowledge directly any marriage plans or sexual behaviour in the presence of parents. In some of these cases the mobility is explained by the fact that the boy's father was dead and his mother or grandparent has sent him off to a relative or a friend in order to learn the dead father's craft. In general, the boy completes his learning of agricultural skills, the planting, hoeing and harvesting of the various crops, as well as the clearing of new land in this
(425) period. Most often during his adolescence he acquires one or more plots of land of his own, either through inheritance, from the local political leader, by purchase or gift, or by going farther afield from his village and clearing new bushland. He also becomes acquainted with

634 571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'una if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Magumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax services. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live 634 571 either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization 561 are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

342 the house often aided by the wives of the *serwa* participants cook a large
476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types
342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a *serwa* and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la-
[369] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contract-
[563] ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
[427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages
[369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea-
[425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving
423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the
632 *Lawan* (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called *kulo fatobe* (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called *kulo karabe* (bush farms). Permission should be sought

425 Permission should be sought
632 for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
423 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots; this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm are.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

423 are not in conflict, then no trouble emerges from these potentially conflicting criteria of land ownership.

• 425 428 [182] The following table, indicating sources of land acquisition, demonstrates the fact that for the most part Kanuri land tenure is closely related to traditional modes of socio-political organization.

TABLE XVII

Table of Modes of Land Acquisition for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	(1) No. of plots	Inherited #	Inherited %	From pol. leader ∅ #	From pol. leader ∅ %	Cleared bush #	Cleared bush %	Bought or given as a gift #	Bought or given as a gift %	% of row totals
farmers	48	31	64.6	7	14.6	9	18.8	1	2.1	100.0%
craftsmen	27	17	62.9	10	37.1	0	-	0	-	100.0%
traders	26	14	53.9	5	19.2	5	19.2	2	7.7	100.0%
pol. & rel. specialists	23	10	43.5	10	43.5	2	8.7	1	4.3	100.0%
Totals	124	72	58.1	32	25.8	16	12.9	4	3.2	100.0%

∅ From Lawan or Bulama.

The table indicates that 58.1% of all farm land in the three towns examined was acquired through inheritance, i.e. kinship affiliation, while an additional 25.8% was obtained through some political relationship between the cultivator and his local leader. In other words, 83.9% of all land was acquired by producers as a result of their traditional roles in either the kinship or political organization of the rural scene, whereas only 16.1% of the land holdings were the result of individual effort, purchase or gift.

425 It should also be noted that the 25.8% of all land obtained from political leaders refers to cleared, bounded plots, not bushland.

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 571 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

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[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 874 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. 241 On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; 464 476 (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 25% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

556
592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
621
571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

437 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate
583 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her lumali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman her-
[426] self. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the
[571] money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

58 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories - virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who has been married before. Marriages are further subdivided on the basis of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However, only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings. Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his lumali role (and in some cases his influence over other lumali) to either strengthen or create obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases, these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

452 not heal easily.

452 Money may also be obtained in small quantities from a local
426 money-lender, whose usual interest charge is twenty-five to fifty per cent over a short time span of one to six months. These loans may or may not include ran (collateral) in which the indebted individual puts up
452 a robe, a cow, a sheep, or some of his cash crop as collateral. This
426 latter method of putting up some of the cash crop has developed in the
455 last decade or so into a virtual selling of futures, rather than simple utilization of the crop as collateral. A man who needs money during the growing season can obtain cash for the promise of so much of his cash crop. Since the prices of the crop have been stabilized by the government, the money-lender is fairly certain of the margin of his return. During 1956-57, when groundnuts were bringing 55/- per bag, a man could get 20/- to 25/- per bag from a money-lender for his crops after the plants had germinated. Just how much of this goes on is difficult to say, for it is illegal, and is also carried on by cash crop buyers who have much larger cash reserves than local money-lenders. Again, it is customary, where possible, for a man who has sold a future, to try and save enough money from his non-farming occupation to buy someone else's future, so that at harvest time he can still obtain his yearly cash harvest. This obviously tends to spread the indebtedness, but to what extent is at present unknown.

426 If informants' reports are to be trusted, it would seem as if the actual amount of indebtedness at the local rural level at any one time in Bornu is very small, rising slightly during the growing season.(1)

(1) The writer's own rough calculation of rural indebtedness comes from a small sample of budgets. The only constant indebtedness which turned up was in the realm of operating expenses (see above p. 307); 18% of operating expenses among fifteen peasant male household heads was being carried on credit. This came to only 2% of the total annual expenditures for the budget sample.

602
571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bàrzum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the subordinates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

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571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

[GEIDAM]

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
671 [651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

[GEIDAM]

425 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he
671 wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm
565 the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A
592 wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head
[465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment
241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some
565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
464 may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
[175] proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm
241 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out
427 sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
634 Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to
[423]

342 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large
476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types
342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la-
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[563] ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
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[425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving
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632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its [829]
landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer, simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings. As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering. These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

463 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them
592 to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a
158 skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continu-
57 ous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who
[253] wander through the area.
[554]
[177]

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together.
[428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the
[241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his appren-
[464] tices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also
[434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's
592 meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep
571 and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the
253 time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before
159 the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the
434 market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have
[221] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has
[512] unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

601
602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kásai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kásai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kásai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different [591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the [428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on [671] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important. (1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanum (your [603] mother) or yansè (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's <u>chibuna</u>). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

175 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The <u>oawi</u>
567 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
554 new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
[304] was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
175 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
567 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The
554 susana of an important noble shares some of that importance
592 by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
• 428 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
567 themselves free. A slave says "<u>kamanyi</u>" (my lord) to his mas-
576 ter, though nowadays people say that "kamanyi" is said only to
178 Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kamanyi" to the

571
593
[428]

He has now obtained some farmland from a friend and all his primary relationships are with non-kin members (X is dead). His extreme youth, plus his absence at the time of the Mo-Bro death as compared with his brothers' presence in the compound, left him out of the inheritance and allowed the three half-brothers to parcel out the farmland among themselves. He feels today that there is gàdena mbeji, a difference or bad feeling between him and his half-brothers.

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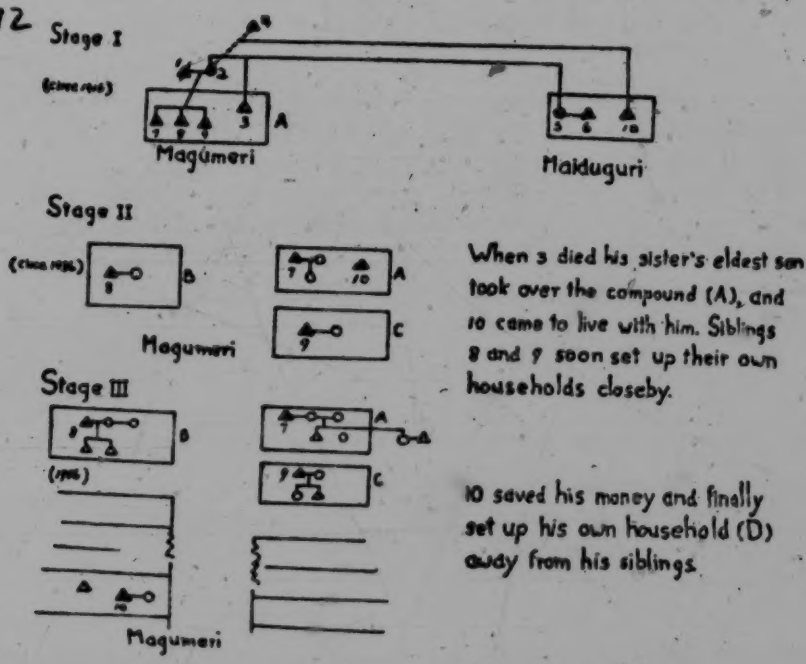
591
592

The following diagram illustrates the processes of the above example.



Legend:

(1) Mo-dead-husband: (2) Mo: (3) Mo-Bro: (4) Mo-next-husband (divorced later): (5) Mo-Sis: (6) Mo-Sis-Hu: (7), (8), (9) full siblings: (10) half-sibling to 7, 8, 9.

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593
428 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595
178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
881 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

75 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

888 592 183 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in their old age.

Inheritance

428 The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law,(1) and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases [613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lineage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex. The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if present) are entitled to one-third of the warata (inheritance) of her (their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the agnatic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables, excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, although it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being [587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any living connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother, which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the largest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Rurton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

428 always be considered as getting some preference, although a surviving son who is of age (18-20) gets the largest share. When two sons of a deceased father have the same mother the younger son has no orthodox rights, since it is considered that the elder brother is now replacing the father. However, it is customary that, if both are of age, the rule of two parts to one in favour of the senior in relation to junior holds sway, with the father's compound going to the senior. Three full brothers in Magumeri cut up the estate of their father in two parts at his death. Half the estate plus the compound went to the eldest brother while the other half was divided in two between the two younger brothers. A fourth younger brother was about thirteen years old at the time and living in another town - he received nothing. If the sons are from different mothers and both of age, the rules require equal sharing of the property, with the father's house going to the eldest.

A man is not free to dispose of his property to whomsoever he chooses. It must follow the rules of inheritance. However, he may before he dies ask a relative in front of witnesses to give
[693] some special possession to a friend after his death. All cases of inheritance disputes that are adjudicated give ten per cent of the inheritance value to the court making the successful judgement.

121 Inheritance customs in any society are an attempt to give continuity and stability to existing social relationships as they refer to rights and prerogatives, given the fact of potential dislocation of the ongoing relational system by loss of membership through death. The universality of inheritance disputes or animosity developing from inheritance transactions recorded from all over the world attest to the inevitable conflicts which arise no matter what variety

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
578 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a
613 major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have more rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

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distinctions are made between these relatives as to the distribution of the rights and prerogatives of the deceased. The strength of the father-son relationship and its importance as the model for one of the central norms of behaviour in the society give it a much more important and decisive position for resolving conflicts in most cases. Although some internal resentments may result, the legal and social identity of the agnates with one another for the most part override this conflict in the system.

463 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests
554 that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par-
[613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from
[428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it,
602 one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community
[123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

427 are not in conflict, then no trouble emerges from these potentially conflicting criteria of land ownership.

425 428 [182] The following table, indicating sources of land acquisition, demonstrates the fact that for the most part Kanuri land tenure is closely related to traditional modes of socio-political organization.

TABLE XVII

Table of Modes of Land Acquisition for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	(1) No. of plots	Inherited #	Inherited %	From pol. leader ø #	From pol. leader ø %	Cleared bush #	Cleared bush %	Bought or given as a gift #	Bought or given as a gift %	% of row totals
farmers	48	31	64.6	7	14.6	9	18.8	1	2.1	100.0%
craftsmen	27	17	62.9	10	37.1	0	-	0	-	100.0%
traders	26	14	53.9	5	19.2	5	19.2	2	7.7	100.0%
pol. & rel. specialists	23	10	43.5	10	43.5	2	8.7	1	4.3	100.0%
Totals	124	72	58.1	32	25.8	16	12.9	4	3.2	100.0%

ø From Lawan or Bulama.

The table indicates that 58.1% of all farm land in the three towns examined was acquired through inheritance, i.e. kinship affiliation, while an additional 25.8% was obtained through some political relationship between the cultivator and his local leader. In other words, 83.9% of all land was acquired by producers as a result of their traditional roles in either the kinship or political organization of the rural scene, whereas only 16.1% of the land holdings were the result of individual effort, purchase or gift.

425 It should also be noted that the 25.8% of all land obtained from political leaders refers to cleared, bounded plots, not bushland.

CHAPTER V [p. 99]

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Marriage Relations

Kanuri marriages are virilocal from the point of view of the woman, which means that she always leaves her residence to live in the compound of her husband. From the point of view of the man, marriages are patrilocal or neolocal. Thus a man either brings his wife to the compound of his father or very close to it, or else takes his wife to a new residence away from the residences of both their kin groups. Thirty-eight out of sixty-one informants in Nagumeri reported bringing their first wives to the house of their own father or setting up a contiguous compound. For successive wives the number dropped to about one-half of those asked.

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The inception of the first marriage for young girls is decided upon by her family and chiefly among these her luwali or guardian,(1) who is most commonly the head of the household in which the girl is living at the time of her marriage. A luwali can stand in various relational positions to the young girl - he may be her father, her elder brother, her cross-cousin, or patrilateral parallel-cousin, or adoptive parent. When the household head is not the luwali, which can occur for example in the case of cousin wardship, then the luwali still has the rights of marriage dispensation over the girl. Indeed he would take anyone to court who tried to inveigle these rights away from him. Although such cases are known they are quite rare.

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The luwali's choice of potential husband is based on the availability of males seeking virgin wives plus his desire to create profitable relationships for himself. If he is a high status person, his wife-giving rights will be used most commonly to tie political and/or

(1) C.F., "lugali" in Ellision, R.E., Marriage and Childbirth Among the Kanuri, Africa; Vol. 9, 1936, pp. 524-535.

581 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and
429 authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the
582 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with
565 traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate.(conceived out
[848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest.. Marriages with parents or their siblings, own full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

836 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older,
589 a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He
443 often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other
43 farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better
[455] price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering
443 are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a cal-
445 abash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are
[192] held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as an-
[103] other name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What mar-
[796] kets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium
443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you
484 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one
438 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing,

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

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These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

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Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

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Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds, and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

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(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles. 175 554 66

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs. 175 433 175 423

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area. 175 463 469 443

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developped, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere. 175 43 [567] [286] [184]

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed. 175 431

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu- 175 439 437

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby. 844

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a pregnant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose. [515] [759]

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman. 846

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is unknown outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community. [851] [825] [766]

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of 431 851

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success. 553 [431] [465]

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way: [792] [782] [431]

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes 551 553 553

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in [431] the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after [431] him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4;5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and are numerous in the western sections of the province. In similar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178
494 A number of material changes have been introduced which have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[603] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] [651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

876 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote.
779 If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write
875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can
write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom-
[555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to
reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts,
ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning
achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how-
[431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils
[735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of
sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to
the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils
[577] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so-
[554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 The identification of learning and education with the study
779 of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular
177 education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the
554 schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study
of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remunera-
tion).

4. Social Organization.

779 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As
593

1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

583 by Maliki law. Premarital bride-service is not permitted in lieu of the luwaliram. A man would be ashamed to go to his future father-in-law to say that he had no money to pay the luwaliram.

584 The girl is represented by her luwali in arranging a marriage. The luwali may be a relative or friend of the girl, but not her father (except in the case of a sadaka marriage noted above). The luwali states the amount of the luwaliram. The bridegroom may also be represented by someone, or he may make his own arrangements. The bridegroom, or his representative, may accept the stated price, or he may bargain for a lower price. The luwaliram is given to the luwali, who in turn passes it to [431] the girl's father. The girl's father gives a token fee to the luwali, gives presents to the groom which include both money and clothing, and gives his daughter household utensils and jewelry.

583 At the time of marriage, an additional payment, <u>sədagu</u> [436] (Arabic, sadak), is made. Sədagu is paid in the form of Maria Theresa dollars, two to five being the average amount of sədagu payment, though now eight shillings may be substituted for each Maria Theresa dollar. The size of the sədagu is arranged for before the marriage, and initial payment of part of the sədagu [586] may be made before the marriage. Should a couple divorce before the entire sədagu has been paid, the difference must be paid at the time of divorce.

Finally, in addition to both luwaliram and sədagu, there is still a third type of payment, called <u>məri</u>, which must be

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

• [431] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalə yaskə wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about <u>boye</u>, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [581] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house- [252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (<u>fəle</u>) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[431] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

627 arbitration is encouraged, so long as the complainant has his
692 [779] grievance adjusted.

627 Carrying out sholo is one of the most important functions
662 of the individual in a position of political authority. It is
431 subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be
[192] a source of difficulty. The words kunjo and nasha are used for any sort of gift. Kafelo is the traditional gift which the small man, the talaka, gives to the important man, the kantuoma. Risa (Arabic) means simply a bribe. Wushira is the fee paid
[779] to the court after a dispute is settled. According to Alkali Baba Kura, kafelo and risa amount to the same thing, and both are forbidden by Maliki law since gifts given with the expectation of preferences in the future are haram (forbidden according to religious law). Giving of kafelo is traditionally done nevertheless.

627 Before the hearing of a dispute, both parties give kafelo
[431] to the mediator. If no kafelo is given, the dispute will not be heard. After a ruling is made in the dispute, the side which has received a favorable decision gives wushira to the medi-
[693] ator. The reasoning involved in the giving of wushira is that if the case had gone to court a set fee would have been paid. When a case is heard in Sholo, therefore, the mediator receives as wushira a smaller fee than would have been paid in court.

Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

[GEIDAN]

627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan 663 661 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition [431] [554] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which 431 he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the [671] case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

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627 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a
431 case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve
578 marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse
627 her husband. Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the
463 Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively
661 together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

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796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubəro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bari, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumari Ashembe, at Ngumari Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[212] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-
[264] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

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796 Ngumari Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

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796 second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-
431 tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this
[505] time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away
[777] kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of
[602] the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili
796 with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the
[789] sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water stor-
[753] age pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.
[515] On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those
[788] present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-
[535] jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in
[857] a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

[782] The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

128 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
#829 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
441 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that
178 of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

935 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and genero-
577 sity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
[554] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

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Table XXIX

*431 735 *829 *565 *554 *463 *634 441 20. Charity and generosity: If you were rich, would you give a new kulugu (gown) to a man who asked you for one?

	Unqualified yes	Qualifications
Aristocracy	4	1 would give to one man who asked; not to many.
Koranic Malams	2*a	1 doesn't know. If Allah gives, he would give. If Allah forbade, he wouldn't give.
Canteen Operators	3	3 1: "To someone close to you, like your family, who doesn't have anything--you give. If you know him you give; if not you don't give." 2: "A man would farm for me and I would give him a kulugu. I wouldn't give just like that." 3: "A man who has nothing, a Malam, an old man with no strength--you give."
NA Malams	5	1 "If the man already had one, I would not give him one."
Kabuna	6	-
Craftsmen	6	-
Talaka	6	2 1: "If you know him, you give. If he already has one, you don't." 2: If I have many kulugus, I'd give. If the other man is brought to me by want, I'd give."
Low-status Individuals	4	-
Totals:	36	8

*a The youngest malam said that he would give, but his explanation for giving was that, "If you give to him, perhaps you may need it later and he will give to you."

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431 577 735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

431 735 441 178 565 Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

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735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three
[824] kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553 On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal
[562] naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
634 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
665 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
662 from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments
[571] of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Waziri
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Waziri with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bersum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

286 [192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desirability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, workmanship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kanuri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rarely wear prints).

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men ø (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Oworongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

ø All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment, ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand, religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

511 431 511 796

517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lis-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fālongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 433 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 177 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Economic Life

121 433 NO MATTER WHERE or who they are the members of every human society must have some means by which they obtain the material goods and services deemed valuable and important to their way of life. How these goods are produced, distributed, and consumed forms the basis of the economic system of any society. However, for our present purposes the details of production are beside the point, for they deal with the local technology rather than the economy in the sense that this economy is part of the social system. Therefore, I will restrict the present chapter to the various units of Kanuri economy and its interrelationships which provide the means by which economic life is successfully carried on in Bornu.

433 The Kanuri do not have factories to produce goods, there are only a few large trading companies, and there are even fewer large institutional consumers of goods and services such as hospitals, schools, factories, armed forces, hotels, and so on. The bulk of the people is spread out over the entire area of Bornu in small [162] towns and hamlets, and even in the few cities the basic economic facts of life for most of the households are very similar to those throughout the entire area. Villages and hamlets are only economic units to the extent that they have boundaries, and all the land is held by virtue of one's residence in a particular village or hamlet. However towns do not act corporately for most economic purposes. That is to say they do not buy and sell things as units, they do not organize the production of goods as units, nor do they organize the distribution of goods and services within or between villages as units. The only level at which this is done consistently [592] throughout the society is at the level of the household whose members do form themselves into a unit of production and consumption.

592 It is important to remember from Chapter 3 that a household is not the same thing as the family. Very high divorce and fairly high mobility of the household members in general means that the people living in a Kanuri household can and do change a great deal over time. The economic life of the household, however, may not have changed at all. Just as personnel turnover does not change the basic nature of a business firm in western society, so does it have little effect on the jobs to be done and how they are carried out in a Kanuri household.

[433] There are other units in the economy, and as we describe the major features

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from
433 village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
571 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give
[123] them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition, political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural assistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They function as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Village Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers. Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri community.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[685] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439] sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

A network of European trading companies exists throughout
439 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
442 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
473 The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts [492] [434] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the 433 [434] world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but 433 233 563 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs, on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most northeasterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep different breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geidam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

241 565 554 463 [462] are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the 241 previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none 433 depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

463 The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

[BEIDAM]

44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retailing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[563] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[562] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods, of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and the entire range of household goods noted above. Included within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins, etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents perhaps the single most important imported item, and items like enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most sell typically local Kanuri items. The tabarma sells imported

[GEIDAM]

651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangali		3,000
haraji		41,000
	total taxes	£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
156 [648] in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

[GEIDAM]

634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 [648] previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 665 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
648 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

[GEIDAM]

177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained.
[701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation
[692]
[652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

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633 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
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433 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
439 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

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642 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

175 871 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged.

175 871 167 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-keeping culture an technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 361 [132] In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village.

175 369 433 178 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly expanded population which flowed in when it became the center of the Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons[1] of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganization which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south.[2] This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).

(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

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648 political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

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[435] This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's revealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 194[illegible] caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend."(1) Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials."(2) The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mustering out pay of the returning soldiers had hit Bornu unprepared.(3)

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648 In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946
(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947
(3) Pedlar, F.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

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433 orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash
648 crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organization of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A.
[511] salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs.

178 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
619 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
648 brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim popula-
177 tion of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

171 602 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers[1] for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system.

602 • 433 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent system would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organisation for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 571 [433] A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organisation of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organisation in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her relatives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom [591] [572] of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

Production

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182 Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

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[132] The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

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433 In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

241 their surplus crop at the local markets.

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Although not exact, because of the exclusion of non-cultivators from the sample, some measure of the variation in crop production is shown in the following table of average productivity among the cultivators of the farm survey.(1)

TABLE XI

Table of Average (calculated) Yields for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	Millet (bags, threshed)ø	Groundnuts (bags, decorticated)ø
Farmers	22	9
Craftsmen	17	5
Traders	7	4
Political and Religious Specialists	5	2

ø One bag of threshed millet, average weight - 190 lbs.
ø One bag of decorticated groundnuts, average weight - 200 lbs.

Increases or decreases in production from previous years were reported by 24 (32%) of the 75 cultivators. The following are the reasons given for this variation:

TABLE XII

	N
1) Increase or decrease in number of wives	8
2) Other activities interrupted farm work during the growing and harvest season	7
3) Sickness	6
4) More help in the compound (male)	1
5) Soil depleted	1
6) Damage by smut	1
Total:	24

Thus increase or decrease in number of wives, non-farming activities, and sickness during the growing season seem to be the larg-

[128] (1) These figures are constructed from the acreage of each farmer, multiplied by the average yield per acre in the sample. Reported yield figures on millet (not groundnuts) were so at variance with calculated yield that their reliability is extremely questionable. This may not be due entirely to deliberate falsification by respondents, since they were asked to estimate yields in bags, whereas for the most part this crop is stored in large underground pits, or aboveground storage shelters.

241
433 est factors affecting crop fluctuations from year to year. The seven cases of loss in crop which resulted from inattention to farm work because of other activities, refer mainly to economic pursuits, especially retail and wholesale trade, which took the man away from his household during the growing season. The one exception to this rule was a man who had been to Maiduguri with his family in order to fight a court case.

The table on occupation and crop production reveals the pattern of crop production among the various groups in the community. The increases and decreases in production give some measure of the amount of variation that may be expected from year to year. What follows is a discussion of the factors that affect this variation.

[164] The growing season is also a time of general biological in-
[136] crease in Bornu. The rain not only brings the blessing of fertility to the land, it also initiates a period of increased malaria, guinea worm and other plant and animal infestations, as well as the arrival of cattle nomads whose herds may stray into a cultivator's plots, and periodic hordes of locusts. These factors may at any time reduce a farmer's yield and add a constant element of uncertainty to his life. It is no wonder that prayers, charms, and divinatory practices are utilized in combination with the more "rational" agricultural techniques.

The amount of land under cultivation, and its location close to, or far away, from the settlement varies with the kind of primary occupational interest of the farm owner. This is easily seen in the table of average yields above, in which farmers and craftsmen have much larger yields than traders or religious and political specialists. These figures point up the fact that in Bornu a man's non-farming activities especially if they are in trade, politics or religion, tend to impinge

241 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the Dis-
• 433 trict Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
[571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
[586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
[571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bərzum subordinates again help determine the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
[476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily salaries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
241 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure avail-
464 ability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those
571 with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties or working bərzum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).
(2) See below p. 305.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilize the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groundnuts have been as follows: (1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ∅
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

ø Maiduguri market (average)
∅ General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

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458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

433
571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

433
55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds,
433
369 and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained through the market. • 433 In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots: In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

• 433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kagumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Kagumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fálongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

[435] [432] [251]

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

[412] [372]

322 433 443 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Kagumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calculated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season, he does not produce for the market at all; but takes private orders which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from 3/3 to 5/- or about 4/ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about 3/-
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him a cash income of approximately £45.0.0.; when this is added to his crop production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at £86.0.0.

461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Besides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossipping and moralizing about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted 571 that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

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[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems [511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarises the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX

Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 44 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44 of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market econ-
[441] omy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

441 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to
571 obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of
436 Malam Kina's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European
441 trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Kina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/im-
[433] port economy. Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

175 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the
648 British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The
178 ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been
[433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the
[494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 The introduction of the few European trading houses has
441 served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

631 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of
642 political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu
665 have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the DH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

511 Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives
[433] us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of $180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living".(1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1)This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is, the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

178 511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes 178 511 have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in 369 the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

433 The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predicability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.

2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialization of labour

• 433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 25% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[131] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life.
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

888 565 589 [434] [788] on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women. If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age, and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a universal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 775 621 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 621 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major pur-
462 chases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transporta-
tion, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the house-
[434] hold. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

592 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because
511 they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously
[184] from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those
[264] in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their
[369] male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten
[264] during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish
[262] the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

592 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have
261 often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He
571 would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join
576 him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

000 Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[436] [1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
571 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social relationships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[177] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
[871] client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give
[123] them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

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so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

463
In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 185
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 438
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 439
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one.

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

• 434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts [442] [434] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the 433 [434] world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but 433 233 563 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233
563 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
233 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs, on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most northeasterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep different breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237
433 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geldam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[189] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

175
648 political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

178 This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's re-
434 vealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent
[435] events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend."(1) Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials."(2) The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mustering out pay of the returning soldiers(3) had hit Bornu unprepared.

178 In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the
433 part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as
648 there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946
(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947
(3) Pedlar, F.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

836 [589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a woman 582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society. 885 581 264 437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b) 581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

583 This determines
• 434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule
occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this
traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's
marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic
advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the
time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication
that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to
become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has
enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow
money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining
subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is
the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of
sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdoma, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived completely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods, [434] and small sundries. All her life and increasingly so with old age, the peasant woman raises a little extra cash for herself by doing petty trading or obtaining some raw foodstuffs either from her own garden in the compound, or buying it with her own money and preparing it for sale in either the large weekly markets or a small daily market stall. With old age she merely extends this activity into a full-time occupation.

888 Women from high ranking households remain in the compounds
565 of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high ranking man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
565 turns to a household of her consanguinal relatives. Many of these
454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries, and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermediaries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

556 565 829 [434] but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Magumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops. [442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages" [465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked, "What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mentioned the District Head of Magumeri who earns officially seven hundred pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he said "ate a'l gadigadi" (that is something different) because "aandi kam gadi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristocrat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kam birni (a city man) but "arma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his concept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range, and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to describe them. Yet he certainly recognized that they were of the same ethnic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

12 in choosing households.(1) An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of 592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Its economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

462 592 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking [434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

[114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

241 433 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the District Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
[571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
[586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
[571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bərzum subordinates again help determine the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
[476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily salaries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerically small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure avail-
241 464 571 ability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties or working bərzum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).
(2) See below p. 305.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Maiduguri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishana (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

434

TABLE XIV

Table of Average Non-agricultural Income for 75 Cultivators #

Occupation	Annual income from non-agricultural pursuits (pounds sterling)	% of total annual income in cash and kind
Farmers	0	0
Craftsmen	31	43
Traders	44	67
Political and Religious Specialists	55	84

[128]

These annual figures are constructed from estimates made by each respondant in answer to questions concerning his earnings per week, (a) in the dry season, (b) in the wet season. The percentages are calculated by adding the figures in this table to those obtained for crop production after converting crop figures to cash values.

Increase or decreases in income from non-agricultural pursuits were reported by 26 (34%) of the sample. The reasons given for such changes are shown below.

TABLE XV

loss or gain of tada njima per household	16
sickness	3
better or worse income from membership in an extended household organization	2
loss or gain in wives	2
raise in salary (N.A.)	1
a new wholesale source or loss of an old one	3
	26

434
463

The table on income indicates what degree of specialization away from sedentary agriculture various segments of the Kanuri population have achieved. Craft workers, it should be noted, are slightly more dependent upon agriculture than craft work, while trader, political and religious specialists are much more dependent upon non-agricultural activities for their incomes. This means that the crop producers

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada nijma. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kagumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calculated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season, he does not produce for the market at all, but takes private orders which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from 3/3 to 5/- or about 4/ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about 3/-
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him a cash income of approximately £45.0.0.; when this is added to his crop production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at £86.0.0.

461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Besides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossipping and moralising about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential

592 461 in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Mukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

231 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the
463 same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week
435 during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per
434 week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d. to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional income of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/- per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between 4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0. for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission" because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about £167.0.0.

434 However, he does not actually take in all this income as
[452] cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He complained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

434 through bad debts or begging them, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of prop-
556 erty by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Magumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

Consumption

511 128 In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

264 For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male
262 head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of
264 millet flour (penisetum typhoideum) made into porridge or dumplings (buri argumbe) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

442 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the
369 rural scene.

442 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trad-
443 er in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called
452 locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger
[405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other
[434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 [illegible] commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below
435 the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part
[455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on
571 by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys"
[212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

511 and services at current Bornu prices, which a family needed to occupy a normal place in the culture during 1956-57. In America, the average rural family requires about fifteen to twenty times as much in cash values at North American prices. Or put another way, the Kanuri peasant family has relatively few wants; food, clothing, shelter, tools, entertainments, cosmetics, ceremonials, some form of status in the community, self respect, are perhaps the major components of Kanuri socio-economic life. In comparison, an American wants a multitude of government services, schools, electricity, protection against foreign aggression, old age pensions, unemployment insurance etc., regular holidays, job security, and a host of other items which the Kanuri are not aware of yet, but which seem like necessities to North Americans.

It should also be noted that the Kanuri, although backward materially, are not at all faced with the hardships presented to the people of the overpopulated regions of the world. Thus in India, caloric intake per capita is estimated to be 24.4% below a calculated re-
[146] quirement of 2250 per day. As we have seen, the Kanuri are not generally underfed, although there is a seasonal variation in food supply, and their diet lacks certain nutrient requirements in vitamins and protein.

434 The consumption data should not be construed to suggest that because 76% of Kanuri consumption is for food and clothing, it follows then that the Kanuri are inordinately interested in these items. This statistic only demonstrates again the low level of economic development in the area. For given higher incomes the proportion of total income taken up by food and clothing will decrease, as it does today among the upper classes. To the Kanuri higher income means more food and clothing, but it also means much more expensive ceremonials, better housing, and above all more subordinates who are partially supported by the

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of bhrzum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 25% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

178 441 necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism. Ultimately the unrecognized low status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status.(1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

441 434 It is because of the very low consumption level that there is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested(2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entrepreneurs. 441 452 On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodities alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.
(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
[13] many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[642] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route. 443 489 438

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life. 443 494 489 443 438 182

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling. 443 [691] [692]

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they 443 438 435

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando,* a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

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128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
[125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[651] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it-
[662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
67
[651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy 177 Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44 fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439 554 ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 452 who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439 of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276 The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494] by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435] the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492] to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

175
648 political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

178 This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's re-
434 vealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent
[435] events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend."(1) Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials."(2) The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mustering out pay of the returning soldiers(3) had hit Bornu unprepared.

178 In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the
433 part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as
648 there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946
(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947
(3) Pedlar, P.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilise the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groundnuts have been as follows:(1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ø
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

ø Maiduguri market (average)
ø General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Falongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two 433 calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calculated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season, he does not produce for the market at all; but takes private orders which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from 3/3 to 5/- or about 4/ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about 3/-
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him a cash income of approximately £45.0.0.; when this is added to his crop production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at £86.0.0.

461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Besides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossipping and moralizing about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential

592 461 in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Bukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

231 463 435 434 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d. to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional income of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/- per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between 4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0. for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission" because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about £167.0.0.

434 [452] However, he does not actually take in all this income as cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He complained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

262 [264] [782] where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, occra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet.(1)

S 11 In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 zaka(2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half zaka per person. Using the zaka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 [435] lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Magumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 zaka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

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[146] (1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

[804] (2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A zaka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quantities of grain, beans and nuts. Four zaka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one sa (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 sa per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 zaka per buhu. Zaka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

In Maiduguri, there
443 is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles
[698] all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Nguru. In Magumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Magumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage
[123] of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's
[435] "followers" (tada njima) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

[162] In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Geidam and Nguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open
[805] every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.

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The price mechanism is so nearly uniform for any one commodity on any one market day (and often for months at a time), that a system of consensus is implied. And yet to the best of the writer's knowledge no self-consciously organized price setting is practised in the Bornu markets. When there is room for fluctuation, price seems to emerge as a norm which results from the interaction of buyers to sellers, and sellers to sellers, through buyers. It should be remembered that all sellers of one commodity are located together in the market. They may be seated under a tree, as are the women who sell cooked foods, or in a line under a common set of stick and mat shelters, or in a common section under several shelters like the tailors and sellers of cloth. What is important here is that sellers of any one commodity can overhear what prices are being charged to buyers. The early morning sellers, if alone, may have no norm and consequently, may haggle with buyers for quite some time over price unless they wish to sell all their wares early in order to transact other business, drink beer, visit friends and so on. As more sellers arrive, most buyers check prices with all sellers of the same commodity before making a purchase. (If prices are constant and the item is sold by the measure, then the various measures used by the different sellers are carefully inspected so that any smaller measuring vessels may be avoided). From these practices a norm very quickly emerges which lasts almost the entire market day, given a plentiful supply of the commodity. If, however, the item becomes scarce then individual sellers, realising that some of their competitors are out of stock, or have left the market, (1) raise prices. Contrarily, if the end of market day is approaching and stocks are high, prices can be

(1) Some commodity sellers with slightly more money were observed to buy out one or more of their competitors early in the day in order to control supplies and prices for that day more easily.

443 pushed down by a nonchalant buyer with an anxious seller whose sales
435 for that day have been low.

This above description has exaggerated the price fluctuations to some extent. With many items, prices hold as constants for long periods and become an institutionalized part of the market. Thus a box of sugar cubes is one shilling and only very rarely did this price ever
443 vary in the entire period of the field work. Even with prices that did
435 vary, it is the writer's opinion that European travellers and commenta-
437 tors on Africa have overstressed the haggling up and down variability of prices in African markets because of their own experiences. Certainly, market sellers like to haggle over price and do so with all the enjoy-
[609] ment of the hardened poker player bluffing at cards. However, only to
[829] the European, who is conceived of as infinitely wealthy, do prices range so widely. When the writer attended his first markets, sellers haggled wildly and prices ranged enormously to him and to his wife. However, with time, the "real" prices were learned and the range within which
[609] haggling could take place narrowed significantly. If the writer then attended a new market where he was unknown, except as a European, then the range widened again and sometimes the seller would refuse to come anywhere near the "real" price claiming in Kanuri to his associates and the world in general that a European should pay more than an African. Friends always instructed the writer on the "real" price, telling him not to allow a price to be raised simply because he was a European. This "real" price is something which can be easily overlooked in an open market where haggling is the format of the buyer-seller relationship. Bartering may range widely or narrowly, but the experienced buyer and seller both know quite well, within a very small margin, where the final price will be set. This is why the really tenacious bartering comes at

443 the very end of the haggling. Thus it may take only two or three min-
435 utes to narrow a seller down from fifteen shillings to something a-
437 round five; but will it be 5/6d or 4/6d; 4/9d or 5/3d; or 5/- even? - this last seesaw in pricing may take fifteen or twenty minutes. For although norms of price may be set for market day or longer on any commodity, there is always a small range of a few pennies around the norm which can be called the "real" price. This is not a single price, but really a range within which serious haggling takes place.

435 Finally, it should be noted that price in Bornu vary with
221 the seasons. In general, the harvest period from November to the end of December is a time of plenty, while July and August, the growing season, is a time of shortage. Prices on all commodities, except food, fall during the wet season when incomes are at their lowest and men are taking time off from their dry season activity to tend their fields. They then rise around the harvests when cash crops are sold and money is more plentiful. Thus the Maria Theresa dollar can be bought for 6/9d to 7/- in July, but goes up as high 8/- to 9/- in November after the
[262] harvests. Food is scarce during the wet season, surplus sellers are short (some even stop selling) and prices of bulk (per 200 lbs. bag) rise when other prices are falling. Similarly when other commodities are rising in price after the harvest, food, which is plentiful, falls in value.

The Organization of Trade

443 At the local level in Bornu, trade is handled by retailers. Under this heading come sellers of food items, cooked and uncooked foods, sundries, medicine, charms, medical services, builders, etc. With one

438 guri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
442

Ajimi regularly obtains his nuts from four of these traders, all of whom he visits, and all of whose goods he inspects and prices before he decides where to place his order. He strongly asserts that his primary criterion in making the decision as to where to buy is the quality of the nuts. Two of the suppliers are Kanuri, one of whom owns his own lorries; the other two are Hausa. Ajimi has gone to other suppliers in the past but could not, at the time of this study, remember their names. By going to the same supplier over and over again with his uncle's money, he builds up confidence, and has on several occasions obtained an extra kwando on credit from one of the Kanuri suppliers, the profits ofwhich he kept entirely for himself.

435 Although there is some variation in price, it generally
438 occurs at the retail level, while for bulk shipments cash prices re-
442 main fairly constant, and it is quantity which varies with supply, quality and demand. Thus £20.0.0 is generally the price for a kwando of kola-nuts (a large rafia rope-bound package). A kwando contains seven thousand to eight thousand nuts depending upon their size, quality and the state of the market at any particular time. After returning to Magumeri, Ajimi generally gets back about £32.0.0 per kwando and returns the money, plus half the profits (i.e. £6.0.0) to Alkali Bukar. This buying and selling procedure takes him between thirteen to seventeen days or roughly two weekly market cycles.

572 He wholesales his nuts in the Magumeri area and regularly
438
442 attends the Magumeri (Sunday), Gamiram (Thursday),[1] and Ardoram (Monday)
[366] markets.

(1) He avoids the more usual Thursday market at Ngubura and attends the Gajiram market because it has no motor road, and he finds less competition and a smaller number of kola-nut wholesalers there than at Ngubura.

442 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the
369 rural scene.

442 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trad-
443 er in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called
452 locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger
[405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other
[434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from re - ceipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below
435 the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part
[455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on
571 by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys"
[212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

592 462 the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society. [434]

Households as Consumers

592 511 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

[184] [264] [369] 264 [262]

592 261 571 576 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

000 Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[436] [1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[655] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439] sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[352] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

583 Marriage is effected through the payment of a bride-price, the luwaliram, before the marriage proper. There can be no marriage without payment of the luwaliram. The luwaliram is conceived of as money for buying a wife. One informant stated, "It is just like buying a ram. Your children are the profit [85] (riba) of your investment." It follows, of course, that among [436] the Kanuri, children belong to the father. At present, the luwaliram is always paid in hard currency--pounds and shillings, though in former times it was paid in Maria Theresa dollars (nursus) which served as currency in the area.

The amount of the luwaliram varies with a number of factors. Luwaliram varies with social class, with urban and rural differences, and with the qualities of the bride-to-be. For common folk (talaka), it may run to five or six pounds. In the smaller, isolated villages it runs higher, occasionally over ten pounds. A Lowan may pay as much as ten to twenty pounds for his son's bride; very poor folk in the towns may pay as little as three pounds. Luwaliram for a very pretty girl, for the daughter of a kantuoma (aristocrat), or of a very wealthy man, is naturally high; while that for an ugly girl, or one who has undesirable traits, or who is no longer a virgin (bati) is conversely low.

583 593 If the boy is old enough to have accumulated money of his own, that will go towards his luwaliram, but the bulk of it is given by his father. The boy's father, or the head of the house in which he grew up, should he have grown up in a household

583 by Maliki law. Premarital bride-service is not permitted in lieu of the luwaliram. A man would be ashamed to go to his future father-in-law to say that he had no money to pay the luwaliram.

584 The girl is represented by her luwali in arranging a marriage. The luwali may be a relative or friend of the girl, but not her father (except in the case of a sadaka marriage noted above). The luwali states the amount of the luwaliram. The bridegroom may also be represented by someone, or he may make his own arrangements. The bridegroom, or his representative, may accept the stated price, or he may bargain for a lower price. The luwaliram is given to the luwali, who in turn passes it to [431] the girl's father. The girl's father gives a token fee to the luwali, gives presents to the groom which include both money and clothing, and gives his daughter household utensils and jewelry.

583 At the time of marriage, an additional payment, <u>sədagu</u> [430] (Arabic, sadak), is made. Sədagu is paid in the form of Maria Theresa dollars, two to five being the average amount of sədagu payment, though now eight shillings may be substituted for each Maria Theresa dollar. The size of the sədagu is arranged for before the marriage, and initial payment of part of the sədagu [586] may be made before the marriage. Should a couple divorce before the entire sədagu has been paid, the difference must be paid at the time of divorce.

Finally, in addition to both luwaliram and sədagu, there is still a third type of payment, called <u>məri</u>, which must be

565
556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
436 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
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[425] is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through eco-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
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565 head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>bərzəm</u> or <u>dareja</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

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439 There is some information on a copper trade which the Kanuri middlemen carried on between Darfur in the east and the Nupe area of the Niger river in the west.(1) Contacts with southern people although most often channelled through Kano were sometimes made directly in the trade carried
175 on for the much desired kola-nut. Finally, slavery was a specialized
567 trade from which political figures had a ready source of income. The slaves were often sold locally through middlemen although there was an eager market for them across the desert in Tripoli, Tunis and Cairo.

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436 Currency seems to have come rather late to Bornu as compared with some of the other Sudanese countries. Certainly the nobles and large traders knew of its use in the early 19th century, but the Kanuri peasant had not taken up the customs of currency use that were prevalent amongst his contemporaries in other places such as Kano and Zinder at the time. In the 1820's Clapperton noticed that it was not until he arrived at Kaagum, on the way to Kano from Bornu, that cowrie shells were being used as currency. Although he did notice that rolls of cloth from native weavers could be used as currency in some of the Bornu markets.(2) By 1850 the rolls or strips of cloth (gaba's) were being slowly replaced in Bornu by the cowrie shell.(3) Amongst the traders and the upper classes, both Maria Theresa and Spanish dollars were available for use as money and were even seen in limited use in the Kuka market in the 1850's. However Barth's most revealing passage in this respect tells of his difficulty in buying food from the rural peasants who came to market and refused to have anything to
[437] do with the currency. In order to buy grain, it was necessary for Barth to change his M. T. dollars to cowries, then buy one or more kulu'u (men's robes) and then barter this item of clothing for the required cereal. That

(1) See Arkell, A.J. 1952
(2) Denham, D. and Clapperton H; op. cit. Clapperton's Journal, p.21.
(3) Barth, H; op. cit. Vol. II, p.311.

175 436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

175 641 721 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were [701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year [182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plun-
175 727 dered. Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

175 439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
175 436 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
175 441 452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 441 452 563 [167] Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europeans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

584 the man requests that the luwaliram payment be returned to him (as it
o91 should be traditionally). Very often a man may try initially in the judicial proceedings to regain his entire investments, asking not only for the luwaliram, but a sum which includes his entire outlay of capital to date for the wedding. In such cases the position is usually just a beginning for bargaining. However, if the adjudicator can be convinced that the girl's or woman's group intended to defraud, or break faith from the very beginning of negotiations, the man might possibly be awarded more than just the luwaliram by the court. On the other hand, either party has the right of retraction before the formal wedding day ceremony (sada'a) which for the man means forfeiture of his payments, and for the woman and her group, means repayment of the luwaliram to the rejected suitor. For example, in one case observed, a man was repaid his luwaliram because a higher bidder had come on the scene.

585 In the early morning on the day of the wedding the groom with his male friends and relatives, along with male friends and relatives of the bride's household, meet at the household of the luwali, or at the house of a ranking person of the ward or town for the sada'a. The tendency is to use the luwali's house more among higher ranks in the city, while lower status groups and rural people generally use the
585 compound of a local ranking person. At this time the second and final
583 payment of the bridewealth, the sada'a is made. It is most commonly
[436] referred to in Maria Theresa dollars although most often paid in pound sterling. For peasant non-virgin weddings in the Magumeri area during 1956-7, the price seemed to be fairly standardized around the value of 4 M.T. dollars (28-32 shillings). The disposal of this payment is similar to that of the luwaliram.

The major part of the ceremony is given over to examining

286 [192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desirability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, workmanship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kanuri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rarely wear prints).

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of bursum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sakelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

441 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to
571 obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of
436 Malam Kina's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European
441 trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Kina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/im-
[433] port economy. Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles. 175 173 554 66

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs. 175 433 175 423

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area. 175 463 467 [443]

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere. 175 43 [569] [286] [184]

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed. 175 431

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu- 175 439 437

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroi-
439 dered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and
437 later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the
648 kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu
175 under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had
177 not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do
648 as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade,
634 which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the
175 nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was
177 called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of vil-
648 lage areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area
632 head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore
634 called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now
[622] headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which
177 were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-
648
634

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

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442 level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have
437 done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him,
452 his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he
159 were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took
[521] several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

441 AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's
466 older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a
452 relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concu-
472 bine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in
571 Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the
592 near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organi-
159 zation.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

[434] The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

648 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[931] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and
563 are numerous in the western sections of the province. In sim-
177 ilar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[463] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[802] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav-
[556] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

178 788 556 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trad-
[554] ing class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs, on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most northeasterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep different breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

565
556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
436
437 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
425 is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through eco-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
592
565 head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>barzəm</u> or <u>dareja</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

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439 There is some information on a copper trade which the Kanuri middlemen carried on between Darfur in the east and the Nupe area of the Niger river in the west.(1) Contacts with southern people although most often channelled through Kano were sometimes made directly in the trade carried
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567 on for the much desired kola-nut. Finally, slavery was a specialized trade from which political figures had a ready source of income. The slaves were often sold locally through middlemen although there was an eager market for them across the desert in Tripoli, Tunis and Cairo.

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436 Currency seems to have come rather late to Bornu as compared with some of the other Sudanese countries. Certainly the nobles and large traders knew of its use in the early 19th century, but the Kanuri peasant had not taken up the customs of currency use that were prevalent amongst his contemporaries in other places such as Kano and Zinder at the time. In the 1820's Clapperton noticed that it was not until he arrived at Katagum, on the way to Kano from Bornu, that cowrie shells were being used as currency. Although he did notice that rolls of cloth from native weavers could be used as currency in some of the Bornu markets.(2) By 1850 the rolls or strips of cloth (gaba'a) were being slowly replaced in Bornu by the cowrie shell.(3) Amongst the traders and the upper classes, both Maria Theresa and Spanish dollars were available for use as money and were even seen in limited use in the Kuka market in the 1850's. However Barth's most revealing passage in this respect tells of his difficulty in buying food from the rural peasants who came to market and refused to have anything to
[437] do with the currency. In order to buy grain, it was necessary for Barth to change his M. T. dollars to cowries, then buy one or more kulu'u (men's robes) and then barter this item of clothing for the required cereal. That

(1) See Arkell, A.J. 1952
(2) Denham, D. and Clapperton H; op. cit. Clapperton's Journal, p.21.
(3) Barth, H; op. cit. Vol. II, p.311.

836 [589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a wom-
582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.
885 581 264 437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and cre-
581 ating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b) of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

437 583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

[426] [571]

58 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories - virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who has been married before. Marriages are further subdivided on the basis of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However, only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings. Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) to either strengthen or create obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases, these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

443 435 pushed down by a nonchalant buyer with an anxious seller whose sales for that day have been low.

This above description has exaggerated the price fluctuations to some extent. With many items, prices hold as constants for long periods and become an institutionalized part of the market. Thus a box of sugar cubes is one shilling and only very rarely did this price ever 443 vary in the entire period of the field work. Even with prices that did 435 vary, it is the writer's opinion that European travellers and commenta- 437 tors on Africa have overstressed the haggling up and down variability of prices in African markets because of their own experiences. Certainly, market sellers like to haggle over price and do so with all the enjoy- [609] ment of the hardened poker player bluffing at cards. However, only to [829] the European, who is conceived of as infinitely wealthy, do prices range so widely. When the writer attended his first markets, sellers haggled wildly and prices ranged enormously to him and to his wife. However, with time, the "real" prices were learned and the range within which [609] haggling could take place narrowed significantly. If the writer then attended a new market where he was unknown, except as a European, then the range widened again and sometimes the seller would refuse to come anywhere near the "real" price claiming in Kanuri to his associates and the world in general that a European should pay more than an African. Friends always instructed the writer on the "real" price, telling him not to allow a price to be raised simply because he was a European. This "real" price is something which can be easily overlooked in an open market where haggling is the format of the buyer-seller relationship. Bartering may range widely or narrowly, but the experienced buyer and seller both know quite well, within a very small margin, where the final price will be set. This is why the really tenacious bartering comes at

443 the very end of the haggling. Thus it may take only two or three min-
435 utes to narrow a seller down from fifteen shillings to something a-
437 round five; but will it be 5/6d or 4/6d; 4/9d or 5/3d; or 5/- even? - this last seesaw in pricing may take fifteen or twenty minutes. For although norms of price may be set for market day or longer on any commodity, there is always a small range of a few pennies around the norm which can be called the "real" price. This is not a single price, but really a range within which serious haggling takes place.

435 Finally, it should be noted that price in Bornu vary with
221 the seasons. In general, the harvest period from November to the end of December is a time of plenty, while July and August, the growing season, is a time of shortage. Prices on all commodities, except food, fall during the wet season when incomes are at their lowest and men are taking time off from their dry season activity to tend their fields. They then rise around the harvests when cash crops are sold and money is more plentiful. Thus the Maria Theresa dollar can be bought for 6/9d to 7/- in July, but goes up as high 8/- to 9/- in November after the
[262] harvests. Food is scarce during the wet season, surplus sellers are short (some even stop selling) and prices of bulk (per 200 lbs. bag) rise when other prices are falling. Similarly when other commodities are rising in price after the harvest, food, which is plentiful, falls in value.

The Organization of Trade

443 At the local level in Bornu, trade is handled by retailers. Under this heading come sellers of food items, cooked and uncooked foods, sundries, medicine, charms, medical services, builders, etc. With one

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

463
In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 185
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 438
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 439
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one.

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
591 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 443 43 [455] in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 443 445 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 [192] [103] Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week [796] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium 443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you 484 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one 438 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route. 443 489 438

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life. 443 494 489 443 438 182

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling. 443 [691] [692]

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they 443 438 435

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[465] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439]
433 sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
237
439 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
436 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
413 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[182] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

• 438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri
agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most north-
easterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep dif-
ferent breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geidam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[432] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
366
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." People
[484] [369] from small surrounding villages without markets will come into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 643 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[92] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it
[496] marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos.
Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade
with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with
Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It
would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went
by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south
from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total dis-
131 tance covered amounts to 170 miles. Though distances are great
49 and the condition of the roads is very poor, trade is dependent
• 438 on trucks which are the life-line of the country. Goods come
into Geidam by truck from both Maiduguri and Nguru. They are
then distributed throughout the countryside by merchants and
tradesmen, using camels and donkeys to transport their goods.
[366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri vil-
lages north of Geidam, nor do roads lead east along the Yobe
River to the villages and towns there, Geidam is an important
regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location
is therefore an important factor in determining the nature of
the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles
[366] west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

[GEIDAM]

seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, 441 their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

441
463
438
443
[442]

[GEIDAM]

Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177
178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

[GEIDAM]

44 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in
• 438 the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued.

[442] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[562] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

[GEIDAM]

44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.

• 438 Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

[GEIDAN]

44 d) 71 sellers of raw materials.
• 438 Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 35 sellers of bundles of grass used for making bəjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.
73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.
[439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.
77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (fəle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.
46 fətkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.
[439] 46 taborma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.
[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1, 477.

[GEIDAM]

44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retailing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[563] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[562] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods, of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and the entire range of household goods noted above. Included within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins, etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
439 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents perhaps the single most important imported item, and items like enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most sell typically local Kanuri items. The tabarma sells imported

[GEIDAM]

44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.
439

[177] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and
this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing,
traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when
Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining
44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market,
serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam
itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen
[172] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with
donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such
as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they
sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam
craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all
small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who
buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these
saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market
to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east
of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sobda (Sat-
urday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding
towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating
market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each
44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are
439

[BEIDAM]

44 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown,
438 does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in
439 this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamel-
ware, and everything sold by the taborma are all imported into
Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reach-
ing these retailers in the market-place. Saborma from other
small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell
them in their own towns, and saborma from Geidam go out to the
small towns and villages with their goods.

44 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can
438 also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups
439 within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found liv-
563 ing in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are
found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day
to sell particular items with which they are associated and
to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the
Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns
solely to exchange their goods for those made by the towns-
people; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell
cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes;
Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and bas-
ket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted
to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts,
[415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the
Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of
the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

[GEIDAM]

44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
439 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
563 ly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the
[815] Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439 process through which Western goods, imported by the European
177 trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
177 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The
952 companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are baləsma in Kanuri terms.
[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[971] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishama (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

443 With one
[442] exception,(1) locally produced items such as medical services, pottery,
[438] meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are <u>bèrzum</u> (discipline-respect) and <u>aman</u> (trust).(2) Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

<u>(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)</u>

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
442 has lived in Maguneri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
443 from Hadejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] (1) <u>Gworongo</u>, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is pro-
[302] duced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

438 442 443 mai gida[1] who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 101bs. per bag) on credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had [578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximately 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

571

[192] [571] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Maiduguri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate bèrzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

[439]

[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it ever after he has become inactive in the role.

438 guri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
442

Ajimi regularly obtains his nuts from four of these traders, all of whom he visits, and all of whose goods he inspects and prices before he decides where to place his order. He strongly asserts that his primary criterion in making the decision as to where to buy is the quality of the nuts. Two of the suppliers are Kanuri, one of whom owns his own lorries; the other two are Hausa. Ajimi has gone to other suppliers in the past but could not, at the time of this study, remember their names. By going to the same supplier over and over again with his uncle's money, he builds up confidence, and has on several occasions obtained an extra kwando on credit from one of the Kanuri suppliers, the profits ofwhich he kept entirely for himself.

435 Although there is some variation in price, it generally
438 occurs at the retail level, while for bulk shipments cash prices re-
442 main fairly constant, and it is quantity which varies with supply, quality and demand. Thus £20.0.0 is generally the price for a kwando of kola-nuts (a large rafia rope-bound package). A kwando contains seven thousand to eight thousand nuts depending upon their size, quality and the state of the market at any particular time. After returning to Magumeri, Ajimi generally gets back about £32.0.0 per kwando and returns the money, plus half the profits (i.e. £6.0.0) to Alkali Bukar. This buying and selling procedure takes him between thirteen to seventeen days or roughly two weekly market cycles.

572 He wholesales his nuts in the Magumeri area and regularly
438
442 attends the Magumeri (Sunday), Gamiram (Thursday),(1) and Ardoram (Monday)
[366] markets.

(1) He avoids the more usual Thursday market at Ngubura and attends the Gajiram market because it has no motor road, and he finds less competition and a smaller number of kola-nut wholesalers there than at Ngubura.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar[1] and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

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[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 439 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maiduguri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Makurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 438 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought groundnuts for sale in the capital.

441 571 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its tbrzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 452 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This [511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 648 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Tributes could be quite large; there are records of payments from Kanem to Bornu in the sixteenth century that mention amounts of 1000 head of cattle per year. 175 651

Along with taxation and other demands such as annual military service, there was a system of exemption whereby persons or groups were released from their obligations to the state in return for some service—usually prayers and other religious duties. These exemptions, *Mabram,* were made by royal declaration in writing which stipulated that facets of a person's obligation were henceforward considered to be *haram* or forbidden, like the eating of pork. One of the oldest of these, given to the family of Umme Jilma, declares that the family is forever exempt from (a) entertaining the king's men during the dry-season military and tax collection campaigns, (b) from *diya* or blood compensation for injuries inflicted on others by accident, and (c) all forms of tribute and taxes. In time, however, all these exemptions were often honored more in the breach or renegotiated. Thus one sixteenth-century monarch ordered a large group to go to war. These people promptly refused on the basis of a *Mabram* given them by a previous ruler. When the king insisted, the entire group prepared to leave his kingdom. However a compromise was worked out in which they accepted military service and paid practically no taxes. This very same group is mentioned again in the traditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Shehu Laminu ruled that their exemptions should pertain only to the leaders of the group, not the entire set of male line descendants of the original holders of this privilege, who by this time had become a very large population. 175 651 701

In its apogee during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bornu kingdom was an expansionist power, and warfare was the state function par excellence. According to traditions and written records, as many as seven or eight military campaigns a year were not uncommon; this meant an expedition might leave Bornu every six or eight weeks during the dry season. With so much militarism the techniques of warfare elaborated accordingly. From at least the sixteenth century onward, Bornu imported muskets, swords, chain mail which were vital and ancient parts of the Saharan trade, although such armaments were also manufactured by Bornu craftsmen as well. 175 721 [411] 714 [439]

The army itself was organized into regiments, representing a local area or an ethnic group under their own leaders, and they went into battle according to a well laid out military strategy. Campaigns were amost always conducted against walled towns. The shield bearers advanced first; then after it was felt that the poison arrows of the enemy were exhausted, the rest of the army would advance either storming the walls or forcing the town dwellers to come out and fight—whereupon muskets and cavalry were used. Generally speaking open encounters were quite unusual; the Bornu army was large, well disciplined, and well equipped, while the town dwellers were weak in all these respects and would usually try to flee once the siege went against them. Fallen towns were then mercilessly looted and the inhabitants killed or enslaved. 175 704 72

After the campaign and the distribution of booty by the leaders, the army disbanded. Leaders of various territorial ethnic groups swore allegiance to the king and arranged for the next campaign to be held so many days hence. At that time, criers were sent around to local markets stating the date and place of rendezvous for the army. Able bodied men were expected to go or send a representative bear- [203]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroi-
439 dered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and
437 later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the
648 kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu
175 under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had
177 not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do
648 as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade,
634 which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the
175 nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was
177 called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of vil-
648 lage areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area
632 head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore
634 called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now
[622] headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which
177 were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-
648
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies, the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid 177 [148] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 567 [439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

175 567 839 complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sahara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

175 636 Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and 175 167 powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa 175 721 territory: In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

175 439 The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose '<u>Mais</u>' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [565] <u>Shehu</u> (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,
political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-
lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these
Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often
the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments
as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.
Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
a 439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[655] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439]
433 sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
237 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
439 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
436 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[452] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts [492] [434] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the 433 [534] world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but 433 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam 233 563 and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri
agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most north-
easterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep dif-
ferent breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
• 439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
366
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
[369] into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

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361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 177 There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. [439] The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

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seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dileima. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dileima dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, 441 their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dileima dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dileima in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dileima in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

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44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
438

Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored. [439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

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d) 71 sellers of raw materials.

Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 35 sellers of bundles of grass used for making bəjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.

73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.

[439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.

77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (fəle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.

46 fatkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.

[439] 46 taborma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.

[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1,477.

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44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retailing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women). [442] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods, of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and the entire range of household goods noted above. Included within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins, etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents perhaps the single most important imported item, and items like enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most sell typically local Kanuri items. The taborma sells imported

44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.
439

[117] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing, traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining
44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market, serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen
[492] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sabda (Saturday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each
44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are
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44 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown,
438 does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in
439 this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamel-
ware, and everything sold by the taborma are all imported into
Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reach-
ing these retailers in the market-place. Saborma from other
small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell
them in their own towns, and saborma from Geidam go out to the
small towns and villages with their goods.

44 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can
438 also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups
439 within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found liv-
563 ing in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are
found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day
to sell particular items with which they are associated and
to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the
Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns
solely to exchange their goods for those made by the towns-
people; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell
cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes;
Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and bas-
ket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted
to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts,
[415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the
Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of
the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

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44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438
439 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
543 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
[815] ly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439
177 process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439
177 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
952 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balasma in Kanuri terms.
[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[971] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

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44 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the
439 surrounding villages that are not large enough to support can-
177 teens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and
452 sold in this fashion, the balosma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, saborma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

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Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shopkeepers directly from the trading companies who import them
[E63] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to taborma. Taborma, who are Kanuri, further break

44 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of
439 matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kero-
177 sene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cow-
[237] hides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same Euro-
[244] pean trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in ground-
44 nuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts
439 as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth,
452
244 once the harvest season begins. This trade,too, involves the use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balasma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into
[448] the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

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44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 177
series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy
Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44
fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and importance. 439 554 452
At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers
who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439
of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276
The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494]
by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435]
the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492]
to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

44 439 276 [592] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

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634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 [648] previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
665 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
648 sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

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177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
• 439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

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692 whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper
693 of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the
[645] third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

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692 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Lamimu
643 served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjud-
[631] ication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

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182 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with
463 its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in
[44] Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.
175 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A
• 439 complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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439 There is some information on a copper trade which the Kanuri middlemen carried on between Darfur in the east and the Nupe area of the Niger river in the west.(1) Contacts with southern people although most often channelled through Kano were sometimes made directly in the trade carried
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567 on for the much desired kola-nut. Finally, slavery was a specialized trade from which political figures had a ready source of income. The slaves were often sold locally through middlemen although there was an eager market for them across the desert in Tripoli, Tunis and Cairo.

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436 Currency seems to have come rather late to Bornu as compared with some of the other Sudanese countries. Certainly the nobles and large traders knew of its use in the early 19th century, but the Kanuri peasant had not taken up the customs of currency use that were prevalent amongst his contemporaries in other places such as Kano and Zinder at the time. In the 1820's Clapperton noticed that it was not until he arrived at Katagum, on the way to Kano from Bornu, that cowrie shells were being used as currency. Although he did notice that rolls of cloth from native weavers could be used as currency in some of the Bornu markets.(2) By 1850 the rolls or strips of cloth (gaba'a) were being slowly replaced in Bornu by the cowrie shell.(3) Amongst the traders and the upper classes, both Maria Theresa and Spanish dollars were available for use as money and were even seen in limited use in the Kuka market in the 1850's. However Barth's most revealing passage in this respect tells of his difficulty in buying food from the rural peasants who came to market and refused to have anything to
[437] do with the currency. In order to buy grain, it was necessary for Barth to change his M. T. dollars to cowries, then buy one or more kulu'u (men's robes) and then barter this item of clothing for the required cereal. That

(1) See Arkell, A.J. 1952
(2) Denham, D. and Clapperton H; op. cit. Clapperton's Journal, p.21.
(3) Barth, H; op. cit. Vol. II, p.311.

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organisation of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained.
[701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organ-
[692] ization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation
[652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
• 439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons (1) of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganization which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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[567]

In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south. (2) This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

175 439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
175 436 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
175 441 452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 441 452 563 [167] Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europeans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

175 441 452 The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilized for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradersas well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

175 439 The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones.(1)

175 177 648 The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishama (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[231] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as muhh respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the Kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Kagumeri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate berzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

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[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it ever after he has become inactive in the role.

441 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maidu-
• 439 guri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Nakurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Nagumeri and previously bought ground-
438 nuts for sale in the capital.

441 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly
571 involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its bbrzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what
452 might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This
[511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading
439 directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical
563 development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms.(1) This system has been attacked by local Bornu politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine trad-
[452] ers, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

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(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

443 are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry,
438 clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and
435 rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

• 44 Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

44 MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has
159 lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

44 Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district,
159 Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help
466 of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five
571 bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age. 444 159 466 571

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father." 443 159 571 592

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando,* a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa. 442 159 [435] [439]

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself. 442 437 159

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this 442 437 452 159

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 121 182 592 829 44 571 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *bərzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 121 178 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators [648] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding [177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

[BEIDAM]

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
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178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

[GEIDAM]

44 438 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued. [492] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[563] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

[GEIDAM]

• 44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
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Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

[GEIDAM]

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438

d) 71 sellers of raw materials.

Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 35 sellers of bundles of grass used for making bəjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.

73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.

[439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.

77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (fəle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.

46 fətkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.

[439] 46 taborma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.

[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1,477.

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44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retailing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[543] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[442] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods, of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and the entire range of household goods noted above. Included within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins, etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents perhaps the single most important imported item, and items like enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most sell typically local Kanuri items. The tabarma sells imported

44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.
439 [177] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and
this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing,
traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when
Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining
44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market,
serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam
itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen
[172] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with
donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such
as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they
sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam
craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all
small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who
buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these
saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market
to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east
of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sobdo (Sat-
urday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding
towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating
market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each
44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are
439

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44 438 439 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown, does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamelware, and everything sold by the taborma are all imported into Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reaching these retailers in the market-place. Saborma from other small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell them in their own towns, and saborma from Geidam go out to the small towns and villages with their goods.

44 438 439 563 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found living in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day to sell particular items with which they are associated and to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns solely to exchange their goods for those made by the townspeople; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes; Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and basket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts, [415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

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44 438 439 563 [815] en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Lastly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 439 177 External trade remains to be considered. This is the process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 439 177 952 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to wholesalers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily receive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are baləsma in Kanuri terms. [556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in [592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households, [971] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

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44 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the
439 surrounding villages that are not large enough to support can-
177 teens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and
452 sold in this fashion, the balasma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, saborma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

44
439
177

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shop-keepers directly from the trading companies who import them [563] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to taborma. Taborma, who are Kanuri, further break

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44 439 177 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kerosene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] [237] [344] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cowhides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same European trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth, once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balosma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

44 439 452 244

[648]

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Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents. The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company. Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the

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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and importance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale. 44 439 177 44 439 554 452

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. 44 439 276 [494] [435] [492]

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44 439 2760 [592] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
[498] it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

175 692 693 [645] whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175 692 643 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjudication himself. [631] The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175 182 463 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in Bornu. [44] This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.

175 439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems
[511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarises the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX

Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance
• 44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44 [441] of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market economy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[131] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kantuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

442 level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have
437 done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him,
452 his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he
159 were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took
[521] several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

441 AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's
466 older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a
452 relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concu-
472 bine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in
571 Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the
592 near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organi-
159 zation.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

[434] The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has [illegible]d a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the [illegible]st few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young b[illegible]ding contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[82] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
• 441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav-
[356] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

178 783 536 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trad-
[554] ing class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, along with wealth and political office. 565 178 Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 556 565 441 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times.

[121] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

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632 621 they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Eco-
[243] [285] [463] nomic specialization along ethnic lines is a common character-
istic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area. 632 463 The people of Koldi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts- [323] men who make the fine sitting mat (boji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

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The second category is the tradesmen. They depend less on a special 463 441
craft ability than on their general skills in buying and selling at a profit. Through their knowledge of the operation of the economic system they assist in the distribution of goods, and earn their livelihood by taking for themselves a percentage of the value of goods which pass through their hands. The trades- 463
men and the craftsmen are two specialized groups within the social system of the town of Geidam whose activities are largely centered within the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The third category of specialists typically found in an urban community are specialists in maintaining the bureaucracy, and though there is an economic component to their activities, these fall more properly within a consideration of the political organization, so that discussion of the role of this group of specialists will be deferred.

Table III lists the major types of craftsmen found in Gei- 463 467
dam, and notes in addition whether they are organized under a single head, whether they are localized in one section of the town, and the extent of their participation in the market. The seventeen types of craftsmen listed in Table III are all full-time specialists. They are highly skilled at their craft, and no Geidam man would attempt to perform for himself the services, or to manufacture the products, which the craftsmen supply. Eight crafts in Geidam are each organized under a single head. The head [292]
of a craft group such as the barbers, or the butchers, is appointed by the Ajia of Geidam and is given a kulugu as a mark of office.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 138]

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
491 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

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463 commodities; some are wholesalers and others are retailers;
441 some are very wealthy men dealing in large quantities of goods while others buy and sell small amounts and count their profits in pennies. Some, as will be seen, center their trade activities in the market-place; others are never involved in trade in the market, but do their buying and selling entirely in private homes or in canteens.

463 The Kanuri recognize many distinctions in the types of
441 trade in which one may be engaged. These distinctions are re-
192 flected in their vocabulary. Four general types of tradesmen
[452] are recognized: balesma (or ribama)--one who buys and sells at a profit (riba means profit), paying for the goods, which were originally obtained on credit, after the sale; sabarma--one who buys in one place, pays for his goods in cash, then takes them elsewhere and sells them at a profit (saber means trade); dilelma--a broker or commission agent (dilel means commission). The dilelma arranges sales between prospective buyer and prospective seller and takes his commission from one or the other, depending on who first contacted him, and for whom he is attempting to obtain the most favorable price. Lastly, the fatoma is a dilelma who operates in a large town, from his house, as is indicated by the name fatoma (fato means house). People coming into town with goods to sell, primarily livestock, are accommodated in the fatoma's house while he seeks out prospective buyers, arranges for the sale at the best possible price, and takes a commission from the sale-price paid to his guest, the seller.

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seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

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According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fɔtkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taborma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fɔtkema are organized under a head man; the taborma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taborma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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178

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177
178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

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177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

• [441] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

6. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115 565 463 551 124	1. Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]2.	Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]3.	Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]4.	NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasom-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

124 *634 seven year old Kabuna are probably among the youngest members of the entire group. This is because Yerima Mustapha will keep potential Kabuna in minor positions for some years before he feels that they are ready for the responsibility of performing [121] a Kabuna's role and gives them a horse. Although age is probably a variable in determining an individual's degree of acculturation, it is secondary to his position within a given group or category as will be demonstrated in the succeeding *634 *177 pages of this section. Though the Kabuna are older as a group, they nevertheless tend to be acculturated in specific areas. Though the NA Malams are younger as a group, they tend to be acculturated in certain areas and not in others. Age as a variable will be examined in detail in a later section.

A. Analysis of Responses to the Thirty Acculturation Measures.

*177 191 The first acculturation measure to be discussed is knowledge of languages other than Kanuri, presented as Table XVI. Twenty-seven members of the sample speak some Hausa; 18 speak Hausa well; 9 speak a little Hausa. Sixteen speakers of Hausa *[565] *[463] are found in three groups: Aristocracy (4), Canteen Operators (6), NA Malams (6). This is clearly related to the importance of the Hausa language in two spheres of activity: trade and *177 191 441 administration. All of the traders speak some Hausa; this is because Hausa is widespread as the trade language throughout Northern Nigeria. Europeans in trade learn to speak Hausa rather

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*177 than Kanuri, and communication with the managers of the various
191
* 441 trading companies in Geidam is in Hausa. Knowledge of Hausa
among the Kanuri canteen operators is reflected in their atti-
[582] tudes towards the Hausa generally. This can be seen in the
willingness of the Canteen Operators to marry Hausa women (see
*177 Table XXXV). Hausa is also the language of the colonial
648 bureaucracy in Northern Nigeria, and all Europeans in adminis-
191
* 565 tration have learned to speak Hausa. The number of Kanuri
+ 634 speakers among the European administrative personnel in Bornu
Province is negligible. Therefore most of the Aristocracy
*177 and all of the NA Malams speak Hausa. In the remaining five
*565 groups, 11 individuals speak Hausa and 16 do not. Most of
191 the lower class groups do not have much contact with Hausas
and consequently do not speak their language.

*177 With respect to knowledge of English, the picture is even
191 more clear-cut. Only seven people in the sample speak English.
*[565] One aristocrat (Yerima Mustapha) speaks a little English, and
+[634] the entire group of NA Malams, all having been educated in Euro-
pean-style schools, speak English. No one else has any knowl-
edge of the language.

It is interesting to note that knowledge of other languages is a common occurrence in this area. Fifteen cases of speakers of six additional languages are found in this small sample. Of course a few individuals speak several languages, while others speak only Kanuri. There are six speakers of Shuwa Arabic, and five speakers of Fulani represented. There are almost as many

*177 405 *565 *634 [441] own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the *177 493 *565 *634 441 same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka [792] who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

*177 207 191 *565 [441] *634 Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

*177 radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost
207 unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English
191 (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from
*[631] possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

*177 Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once
215 again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and
• 441 radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case
[788] of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photo-
[792] graphs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams,
*[637] the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photo-
*[554] graphs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight
*[545] has had his photograph taken.

*177 The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previ-
492 ous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of
[125] Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found
*[365] individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka
*[634] owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

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*177 128 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use *177 493 is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen *565 Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them, * [441] many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one- *[634] half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two *177 805 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread *[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two *[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 805 *829 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather mechanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

*177 Dispenser--if someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab
805 wound, you write down the time he was brought in. This answer
*829 indicates that the respondent sees the use of a wrist watch sole-
128 ly in terms of its use in helping one to perform various bureaucratic tasks. Responses of this sort do not reveal a deeper understanding of the uses of a watch, though they do reveal an understanding of the relation between watches and aspects of Western culture and are therefore acculturated responses.

Complex ideas about the usefulness of telling the time have been noted in column D. In all there were eleven such responses, only one more than the responses in column A. Seven of these responses concern travel, and the advantages of being able to calculate rates of travel in order to determine when to leave a particular place and when to arrive at one's destination. The remaining four concern the use of synchronized time by two individuals to coordinate their activities. These responses reveal a deeper understanding of the advantages of
*[565] possessing a watch. Four of the five Aristocrats offered re-
*[634] sponses of this sort, as did three of the eight Talaka; only
• [44] one NA Malam answered in this fashion, and none of the Canteen Operators offered this reason.

*177 In comparing the eight groups with respect to the answers
*829 presented in Table XX, several points emerge. The Aristocracy
805 offer a number of complex responses (D). The Koranic Malams
*565 are divided, but low in the number of responses referring to
*554 prayer time (B) when compared to the sample in general. The
*463
*634

*177 276 273 [784] European-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cigarettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found [792] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and • [441] the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 291 *829 The last items involving Western material goods concern the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers, presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European- [792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams, * [634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against * [463] * [565] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

[BEIDAN]

#817 Those who object to the trousers make up 61 per cent of the
291 sample, while those who objected to wearing shoes are only 16
#829 per cent of the sample. A majority of the NA Malams state that
#634
#563 they wear European-style trousers, but several of their re-
#463 sponses indicate that wearing trousers is related to the nature
• 441 of their work, and one, the Veterinary, states that he wears them though he dislikes them. One Aristocrat notes that he wore trousers in the past when he worked as a school-teacher but does not wear them now that he no longer does that sort of work. The Craftsmen, the Koranic Malams, and the Canteen Operators give a very high proportion of responses indicating refusal to wear trousers. The first two of these, the Craftsmen and the Koranic Malams, also included individuals who were unwilling to wear shoes, so that their responses to the two questions are rather consistent. However, the Canteen Operators show a complete reversal. All of them said that they either had or would wear European-made shoes, but not a single member of that group would wear European-style trousers. There is clearly a difference in the attitude of the sample towards wearing European-made shoes and European-style trousers. The majority have no objection to wearing shoes but do object to wearing trousers; the group which is most sensitive to the difference between the two items of clothing is the Canteen Operators. They choose with the majority with respect to both shoes and trousers, but in both cases they do so to a man, as if to indicate that they as a group exemplify the norms of correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 183 178 [369] Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were [792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These [441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely [554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differ- 301 ences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them • 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seen to indcate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

Table XXV

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*463
*55A
*634
*441

13. Religious Behavior: wearing charms (laya).

	wears many	wears a few	wears only when traveling	has them at home	has none
Aristocracy	1	1	2	1	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	-	-
Canteen Operators	-	2	4	-	-
NA Malams	4	1	1	-	-
Kabuna	3	-	3	-	-
Craftsmen	2	3	1	-	-
Talaka	2	1	2	2	1*
Low-status Individuals	1	1	1	-	1**
Totals:	14	11	14	3	2

* has never had any

** doesn't like laya; drinks Koranic ink (alo).

• 441 78 others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Alhaji henceforth), fasting, etc.

*197 75 *829 Still another area which was used as a measure of acculturation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: mus-[792] cular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called alo. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only [792] seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of *[554] these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are mem-[123] bers of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

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#177 against whom they have a complaint before either authority.

627 691 *829 Those who would take their disputes directly to court (column 4) offer a variety of reasons for so doing, but the basis of their reasoning is that: the court can determine the truth (and frequently people are required to swear on the Koran in court); the court can enforce its decisions; and sholo requires both parties to accept and be bound by the decision of the

#177 627 691 *829 arbitrator (see *e and *k) while the court does not. The 11 individuals whose answers fall in column 4 represent members of 6 groups, but the highest proportion of respondents giving

44 this answer is to be found among the Canteen Operators. Three of this group said "court"; only two said "Ajia first and then court." Furthermore, their reasons for taking a dispute to court are not as convincing as those of other individuals who would also take their disputes to court. In *d are to be found the responses of the three Canteen Operators who would take their disputes directly to court. Neither the first nor the second answer are reasonable explanations. Bribery is possible in cases brought for sholo and equally possible in cases brought before an Alkali; it is no more proper for a Moslem to go to court than it is for him to bring his dispute for arbitration. The third answer is more convincing, though it says only a portion

[178] of what might be said. It seems clear that the Canteen Operators as a group would be more likely to take cases before the Alkali rather than before the Lowan or Ajia because of their own changing status in the social structure. Because they are

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*177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
*829 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
• 441 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that
178 of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

935 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generos-
577 ity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
[554] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown, but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXIX

431 735 *829 *665 *554 *463 *634 441 20. Charity and generosity: If you were rich, would you give a new kulugu (gown) to a man who asked you for one?

	Unqualified yes	Qualifications
Aristocracy	4	1 would give to one man who asked; not to many.
Koranic Malams	2*a	1 doesn't know. If Allah gives, he would give. If Allah forbade, he wouldn't give.
Canteen Operators	3	3 1: "To someone close to you, like your family, who doesn't have anything--you give. If you know him you give; if not you don't give." 2: "A man would farm for me and I would give him a kulugu. I wouldn't give just like that." 3: "A man who has nothing, a Malam, an old man with no strength--you give."
NA Malams	5	1 "If the man already had one, I would not give him one."
Kabuna	6	-
Craftsmen	6	-
Talaka	6	2 1: "If you know him, you give. If he already has one, you don't." 2: If I have many kulugus, I'd give. If the other man is brought to me by want, I'd give."
Low-status Individuals	4	-
Totals:	36	8

*a The youngest malam said that he would give, but his explanation for giving was that, "If you give to him, perhaps you may need it later and he will give to you."

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431 577 735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

431 735 441 178 565 Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

[GEIDAN]

735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

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*177 daughter to the Western school. Most (73 per cent) would send
871 their sons to school, and the reasons for doing so (*c, *d)
*829 stress the usefulness of Western schooling and the benefits to
562 be gained. 27 per cent said that they would not send their sons to school, a number adding "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *f). Four groups would overwhelmingly send their sons
*[565] to school. These are: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, NA
*[441] Malams, Kabuna. The remaining four are divided, although none
*[634] of the Koranic Malams and only one Low-status Individual would
[792] send a son to the Western school.
*[554]

Fewer would send a daughter to school, though once again
*[565] a majority (64 per cent) state that they would. The Aristoc-
*[634] racy, NA Malams and Kabuna would overwhelmingly send a daughter to school (though one individual in each of the latter groups has shifted from a "yes" for a son to a "no" for a daughter).
[792] The Koranic Malams remain adamant and would no sooner send a daughter than they would a son. Whereas a majority of Talaka would send a son to school, most would not send a daughter to school. The reasons given for sending a daughter to school appear in *h and *i. Of the 15 who answered "no", 8 added "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *j). One Talaka noted (*d) that school was useful for a boy, but not for a girl because marriage difficulties arise for educated women. This issue will be discussed more fully in Table XXXVI which concerns marriage with an educated woman.

*177 In following up the choice involved in educating one's son,
871
*829

177 school, or work out a compromise; none would send a son solely
871 to the Malam. The Koranic Malams also remained consistent
829 with their previous answers. None would send a son to any one
[565] but a Koranic Malam. The Low-status group would tend to send
[634] their sons to the Koranic Malam, as they indicated in their an-
[554] swers to the previous question. The remaining three groups (Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka) are fairly evenly divided between the two choices. All three groups appear to have shifted somewhat from their answers in Table XXX, and lean more in the direction of the Koranic Malam than they indicated earlier. The Canteen Operators in particular appear to have shifted in the direction of a compromise solution, and three of the six individuals who answered in this way are to be found among the Canteen Operators.

829 Another revealing area is that of the various occupations
554 which individuals would like. Some are realistic aspirations,
441 while others, particularly in the case of older people, border on fantasy. Eight categories have been distinguished in Table XXXII. Of these, the category of Trader (column 2) is the most popular by far. This is listed separately from "trading in the market-place" (column 3) because in the latter case individuals specifically indicated that they saw themselves as petty traders who operated in the market-place. The two categories might, however, be considered as one, since both are involved in the same general sort of activity--trade. Considered together, 42 per cent of the sample selected trade as the desired occupa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3071]

* 177
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* 829
* 565
* 463
* 634
* 441

Table XXXII

22. Desired Occupation: what sort of work would you most like to do?

	1. Ajia or Lowan	2. Trader	3. trade in market	4. Koranic Malam	5. NA work	6. retainer (walidi)	7. craftsman	8. other	9. same as present	percent
Aristocracy	1	2*a	-	1*b	-	-	-	1*c	1	20
Koranic Malams	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	100
Canteen operators	-	6*d	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	100
NA Malams	1*e	1	-	-	3	-	-	1*f	3	50
Kabuna	1*g	1	-	-	-	3*h	-	1*i	3	50
Craftsmen*j	-	2	1*k	-	-	-	2	-	2	40
Talaka	-	3*l	1	-	1	-	1	2*m	3	38
Low-status Individuals	-	-	1	-	-	1*n	2*o	-	2	50
Totals:	3	15	3	4	4	4	5	5	23	

*a Aristocracy: "I would rather be a trader than an Ajia. I would trade in anything."

*b Aristocracy: Yerima Mustapha - "I would like to be a Malam of Arabic; but European knowledge is more useful today."

*c Aristocracy: "To be Yalema - the Wakil (assistant) of the Shehu, who goes about with Europeans, with District Officers."

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*177
*554
*829
*441
*634
*565
*463

Table XXXII (continued)

*d Canteen Operators: "Do the work of a Talaka; farm during the rainy season, and sell goods."

3 of the canteen operators specifically mentioned farming during the rainy season in addition to trading.

*e NA Malam: "Ajia - the work of my father."

*f NA Malam: "Retire on a salary and live in a house in Maiduguri."

*g Kabuna: "Be a Lowan - the work of my grand-fathers, and my ancestors who were all from Birni Ngazargamo (capital of the empire of Bornu)."

*h Kabuna: "Be a retainer (walidi); do the Ajia's work."

"I'm old now. Whatever the Mai (king) tells me to do, or sends me, I will do, and earn a little money each month."

*i Kabuna: "Be a scribe, like Malam Ali Mandara (Chief Scribe of Geidam). The work of a kabuna in the bush is hard. It is better to sit in town and be the Wakil (assistant) in charge of tax collection."

*j Craftsman: one leather-worker refused to answer this question, and is not included in this table.

*k Craftsman: "I would buy and sell in the market. I don't like any other work; the market is in my blood."

*l Talaka: "I would be a seller of perfume (his present trade). First you start with a small table in the market, then you become a big trader with a canteen."

"If I had money I would buy cloth from the canteen, make clothes, and sell them at a profit. I would then buy millet for myself and more cloth."

*m Talaka: "Be like Musa Jakana (a clerk in the Ajia's office in charge of tax tallying) - make money and do nothing."

[GEIDAM]

*554 *829 tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight
441 groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka.
*177 178 Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the cate-
441 *463 gories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less
556 *554 acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new innovation brought about by contact with the West, has undergone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (*k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

*554 *829 Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is interesting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (*a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly *c who has selected a time-honored [792] ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table [441] XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

*829 cifically mention farming in addition to trade (*d) as if to
*554 accentuate their Talaka origins and their tie to the soil as
• [441] the ultimate provider of sustenance. Three of the NA Malams
*[634] prefer to do NA work, and one (*e) specifically states that he
would like to be an Ajia (see Table XXXIII). Three Kabuna indicate a preference for the work of retainer, while one would
*[463] like to be a Lowan (*g)--see Table XXXIII. Three Craftsmen
chose the general category of trade, while two preferred to
*[565] be craftsmen. Four Talaka chose trade, while the remaining
four chose a variety of occupations (*m). The Low-status individuals divide into several categories, though two prefer to
remain in the same low-status crafts which they now perform.

128 Column 9 lists the number of individuals in each group who
*554 chose as their desired occupation the same occupation in which
*829 they are presently engaged. This number is then expressed as
*463 the percentage of the total group. The groups may then be ranked
to indicate the satisfaction of each group with its present occupation. They are ranked in the following order:

Koranic Malams - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

Canteen Operators - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

NA Malams - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Kabuna - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Low-status Individuals - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Craftsmen - 40 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Talaka - 38 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Aristocracy - 20 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

[GEIDAN]

*554 Five of the eight groups range very closely (from 38 to 50 per
*829 cent) and indicate neither very great satisfaction with their
*463 present work, nor great disapproval. The Low-status individuals are included among them. They apparently do not find their
[792] low status a source of discontent. The Koranic Malams all
[441] seem very secure in their occupations, as do the Canteen Trad-
*[565] ers who all seem to find their work rewarding. It is striking to note that the Aristocracy are the most dissatisfied group in the sample. A number of possible reasons can be advanced to explain this (there are many hidden strains in their roles; they are in a better position to fantasy than the others, etc.), though none really seems to provide an adequate explanation.

*177 The next table (Table XXXIII) deals with the same general
*829 area of desired occupations, but treats the problem differently.
*463 Instead of asking the open-ended question "What sort of work
*554 would you most like to do?", this question required the members of the sample to select that occupation which they found most appealing to them from among four which were offered. The four choices included two acculturated occupations (truck driver and doctor or dispenser), and two traditional Kanuri occupations (Lowan and Koranic Malam). As indicated by the table, only five individuals selected the acculturated occupations; the overwhelming choice of the sample was for Koranic Malam (70 per cent). This contrasts sharply with the choices made in Table XXXII, where only 4 (9 per cent) chose Koranic Malam. Unfortunately,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

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*177 as "trader" was not offered as a choice in this question, it
*829 is impossible to ascertain whether Koranic Malam is the second
*463 best choice to trader, or whether, when reminded that Koranic
*554 Malam is a possible choice, people feel obliged to choose it.

[792] Considering each of the four occupations individually,
* [441] four of the groups were unanimous in choosing Koranic Malam as
*[565] the desired occupation. These are: the Koranic Malams, Canteen Operators, Talaka, and Low-status Individuals. In the group of Craftsmen the choice of Koranic Malam is almost unanimous, but for one individual who chose truck driver. The category of truck driver is the least popular and was selected by only two people; one of these (*a) indicated that he chose it because it was the best of four unattractive choices. Three groups remain who did not overwhelmingly choose Koranic Malam.
*[565] These are: Aristocracy, NA Malams and Kabuna. The Aristocracy include two of the three individuals who selected doctor (*b); the others in the Aristocracy are divided among the remaining
*177 choices. The category of Lowan is the final occupation to be
*829 discussed and was selected as the preference of 8 individuals.
*463 Seven of these 8 individuals are found in two groups: the NA
*554 Malams and the Kabuna. The eighth is an Aristocrat who is pres-
*634 ently a Lowan. Three of the Kabuna would like to be Lowans (compare with Table XXXII where only one Kabuna selected Lowan). This desire is expectable in a group whose activities are entirely within the political structure and whose rewards would probably come through promotion to higher position within the

[GEIDAM]

*177 *463 *829 *554 The aspirations of those who would like their sons to hold NA or European jobs become apparent as one looks at their verbatim responses (*a, *d, *e, *f, *k). They would like their sons to be bank clerks, accountants, doctors and Senior Service government employees, working in the large cities. Two fathers specifically add that they want their sons to become "black Europeans" (*a, *f), an ambivalent comment since it implies that their sons will have the advantages of a European and in the process will become estranged from their Kanuri fathers. Those who wish that their sons might become Koranic Malams (*b, *g, *j, *l) see the advantages in terms of the respect which they would gain in becoming a Liman, an Alkali, or a Gonyi--"Many people will come to his house" (*d). The advantages of success in trade have already been discussed (*c).

*[565] Taking each group in turn, the Aristocracy all wish their sons to do NA or European work, though a glance at column 8 indicates that none wishes his son to do precisely the same type of work as his father is presently engaged in. This once again would appear to indicate the same dissatisfaction noted [792] for the Aristocracy in Table XXXII. The Koranic Malams continue to demonstrate the same consistent behavior which they have shown all along. All wish their sons to become Koranic Malams [941] (*b), like their fathers. The Canteen Traders would also like their sons to engage in trade; 5 of the group chose trade for their sons and they make up the bulk of those who gave this *[634] response. The NA Malams follow the same pattern; 5 of the 6

[GEIDAM]

*177 582 186 are Moslems like the Kanuri, they are pastoralists who live in the bush and differ greatly from the urban Geidamites; 30 per cent would marry a Fulani woman. The least popular choice was the Yoruba woman, selected by only 27 per cent of the sample. Though the Yoruba who live in Northern Nigeria are all urban people, and the question referred specifically to Moslem Yoruba who are numerous, the Yoruba are generally identified as a southern tribe of very different background.

* [565] Considering each group in turn, the Aristocracy are noteworthy in their willingness to marry Yoruba women, whom they seem to prefer above the other three choices. This might be attributed to their wider orientation as a group. The Koranic Malams show no difference in their preferences among the four tribes. The Canteen Operators are almost unanimous in rejecting three of the four tribes, yet a majority of them (67 per cent) would marry a Hausa woman. This curious and striking result can be explained quite simply by looking at the role of the Canteen Operators. Their normal activities in trade bring them into contact with Hausas and they all speak Hausa. Because of the frequency of their interaction with members of that culture they show a willingness to marry Hausa women. This does not extend to women of other tribes in the form of a general willingness to marry out, as can readily be seen by their responses in columns 3, 4, and 5. The NA Malams are willing to marry with women of three of the tribes, including the unpopular Fulani, but unlike the Aristocracy they are not willing to marry

[441]

* [654]

her husband (the respondent) and this would subvert his authority within the family. This is expressed as a fear that through her superior knowledge she would be able to commit adultery, while her ignorant husband would be powerless to stop her. The groups hardly differ among themselves at all in their answers to this question, except that the Canteen Operators are the sole group which unanimously indicated a willingness to marry an educated woman.

A related question asks if a wife would be permitted to work as a school-teacher or a dispenser (Table XXXVII). The question implies, of course, that one is married to an educated woman, Approximately the same number of people responded that they would permit their wives to work (70 per cent) as had said that they would marry an educated woman (Table XXXVI). Several mentioned the wife's salary as an advantage in having a working wife (*f, *g); one brought up the issue of adultery again (*d) implying that an educated woman who worked would be less under her husband's control. Eleven individuals (25 per cent) said that they would refuse to allow their wives to go out and work. Some stated simply that they would not allow it (*e), while others claimed that she would not be as good a wife if she went to work (*c). Two others noted that they would allow their wife to work under certain circumstances and would forbid it under other circumstances (*a, *b).

In discussing this matter, the idea of keeping one's wife secluded (kule) must be taken into account. Though only a rel-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 326]

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Though only a rel-
*177 atively small part of Kanuri society keeps its wives secluded,
593 there is a strong tendency for upper class individuals to do
*565 so. It can be seen from column b (Table IX) that almost all
individuals in the 4 upper groups do keep their wives secluded, while very few in the 4 lower groups do so. It might be predicted that members of a group which had but recently risen into the upper strata of Kanuri social structure would be especially strict in keeping their wives secluded, thereby indicating to all the manner in which they fulfilled the expecta-
*177 tions of someone of high status. In examining the responses
593 of each of the groups to the question of allowing one's wife
*565 to work, several groups appear particularly permissive. Not
*829 one individual in either the Talaka group or the Low-status
*[554] group would object to his wife working. This is undoubtedly because husbands in these groups do not keep as tight control over their wives as do husbands who keep their wives secluded.
• [441] Among the four groups who do keep their wives secluded, only one has serious objection to allowing their wives to work, and that is the group of Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators stand out in comparison to the other groups in this respect.
*[634] Most of the Aristocracy and the NA Malams would allow their wives to work, even though they keep their present wives se-
*177 cluded. The Canteen Operators differ radically from the other
593 groups in their response to this question, and furthermore their
*829 attitude seems strikingly inconsistent with that expressed in
441 the previous question (Table XXXVI). There it was noted that
*554 they were the only group who were unanimously in favor of marry-

*177 593 *829 *441 *554 ing an educated woman, whereas they are almost equally unanimous in not being willing to allow her to work. The explanation for this inconsistency is to be sought in the poor definition of their roles. It has been noted that they are a rising group, emerging as a wealthy and powerful segment of community social structure. They actively seek means to increase their prestige, and one way of doing this would be through marriage with an educated woman (particularly since many well educated young women come from aristocratic families). Still another way of increasing their prestige is to be strict about religious observance, and keeping wives secluded falls into this category of behavior. They therefore indicate that they would all be willing to marry an educated woman, but would not permit her to work as a school-teacher. What appears as an inconsistency in their behavior is explainable in terms of the nature of their roles in the social structure. In fact, it becomes possible to characterize the roles of this particular group in terms of the inconsistencies which they exhibit.

B. Age as a Variable in Acculturation.

126 *177 The introductory paragraphs to the present chapter presented the mean age of the sample of individuals on which the study is based, and compared the means of the ages of the eight groups in the sample.[1] Two of the groups were found to vary somewhat from the sample as a whole, and the effect of relative age was considered briefly in that context. We may now return

[1] [For the age distribution of the sample, see category 116, page 250. - Analyst]

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*177 concerned. Item 5 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation; the Koranic Malams naturally write in Arabic script.
*192

In certain areas, however, they respond in acculturated fashion. They are willing to marry a non-Kanuri and distinctly more willing to marry each of the four tribes noted in items 38-41. When the condition that the woman be a Moslem is added, the Koranic Malams show themselves to be a tolerant group. This is probably because their primary allegiance is to Islam rather than to Kanuri culture. Thus as long as behavior does not conflict with Islamic behavioral expectations, they would have no real objection, and in the case of marriage, state that they would be willing to marry a wide range of women so long as they were Moslem. Similarly, Allah is their guide in the case of settlement of disputes, so that they appear acculturated in Item 30, and in Item 31 the conditions placed on charity are that the individual would behave as Allah told him to. I have no explanation, frankly, for their response to Item 14. On the whole, the relative consistency of the answers of the Koranic Malams would indicate that they are a stable group.

*177 3. Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators epitomize
441 an unstable group. Omitting the three items not dealing with acculturation measures, 18 of their responses are on the acculturated side, 20 are on the unacculturated side, and 2 are precisely at the mid-point. They are consistent in only two behavioral areas: they are acculturated in the possession of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 346]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Table XLII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE CANTEEN OPERATORS

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

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1. knowledge of Hausa
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Tsure Hbale
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Hklam

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Hausa
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Babur
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

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*177 • 441 Western material goods (Items 6-9) and unacculturated in their choice of occupations and in the aspirations for their sons (Items 35, 36). They speak Hausa, but not other languages, and they cannot write in English script. They possess material goods, and their responses concerning the bicycle (Items 11, 14, 15) are acculturated, but they are at the mid-point when it comes to telling time. Furthermore, their statements concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch are in the unacculturated direction. They would wear shoes (acculturated) but would not wear trousers (unacculturated). They fast, but do not wear charms. They would visit the doctor and prefer European medicine to drinking the ink of the Koran, yet respond that Kanuri treatment is better for 5 of the 6 diseases. They would send their son to school, yet prefer the Koranic Malam to the school. They would marry a Hausa woman, but not any of the other three tribes. Lastly, they would marry an educated woman, but are extremely conservative and would not let her work.

All of their responses are intelligible when one looks at their roles. Yet the pattern of their responses is indicative of an unstable group, more so than any of the other seven groups.

*177 634 4. NA Malams. The NA Malams come closest to being a group all of whose responses fall in the acculturated category. Their responses are heavily in the acculturated direction in the areas of language and writing and in the area of possession

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 348]

*177 though consistently in the unacculturated direction, are not
463 strongly conservative. They are a consistent, though not an exaggeratedly, conservative group, and in some areas (medical treatment, education) they appear receptive to change. The Craftsmen are a group whose position within Kanuri society has led to a minimum of interaction with agents of Western culture, so that they have remained an unacculturated and stable group. This situation, too, may change if: (a) Western technology is introduced and alters traditional Kanuri craft techniques while retaining the craftsmen themselves, or, (b) imported Western goods begin to compete more directly with the goods and services produced by the Craftsmen. In either instance, one would predict that the Craftsmen would begin to show a higher degree of acculturation and a loss in stability as a group.

*177 The Canteen Operators are an intermediary group in their
441 degree of acculturation and the most unstable group which was studied. Many of the inconsistencies in the behavior of the Canteen Operators seem to be explained in terms of hypothesis 3. Unlike the NA Malams who themselves derive from the Aristocracy, or from households of traditional political leaders, the Canteen Operators as a group derive from the Talaka. They have risen most rapidly in the accumulation of wealth, and through their newly acquired wealth they have sought to achieve power and prestige. Because of the rapid changes in their status, their roles are not as clearly defined as the roles of

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*177 the NA Malam--yet the NA Malams are the more acculturated group
• 441 overall. Trade was present in Kanuri society long before the coming of the British, but with increased Western contact new alternatives were introduced in the network of external trade. Some of the individuals who accepted these new alternatives had success in their trading ventures, and their abilities to rapidly master the new techniques involved led to even greater successes. Their very acceptance of these new alternatives represented a measure of acculturation, for they now interacted regularly with non-Kanuri managers of the trading companies, some of them Europeans. In the course of these new activities the successful Kanuri traders, who later became the operators of their own canteens, learned new trading skills and learned about the intricacies of the credit system through which so much buying and selling takes place. In addition, they learned to speak Hausa and became accustomed to dealing frequently with Hausas. As they became wealthier, their contacts with Western culture led them to acquire many of the new material possessions available in Geidam--in particular bicycles and radios. Only two Kanuri in Geidam, both members of
[493] the Aristocracy, possessed automobiles at the time that this study was done. Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, had both a Chrysler sedan and a Land Rover, and the Alkali acquired a GM pick-up truck during that year. It can be predicted that the next member of the Geidam community to buy a car would be a member of the trading group, because of their wealth and because of their

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177 accepting attitude towards Western material goods.

441 Having accepted these new behavioral alternatives and having achieved great success in their new activities, the status of the group of canteen operators began to change. Their roles were new and strange to them; they were unclear of their obligations in the changing situation. Though they now had important statuses in the community, there was no title to accompany these statuses. A pious Moslem who becomes wealthy is able to fulfill his obligation to carry out the pilgrimage to Mecca, and this the Canteen Operators did at the first opportunity. Five of the six members of that group in the present study became Alhajis, a title by which the pilgrim is henceforth addressed. This is a means to acquire prestige in the community, but it also serves another purpose --it demonstrates that the individual concerned is a pillar of faith in the community and may be expected to uphold traditional ways.

177 441 156 The "self" which the Canteen Operators seek to communicate to others is of an individual who is conservative, an upholder of tradition. This is in contrast to their acceptance of new sorts of behavior and to the recent changes to which they have been party within the social structure. Indeed, it is because of these things that the Canteen Operators present such a conservative "self" and in so doing they exhibit behavior which is predicted in hypothesis 3. In the case of the Canteen Operators the sanctions involved would be the rejection

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*177 by others of the right of the Canteen Operators to occupy im-
• 441 portant positions in the community. This would be brought
156 about by a denial of power and prestige on the part of other
[681] community members. In order to prevent this from happening, the Canteen Operators assert their identity as part of the Kanuri community by stressing traditional Kanuri values. It is their considerable degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas, taken with their extreme conservatism, frequently in the same area of behavior, which leads to the characterization of the group as an unstable group.

Their inconsistencies, as exhibited in Table XLII, occur in almost every area of behavior. They would wear European shoes, but decidedly would not wear European trousers, thus indicating their extreme sensitivity to the difference between these two items of clothing. They fast at Tsuro Mbulo, though they rarely wear charms. They would visit a European doctor and prefer European medicine, though they prefer the Kanuri method of treatment for five of the six diseases. They would take their disputes to court and tend to place conditions on the giving of charitable gifts, and both of these have been discussed in terms of the ambiguity of expectations in their roles. They would send their son to school though they state a preference for the Koranic Malam over the Western school. They would marry a Hausa woman, though not a woman of any of the other tribes. Their most pronounced inconsistency is in the final two items of their profile. They are strongly in favor

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of marrying an educated woman, but extremely conservative about permitting her to work as a school-teacher. In fact, their response to this question seems to be exaggerated in its adherence to upper class traditional Kanuri norms.

The behavior of the group of Canteen Operators, compared to that of the NA Malams and the Craftsmen, is entirely consistent with the predictions made in hypothesis 3. They have become acculturated in certain behavioral areas as a result of the interactions brought about by their roles in trade. Their new status in the community has resulted in further acculturation in still other areas (attitudes towards arbitration of disputes, attitudes towards generosity and charity). But their need to reaffirm their Kanuri identity and to validate their new positions in Kanuri society has led them to underline their affirmation of traditional Kanuri values, frequently by assuming exaggerated poses. Their behavior lends support to the third hypothesis advanced earlier.

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The theoretical significance of the present study is in the view of acculturation which has been put forth. Heretofore, acculturation studies have relied heavily on two types of approach: (1) the relationship between acculturation and personality variables (as exemplified by the writings of Hallowell, Wallace, Caudill, Vogt and Mead), and (2) the attempt to delineate which areas of culture change most rapidly as a result of contact and which areas of culture remain resistant to change.

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For responses of Koranic malams, canteen operators, NA malams and kabunas to questionnaires on acculturation, see charts in category 116, pp. 249-327.]

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439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
175 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The
436 government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
175 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who
441 then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used
452 the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies
441 were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europe-
452 ans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of
563 Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged
[167] a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

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The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilized for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradereas well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

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The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones.(1)

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The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

874 882 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguinal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's" house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resem-
[578] blance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

[441] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years
[452] of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

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882 it up because, as he said, it entailed the constant giving of credit
[441] to his customers and he never seemed to be able to collect all the
[452] money owing to him. His full brother in Maiduguri (who had been his wholesale supplier) advised him that barbering was a good occupation and that one of the local barbers in Magumeri needed a tada njima because his own son was as yet too young to help him. The boy went and asked the barber about it and then made his own arrangements for the apprenticeship (the barber knew the boy's kinsmen). He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became a tada njima. He could visit his own compound in which his mother lived by herself and keep up his own farm. He had to help the barber on his farm, get grass for his horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his aba njima (father of the house). The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working, sometimes with his senior, sometimes alone. By right, all receipts of his work during that year were supposed to be given to the barber. Naturally, he pocketed an occasional fee, but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and therefore the end of his projected career as a barber. The senior could, if he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber tools. The barber fed him, clothed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events, like naming ceremonies, he was given a small tip (one to two shillings) by the household head because of his role as barber's apprentice, which he kept for himself. In 1957, he moved back to his own compound with his mother. He still considers himself a tada njima of the bar-

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gation, and a national political organization seeking reforms and power in the local scene.[1] Historically their position as a pagan group puts them in the low status position of kurdi (infidels) by Kanuri standards, but the acquisition of European culture and their ability to make acculturated skills work for the benefit provoke covert feelings of admiration, jealousy, and fear on the part of the indigenous population of Bornu.

That there is some ambivalence in the Kanuri attitudes towards ethnic groups they rank as high (or higher) than themselves is easily discovered in conversation with persons who have more contact with Arabs and/or Europeans. Whether or not this means that the ambivalence increases with the amount of interpersonal contact it is difficult to say with present knowledge, although this could be considered as one hypothesis which explains the facts, until further tests are carried out. Peasants do not think comparatively about whether or not they are in some respects as good, better, or worse than Arabs and/or Europeans. They accord these groups high status among the "big" people of their world, whose particular place in the scheme of things is rather vague and far away from their own immediate experience but, nonetheless, rich and powerful. However, for those in close contact with Arabs and Europeans, aggressive, resentful remarks about the behaviour of these groups are common. Arabs are spoken of as dishonest traders who cheat [441] good Kanuri of their rightful profits. Since the Arabs maintain a large proportion of the available credit from the European trading companies, they do objectively limit the expansion of Kanuri entrepreneurial activity.[2]

(1) Coleman, J.S. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (1958), Chap. 16
(2) See below, pp. 322-324.

793 228; arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beg-
gar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic
knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized,
high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
[441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest
status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
554 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded
shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-
entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper
sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanzako) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams; he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only a man with no proper shame could do such work.

(1) Composite statement from informants.

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
• 441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

565 shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

The political office holder from the rank of Lawan (Village Area Head) up the hierarchy are considered "different" in contrast to the tala. Their judgements about occupations, birth status, wealth, etc., move through a different range than those of the lower class. Thus a good house would mean a well-built mud dwelling to a tala, while a ktntuoma (an aristocrat, a man of power) would think of a good house as a burnt brick building with electricity. The connection of the ktntuoma with the political hierarchy and the utilization of their power, authority and generally higher income make them seem far apart, as a group, from the tala. They dress always in robes, never work shirts, always go abroad from their homes on horseback or in a vehicle, with some retainers, and consider themselves superior to the tala who they administer.

Traditionally these two large segments, the rulers and the commoners they exert power over, formed the two large class segments of Bornu society. Informants relate how in the old days tala wore only dark indigo dyed blue clothes, while the ruling classes wore light coloured gowns. Today this distinction is much less adhered to, especially in urban areas. Nevertheless, out in the rural District Courts, it is still common to see lower class plaintiff, accused, and the witnesses all wearing navy blue gowns while the court officials appear in [441] light blue, green, white and other pale colours. Wealthy traders in the city are allied with the ruling class often serving as their financial backers and sometimes, it is rumoured, buying themselves political jobs. There is no definite sense of separateness on the part of the small wealthy non-ruling group in the city from the social organization as a whole. Their loyalty and respect to the traditional office holders

262 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may
262 be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with
264 a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bèlàn (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bèlàn, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins, bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
441 closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men, there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the different kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44
[441] of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market economy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar[1] and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 439 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maiduguri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Makurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 438 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought groundnuts for sale in the capital.

441 571 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its bbrzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 452 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This [511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading
439 directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical
563 development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms.(1) This system has been attacked by local Bornu politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine trad-
[452] ers, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

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(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

578 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of bbrzum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sikelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

441 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to
571 obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of
436 Malam Kina's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European
441 trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Kina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/im-
[433] port economy. Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

175 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the
648 British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The
178 ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been
[433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the
[494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 The introduction of the few European trading houses has
• 441 served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

177 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash
441 cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the
648 same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now
642 permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political
[182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behav-
571 iour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 27% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

441 As we have seen there are a variety of trading relationships. First of all there is the extended household organization model, in which a household head gives his subordinates money and goods. These are either real household members, kin relations, or people who have spent some time as household subordinates as a prelude to their trading activities. This kind of trade uses the traditional pattern of Kanuri social organization as its structural framework. Indeed it is because the "finance trader" heads a large extended household organization, along traditional lines, that he is a person of high status and prestige in the society. Unlike medieval Europe, feudal Bornu has easily incorporated the trader role into the moral and organizational structure of traditional society.

With all shades of mixture in between the two, another variety of trading relationship is one in which the persons involved are related because of the commodity in which they both deal. Terminology from the traditional organization is used to describe the role relationships so that the supplier is called by a Hausa term for head of the household (mai gida) and the person who buys from him is called, boy, follower, son, subordinate (tada). However, the basis for the relationship is highly differentiated, and defined largely by the commodity being distributed.

178
441 Judging by the course of social evolution in western economic organization, which has seen a development from diffuse personal relationships in a feudal background, to one governed by relationship through commodities and services, it is tempting to assume that the same will occur in Bornu. However, it is not so easy for this writer to see such an evolution taking place in any complete sense until standards of living rise significantly and people consume much more than they do now. In Europe the hitherto pariah trading role and relationship became a

178 necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism.
441 Ultimately the unrecognised low status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status.(1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

441 It is because of the very low consumption level that there
434 is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested(2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entre-
441 preneurs. On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodi-
452 ties alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.
(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7

441 452 the extended household organization of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando,* a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
243 Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442]
[655] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[439] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
433 sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
237
439 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
436 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[852] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
413 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
• 442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[452] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

438 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri
agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most north-
easterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep dif-
ferent breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

[GEIDAM]

seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma 441 in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

[BEIDAM]

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[442]

Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers,	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

556 565 829 [434] but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Nagumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops. [442] [465] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages" of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked, "What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mentioned the District Head of Nagumeri who earns officially seven hundred pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he said "atè a'l gèdigèdi" (that is something different) because "sandi kam gèdi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristocrat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kam birni (a city man) but "arma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his concept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range, and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to describe them. Yet he certainly recognized that they were of the same ethnic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

443 With one
[442] exception,[1] locally produced items such as medical services, pottery,
[438] meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are bárzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust).[2] Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
442 has lived in Maguneri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
443 from Hadejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] (1) Gworongo, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is pro-
[302] duced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

438 mai gida[1] who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The
• 442 Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 101bs. per bag) on
443 credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had
[578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximate-
571 ly 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

[192] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used
[571] to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Maguneri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate berum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

[439]

[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it ever after he has become inactive in the role.

438 guri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
442

Ajimi regularly obtains his nuts from four of these traders, all of whom he visits, and all of whose goods he inspects and prices before he decides where to place his order. He strongly asserts that his primary criterion in making the decision as to where to buy is the quality of the nuts. Two of the suppliers are Kanuri, one of whom owns his own lorries; the other two are Hausa. Ajimi has gone to other suppliers in the past but could not, at the time of this study, remember their names. By going to the same supplier over and over again with his uncle's money, he builds up confidence, and has on several occasions obtained an extra kwando on credit from one of the Kanuri suppliers, the profits ofwhich he kept entirely for himself.

435 Although there is some variation in price, it generally
438 occurs at the retail level, while for bulk shipments cash prices re-
442 main fairly constant, and it is quantity which varies with supply, quality and demand. Thus £20.0.0 is generally the price for a kwando of kola-nuts (a large rafia rope-bound package). A kwando contains seven thousand to eight thousand nuts depending upon their size, quality and the state of the market at any particular time. After returning to Magumeri, Ajimi generally gets back about £32.0.0 per kwando and returns the money, plus half the profits (i.e. £6.0.0) to Alkali Bukar. This buying and selling procedure takes him between thirteen to seventeen days or roughly two weekly market cycles.

572 He wholesales his nuts in the Magumeri area and regularly
438 attends the Magumeri (Sunday), Gamiram (Thursday),(1) and Ardoram (Monday)
442 markets.
[366]

(1) He avoids the more usual Thursday market at Ngubura and attends the Gajiram market because it has no motor road, and he finds less competition and a smaller number of kola-nut wholesalers there than at Ngubura.

442 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakana) who wishes
572 to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time
442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers.(1) Retailers also use stan-
452 dards of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but
572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguinal kin, Ajimi does extend credit if requested and this is fairly often. He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a "friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

442 When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bukar is
571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father".
[602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to describe what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a bazum relationship with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be arranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the look-

(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distribute anywhere from two to six.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar[1] and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Kagumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

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[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of bhrzum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the shkelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 361 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

[622] [988]

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost everybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

[443]

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

[302] [291] [231] [554] 197 [193] [195] 000

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword-blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

1: Cohen E-4.5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

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ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He
443 often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other
43 farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better
[455] price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering
[illegible] are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a cal-
[illegible] abash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household
[illegible] and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are
[192] held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as an-
[103] other name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What mar-
[196] kets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium
443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you
484 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one
438 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have 443 links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there 489 are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and 438 take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route.

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm 443 of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to 494 take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows 489 that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the pres- 443 ence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and 438 this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhyth- 182 mical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head 443 man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot 691 settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if 692 the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling.

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. 443 Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide 438 price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much 435 as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando,* a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[62] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Gei-
dam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of
cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves
of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-
time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages
and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men.
In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is car-
ried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by
a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, net-
ted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the
Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
• 443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasugu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market,
where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the
products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited
regional exchange is effected through the market. External

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
366
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
[369] into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[92] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

[GEIDAM]

366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees. • 443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

[BEIDAN]

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Table III

Major Types of Craftsmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In market: works	In market: sells
Barber	*			*	*	*
Blacksmith	*			*	*	*
Baji-maker		*	*			*
Butcher	*		*		*	*
Calabash decorator		*		*		*
Dyer	*		*			
Fishermen	*			*		
House builder		*		*		
Leather-worker		*		*	*	*
Potter		*	*			*
Praise-singer	*		*			
Sagdi-maker		*	*			*
Sewing machine operator	*			*	*	*
Shoemaker		*		*		*
Tanner	*		*			*
Well-digger		*	*			
Wood-worker		*		*	*	*

[GEIDAM]

463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the draftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
621 and sagdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[563] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice
[574] of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
• 443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

OEIDAM

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Table IV

Less Specialized Craftsmen in the Oeidam Economy

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In Market: works	In Market: sells
Beggars		*		*		
Charm sellers		*		*		*
Grooms		*		*		
Hair setters		*		*		
Hunters		*		*		
Transporters		*	*			
Water carriers		*	*			
Wood cutters		*	*			*

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of 463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe- 467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is • 493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their [621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-- [563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the 441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

[GEIDAM]

seller.

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Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, 441 their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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[442]

[GEIDAM]

Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

[BEIDAM]

441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
• 443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fɔtkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taberma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fɔtkema are organized under a head man; the taberma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taberma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[280] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdoma, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived completely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
[434] and small sundries. All her life and increasingly so with old age, the peasant woman raises a little extra cash for herself by doing petty trading or obtaining some raw foodstuffs either from her own garden in the compound, or buying it with her own money and preparing it for sale in either the large weekly markets or a small daily market stall. With old age she merely extends this activity into a full-time occupation.

888 Women from high ranking households remain in the compounds
565 of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high ranking man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
565 turns to a household of her consanguinal relatives. Many of these
454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries, and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermediaries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterized by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions [illegible] is [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to m[illegible] [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Falongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 433 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calculated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season, he does not produce for the market at all; but takes private orders which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from 3/3 to 5/- or about 4/ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about 3/-
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him a cash income of approximately £45.0.0.; when this is added to his crop production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at £86.0.0.

461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Besides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossipping and moralizing about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

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231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Mukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

366 494 161 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 494 484 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Ngwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest 443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of [203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, [273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale [525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 692 [632] Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

In Maiduguri, there
443 is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles
[698] all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Nguru. In Magumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Magumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage
[123] of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's
[435] "followers" (tada njima) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

[162] In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Geidam and Nguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open
[805] every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.

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The price mechanism is so nearly uniform for any one commodity on any one market day (and often for months at a time), that a system of consensus is implied. And yet to the best of the writer's knowledge no self-consciously organized price setting is practised in the Bornu markets. When there is room for fluctuation, price seems to emerge as a norm which results from the interaction of buyers to sellers, and sellers to sellers, through buyers. It should be remembered that all sellers of one commodity are located together in the market. They may be seated under a tree, as are the women who sell cooked foods, or in a line under a common set of stick and mat shelters, or in a common section under several shelters like the tailors and sellers of cloth. What is important here is that sellers of any one commodity can overhear what prices are being charged to buyers. The early morning sellers, if alone, may have no norm and consequently, may haggle with buyers for quite some time over price unless they wish to sell all their wares early in order to transact other business, drink beer, visit friends and so on. As more sellers arrive, most buyers check prices with all sellers of the same commodity before making a purchase. (If prices are constant and the item is sold by the measure, then the various measures used by the different sellers are carefully inspected so that any smaller measuring vessels may be avoided). From these practices a norm very quickly emerges which lasts almost the entire market day, given a plentiful supply of the commodity. If, however, the item becomes scarce then individual sellers, realizing that some of their competitors are out of stock, or have left the market, (1) raise prices. Contrarily, if the end of market day is approaching and stocks are high, prices can be

(1) Some commodity sellers with slightly more money were observed to buy out one or more of their competitors early in the day in order to control supplies and prices for that day more easily.

443 435 pushed down by a nonchalant buyer with an anxious seller whose sales for that day have been low.

This above description has exaggerated the price fluctuations to some extent. With many items, prices hold as constants for long periods and become an institutionalized part of the market. Thus a box of sugar cubes is one shilling and only very rarely did this price ever 443 vary in the entire period of the field work. Even with prices that did 435 vary, it is the writer's opinion that European travellers and commenta- 437 tors on Africa have overstressed the haggling up and down variability of prices in African markets because of their own experiences. Certainly, market sellers like to haggle over price and do so with all the enjoy- [609] ment of the hardened poker player bluffing at cards. However, only to [829] the European, who is conceived of as infinitely wealthy, do prices range so widely. When the writer attended his first markets, sellers haggled wildly and prices ranged enormously to him and to his wife. However, with time, the "real" prices were learned and the range within which [609] haggling could take place narrowed significantly. If the writer then attended a new market where he was unknown, except as a European, then the range widened again and sometimes the seller would refuse to come anywhere near the "real" price claiming in Kanuri to his associates and the world in general that a European should pay more than an African. Friends always instructed the writer on the "real" price, telling him not to allow a price to be raised simply because he was a European. This "real" price is something which can be easily overlooked in an open market where haggling is the format of the buyer-seller relationship. Bartering may range widely or narrowly, but the experienced buyer and seller both know quite well, within a very small margin, where the final price will be set. This is why the really tenacious bartering comes at

443 the very end of the haggling. Thus it may take only two or three min-
435 utes to narrow a seller down from fifteen shillings to something a-
437 round five; but will it be 5/6d or 4/6d; 4/9d or 5/3d; or 5/- even? - this last seesaw in pricing may take fifteen or twenty minutes. For although norms of price may be set for market day or longer on any commodity, there is always a small range of a few pennies around the norm which can be called the "real" price. This is not a single price, but really a range within which serious haggling takes place.

435 Finally, it should be noted that price in Bornu vary with
221 the seasons. In general, the harvest period from November to the end of December is a time of plenty, while July and August, the growing season, is a time of shortage. Prices on all commodities, except food, fall during the wet season when incomes are at their lowest and men are taking time off from their dry season activity to tend their fields. They then rise around the harvests when cash crops are sold and money is more plentiful. Thus the Maria Theresa dollar can be bought for 6/9d to 7/- in July, but goes up as high 8/- to 9/- in November after the
[262] harvests. Food is scarce during the wet season, surplus sellers are short (some even stop selling) and prices of bulk (per 200 lbs. bag) rise when other prices are falling. Similarly when other commodities are rising in price after the harvest, food, which is plentiful, falls in value.

The Organization of Trade

443 At the local level in Bornu, trade is handled by retailers. Under this heading come sellers of food items, cooked and uncooked foods, sundries, medicine, charms, medical services, builders, etc. With one

443 With one
[442] exception,[1] locally produced items such as medical services, pottery,
[438] meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are bérzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust).[2] Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
442 has lived in Magumeri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
443 from Hadejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] (1) Gworongo, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is pro-
[302] duced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

438 mai gida[1] who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The
442 Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 10lbs. per bag) on
443 credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had
[578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximate-
571 ly 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

[192] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used
[571] to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Maguneri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate bèrzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

[439]

[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it evey after he has become inactive in the role.

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of barsum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the shkelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 443 43 [455] in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 443 445 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 [192] [103] Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week [196] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you 443 484 438 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

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651 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.(1)

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651 From the earliest records extant of the Kanuri empire in Kanem right up until the arrival of the British, a system of tax exemption obtained called the Kahram. Although it most often applied to religious mallams, who were recognized in this way for their esoteric knowledge in matters of law and religion, special services to the king were sometimes
[212] rewarded in the same way. These exemptions were always recorded in writ-
[451] ing, so that when the British arrived and began instituting their own form of universal taxation many of these documents, some claiming 990 years of
[114] exemption, turned up. They were collected, translated and subsequently published by Palmer.(2)

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692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Kainin Kanendi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanendi were twelve
[693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

442 level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have
437 done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him,
452 his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he
159 were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took
[521] several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

441 AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's
466 older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a
452 relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concu-
472 bine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in
571 Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the
592 near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organi-
159 zation.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

[434] The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[455] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439] sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

A network of European trading companies exists throughout
439 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
442 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
473 The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[102] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

437 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The
452 farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him.
441 The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav-
[556] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

178 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trad-
788 ing class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take
556 the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries
441 the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrim-
[554] age, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

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463 commodities; some are wholesalers and others are retailers;
441 some are very wealthy men dealing in large quantities of goods while others buy and sell small amounts and count their profits in pennies. Some, as will be seen, center their trade activities in the market-place; others are never involved in trade in the market, but do their buying and selling entirely in private homes or in canteens.

463 The Kanuri recognize many distinctions in the types of
441 trade in which one may be engaged. These distinctions are re-
192 flected in their vocabulary. Four general types of tradesmen
[452] are recognized: balasma (or ribama)--one who buys and sells at a profit (riba means profit), paying for the goods, which were originally obtained on credit, after the sale; sabarma--one who buys in one place, pays for his goods in cash, then takes them elsewhere and sells them at a profit (saber means trade); dilelma--a broker or commission agent (dilel means commission). The dilelma arranges sales between prospective buyer and prospective seller and takes his commission from one or the other, depending on who first contacted him, and for whom he is attempting to obtain the most favorable price. Lastly, the fatoma is a dilelma who operates in a large town, from his house, as is indicated by the name fatoma (fato means house). People coming into town with goods to sell, primarily livestock, are accommodated in the fatoma's house while he seeks out prospective buyers, arranges for the sale at the best possible price, and takes a commission from the sale-price paid to his guest, the seller.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 142]

441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fɔtkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taboɔrma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fɔtkema are organized under a head man; the taboɔrma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taboɔrma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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178

[GEIDAM]

44 438 439 563 [815] en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy Kanuri-style gowns, bajis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Lastly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 439 177 External trade remains to be considered. This is the process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 439 177 952 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to wholesalers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily receive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balasma in Kanuri terms. [556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in [592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households, [971] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

[GEIDAM]

44 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the
439 surrounding villages that are not large enough to support can-
177 teens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and
452 sold in this fashion, the balosma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, saborma,
44 who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore
439 cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the
177 Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shop-keepers directly from the trading companies who import them
E65 through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to taborma. Taborma, who are Kanuri, further break

[GEIDAM]

44 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of
439 matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kero-
177 sene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cow-
[237] hides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same Euro-
[34] pean trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts
44 as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth,
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452 once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the
244 use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balɔsma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into
[448] the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

[GEIDAM]

44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[448] [465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
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[BEIDAM]

Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy 177 Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44 fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439 554 ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 452 who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439 of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276 The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494] by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435] the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492] to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

175 439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
175 436 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
175 441 452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 441 452 563 [167] Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europeans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

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The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilised for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradersas well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

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The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones.(1)

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The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

874 882 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguinal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's" house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resem-
[578] blance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

[441] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years
[452] of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

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882 it up because, as he said, it entailed the constant giving of credit
[441] to his customers and he never seemed to be able to collect all the
[452] money owing to him. His full brother in Maiduguri (who had been his wholesale supplier) advised him that barbering was a good occupation and that one of the local barbers in Magumeri needed a tada njima because his own son was as yet too young to help him. The boy went and asked the barber about it and then made his own arrangements for the apprenticeship (the barber knew the boy's kinsmen). He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became a tada njima. He could visit his own compound in which his mother lived by herself and keep up his own farm. He had to help the barber on his farm, get grass for his horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his aba njima (father of the house). The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working, sometimes with his senior, sometimes alone. By right, all receipts of his work during that year were supposed to be given to the barber. Naturally, he pocketed an occasional fee, but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and therefore the end of his projected career as a barber. The senior could, if he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber tools. The barber fed him, clothed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events, like naming ceremonies, he was given a small tip (one to two shillings) by the household head because of his role as barber's apprentice, which he kept for himself. In 1957, he moved back to his own compound with his mother. He still considers himself a tada njima of the bar-

231 463 435 434 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d. to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional income of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/- per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between 4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0. for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission" because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about £167.0.0.

434 [452] However, he does not actually take in all this income as cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He complained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems [511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarizes the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX

Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance
44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

442 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakama) who wishes
572 to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time
442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers.(1) Retailers also use stan-
452 dards of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but
572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguinal kin, Ajimi does artend credit if requested and this is fairly often. He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a "friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

442 When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bukar is
571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father".
[602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to describe what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a barzum relationship with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be arranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the lock-

(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distribute anywhere from two to six.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar (1) and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Kaguneri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 439 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maiduguri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Nakurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 438 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought groundnuts for sale in the capital.

441 571 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its bbrzun (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 452 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This [511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 439 563 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms.(1) This system has been attacked by local Bornu politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine trad- [452] ers, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

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(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

452 not heal easily.

452 Money may also be obtained in small quantities from a local
426 money-lender, whose usual interest charge is twenty-five to fifty per cent over a short time span of one to six months. These loans may or may not include ran (collateral) in which the indebted individual puts up
452 a robe, a cow, a sheep, or some of his cash crop as collateral. This
426 latter method of putting up some of the cash crop has developed in the
455 last decade or so into a virtual selling of futures, rather than simple utilization of the crop as collateral. A man who needs money during the growing season can obtain cash for the promise of so much of his cash crop. Since the prices of the crop have been stabilized by the government, the money-lender is fairly certain of the margin of his return. During 1956-57, when groundnuts were bringing 35/- per bag, a man could get 20/- to 25/- per bag from a money-lender for his crops after the plants had germinated. Just how much of this goes on is difficult to say, for it is illegal, and is also carried on by cash crop buyers who have much larger cash reserves than local money-lenders. Again, it is customary, where possible, for a man who has sold a future, to try and save enough money from his non-farming occupation to buy someone else's future, so that at harvest time he can still obtain his yearly cash harvest. This obviously tends to spread the indebtedness, but to what extent is at present unknown.

426 If informants' reports are to be trusted, it would seem as if the actual amount of indebtedness at the local rural level at any one time in Bornu is very small, rising slightly during the growing season.(1)

(1) The writer's own rough calculation of rural indebtedness comes from a small sample of budgets. The only constant indebtedness which turned up was in the realm of operating expenses (see above p. 307); 18% of operating expenses among fifteen peasant male household heads was being carried on credit. This came to only 2% of the total annual expenditures for the budget sample.

452 But credit *per se* plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of *birzum*
571 and *aran* are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the *sakelma* (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

441 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to
571 obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of
436 Malam Mina's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European
441 trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Mina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/im-
[433] port economy. Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

178 441 necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism. Ultimately the unrecognised low status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status.(1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

441 434 It is because of the very low consumption level that there is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested(2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entrepreneurs. On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodities alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

441 452

(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.
(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7.

441 the extended household organisation of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi
452 could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organisations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have
571 [177] been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri
571 society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdoma, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived completely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
[434] and small sundries. All her life and increasingly so with old age, the peasant woman raises a little extra cash for herself by doing petty trading or obtaining some raw foodstuffs either from her own garden in the compound, or buying it with her own money and preparing it for sale in either the large weekly markets or a small daily market stall. With old age she merely extends this activity into a full-time occupation.

888 Women from high ranking households remain in the compounds
565 of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high ranking man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
565 turns to a household of her consanguinal relatives. Many of these
454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries, and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermediaries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
565
454 into old age.

888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
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[596] for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

556 571 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 183 What this means is that the ideal of kbre (wise generosity) is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption. [454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings, which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation [123] and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of bɔrzum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 443 43 [455] in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 443 445 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 [192] [103] Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week [796] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you 443 484 438 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

452 not heal easily.

452 Money may also be obtained in small quantities from a local
426 money-lender, whose usual interest charge is twenty-five to fifty per cent over a short time span of one to six months. These loans may or may not include ran (collateral) in which the indebted individual puts up
452 a robe, a cow, a sheep, or some of his cash crop as collateral. This
426 latter method of putting up some of the cash crop has developed in the
455 last decade or so into a virtual selling of futures, rather than simple utilization of the crop as collateral. A man who needs money during the growing season can obtain cash for the promise of so much of his cash crop. Since the prices of the crop have been stabilized by the government, the money-lender is fairly certain of the margin of his return. During 1956-57, when groundnuts were bringing 55/- per bag, a man could get 20/- to 25/- per bag from a money-lender for his crops after the plants had germinated. Just how much of this goes on is difficult to say, for it is illegal, and is also carried on by cash crop buyers who have much larger cash reserves than local money-lenders. Again, it is customary, where possible, for a man who has sold a future, to try and save enough money from his non-farming occupation to buy someone else's future, so that at harvest time he can still obtain his yearly cash harvest. This obviously tends to spread the indebtedness, but to what extent is at present unknown.

426 If informants' reports are to be trusted, it would seem as if the actual amount of indebtedness at the local rural level at any one time in Bornu is very small, rising slightly during the growing season.(1)

(1) The writer's own rough calculation of rural indebtedness comes from a small sample of budgets. The only constant indebtedness which turned up was in the realm of operating expenses (see above p. 307); 18% of operating expenses among fifteen peasant male household heads was being carried on credit. This came to only 2% of the total annual expenditures for the budget sample.

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilize the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groundnuts have been as follows:(1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ø
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

ø Maiduguri market (average)
ø General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

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These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

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Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

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Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds, and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

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(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

565
556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
436
437 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
[425] is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through eco-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
592
565 head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>barzam</u> or <u>dareja</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For Kanuri attitudes toward various occupations see categories 829, 554, and also category 116, pp. 303-318.]

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with shelter and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce, both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

563 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or
829 confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana or Gwoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status people - kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a
[464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri
[273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri
[461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still regarded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is probable that the existence of urban classes and a nobility among the Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Gwoza and the Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kanuri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calculated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season, he does not produce for the market at all; but takes private orders which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

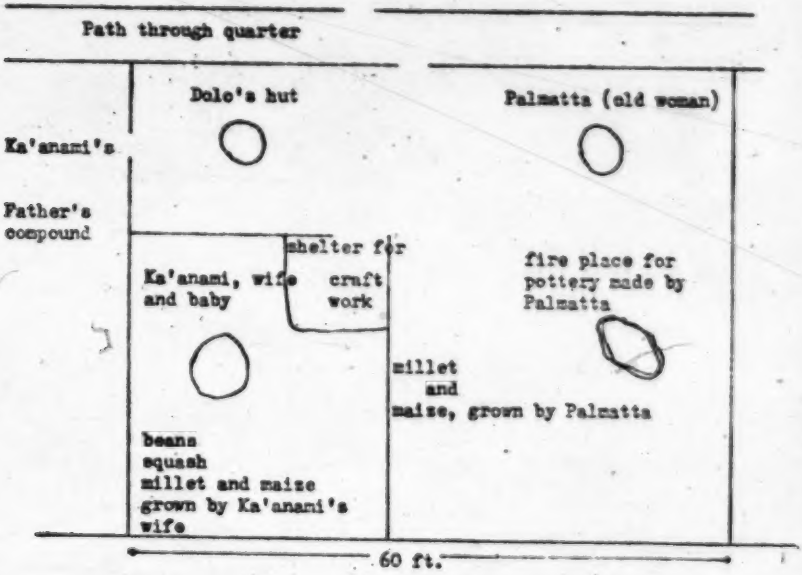
435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from 3/3 to 5/- or about 4/ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about 3/-
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him a cash income of approximately £45.0.0. when this is added to his crop production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at £86.0.0.

461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Besides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossipping and moralizing about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

461 on the gourds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

178 415 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

592 351 Ka'anami's Compound



241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

592 461

231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Bukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[73] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a catastrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

592 In addition to the formal relationships between master and slave, and between adopted son and chibuna, described above, there are informal ways through which an individual may become attached to a household. Every adult must be attached to some household. Since the minimal household is represented by a man and his wife, a divorced couple marks the end of their household. Each of them, man and woman, must now attach himself to another household. The primary reason for this is economic--and it makes itself felt immediately in the problem of food. A man without a wife has no one to cook for him. Since no Kanuri man would ever cook for himself (cooking and preparation of food are tasks confined to women), he must attach himself to the household of a friend, neighbor, or close relative, and regularly take his meals there. However, it is somewhat shameful to continue on in this position, and a man who had recently divorced his wife tends to take another wife before long, thereby re-establishing his own household. The woman, after a divorce, goes back to her luwali, and becomes a zogor who lives in his household until she remarries. She, too, becomes a temporary member of her luwali's household and takes her meals with the women of that household. The luwali has the responsibility of offering a roof to his ward after her divorce, and it is not uncommon to find a zogor living for a time as a part of a large household. Men will regularly come to court her, and in time she will remarry and leave her luwali's household.

There is still another way to become part of a large house-

are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kalana in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

[GEIDAM]

44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retail-
ing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[563] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are
vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others
they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or
Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized
product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[442] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women
who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the
sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods,
of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by
Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and
the entire range of household goods noted above. Included
within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the
craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins,
etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents per-
haps the single most important imported item, and items like
enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third
of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of
condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most
sell typically local Kanuri items. The taborma sells imported

[GEIDAM]

796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (<u>beiam</u>). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

12 in choosing households.(1) An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of 592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Itd economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

462 592 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking [434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

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[114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labour-
[463] ers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics,
[177] clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European
562 origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say
592 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and in kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving
562 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery
323 production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/
000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>serwa</u> (co-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4.5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of interest one is struck by the similarities and the differences in their lives as compared to similar groups in western society. Like young men everywhere they discussed the merits of various occupations, the economic returns, the power and prestige to be gained from one or the other type of job, and so on. Unlike their counterparts in western society, they also spend a great deal of time discussing the qualities of "the big men" in Bornu and the benefits received by loyal followers of these men. They are keenly aware, or try to be, of whose fortunes are rising and falling among the big men and listen with great interest to some new tidbit of information to this effect. Like their counterparts elsewhere teenagers learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble, and drink alcoholic beverages during this period. School boys also learn western table manners and take periodic meals in the places that serve western style food.

One of the most important features of a Kanuri boy's adolescence is his choice of training for an occupation. All young boys learn the fundamentals of farming in the households of their youth since almost all compound heads in Bornu, except some in the city, have farms. In some rural villages boys will learn nothing else but farming and probably remain farmers all their lives. On the other hand the majority of Kanuri boys learn another occupation which they will practice during the dry season or the non-farming season. For most boys the choice is determined ahead of time by the elders of the household, or by the economic specializations in their own vicinity. For example, one boy whose father is a salt retailer and who lives with his father in the ward of the dyers has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households. In general boys are expected to take up the occupation of their fathers unless they or their parents have strong desires and an opportunity to do something else. There is much evidence to show that in making the decision the wishes of the young boys were taken into account. Thus one young man remarked that he would never comply with his father's desire that he become a butcher. Instead he started to work with his father's younger brother in the nearby compound and is learning to be a trader in hides and skins. Today a large range of new occupations is opening up; modernization has served to accelerate this degree of freedom simply because there are many more occupations and a wider range of potential income.

Kanuri occupations other than farming usually involve some apprenticeship, especially for young boys. Such training varies with the kind of job being learned, with the age of the boy, and with the nature of the relationship between the boy and the man teaching him the occupation. If an occupation has a higher status or there is an expectation of high income or prestige associated with it, the person doing an apprenticeship must expect a longer training period in return for having been admitted into an advantageous position. Thus truck drivers who make a comparatively high income demand a fee besides three to five years of service from the person taken on as an apprentice. Butchers occupy a low-status position in the society, but they can also earn fairly good incomes and therefore they, too, claim longer than usual apprenticeship. As the boy becomes older, it is expected that his training period will become shorter, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun, the longer the education. This simply reflects Kanuri recognition of the more rapid learning that comes with age.

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate

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of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

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423 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer,
592 simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they
241 are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader
423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings.
[428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in
[691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams
[241] or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering.
[221] These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in
467 each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived
[622] in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather
[178] worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

463 592 159 571 [253] [554] [177] their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. [428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the [241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] [964] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also [434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 592 571 253 159 434 [221] [572] The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 829 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

648 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[131] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and
563 are numerous in the western sections of the province. In sim-
177 ilar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[463] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition, political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural assistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They function as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Village Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers. Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri community.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

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692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

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779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
876 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the
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369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 [622] Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [593] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sagdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

632 565 342 556 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks, with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are similar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern, [363] [492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 [563] Wards may have different characters, especially in large towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided [463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 361 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's [614] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

ooo Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
366 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a
368 town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
632 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves
463 strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
171 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more
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There is still another way to become part of a large house-
592 hold. This is the most informal of the various sets of rela-
369 tionships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is ex-
369 tremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
874 some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
463 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector,
571 and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the kəmanzə fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
564 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554
463 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
[441] the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

114 in the town proper, in a Kanuri house, since it was obviously
36 impossible to live as all other Europeans did, more than a mile
177 from the Kanuri people, surrounded by fellow White men.

1. Foci of Communal activity.

36 If an archeologist living centuries in the future were to excavate the ruins of Geidam, he would be able to establish from the physical characteristics of the community that this was undoubtedly an urban community, provided that he excavated with great care. He would find a large area, the market-place, devoted to trade; specialized structures devoted to religious activity, in particular the large central mosque; and others devoted to the government bureaucracy, the largest of these being the Ajari, the 'palace' of the District Head. In addition, he would note great differences in the size of dwelling places or compounds, and would infer that households varied widely in size; [463] this would imply social stratification. Lastly, there would be revealed economic specialization in different sections of the town, indicating the presence of specialized craftsmen. On the basis of solely physical evidence, Geidam would be considered an urban community.

This view is strengthened considerably if one looks at the activities of the people of Geidam. However, as we are still concerned with the physical nature of the community, let us first examine the activities of the townspeople in relation to the various sections of the town, which serve as foci of communal activity.

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632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serokin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dagora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
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[285]
[463]

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632 621 they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koidi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Craftsmen who make the fine sitting mat (boji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

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him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

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are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

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The second category is the tradesmen. They depend less on a special craft ability than on their general skills in buying and selling at a profit. Through their knowledge of the operation of the economic system they assist in the distribution of goods, and earn their livelihood by taking for themselves a percentage of the value of goods which pass through their hands. The tradesmen and the craftsmen are two specialized groups within the social system of the town of Geidam whose activities are largely centered within the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The third category of specialists typically found in an urban community are specialists in maintaining the bureaucracy, and though there is an economic component to their activities, these fall more properly within a consideration of the political organization, so that discussion of the role of this group of specialists will be deferred.

Table III lists the major types of craftsmen found in Geidam, and notes in addition whether they are organized under a single head, whether they are localized in one section of the town, and the extent of their participation in the market. The seventeen types of craftsmen listed in Table III are all full-time specialists. They are highly skilled at their craft, and no Geidam man would attempt to perform for himself the services, or to manufacture the products, which the craftsmen supply. Eight crafts in Geidam are each organized under a single head. The head of a craft group such as the barbers, or the butchers, is appointed by the Ajia of Geidam and is given a kulugu as a mark of office.

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Table III

Major Types of Craftsmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In market: works	In market: sells
Barber	*			*	*	*
Blacksmith	*			*	*	*
Bəji-maker		*	*			*
Butcher	*		*		*	*
Calabash decorator		*		*		*
Dyer	*		*			
Fishermen	*			*		
House builder		*		*		
Leather-worker		*		*	*	*
Potter		*	*			*
Praise-singer	*		*			
Səgdi-maker		*	*			*
Sewing machine operator	*			*	*	*
Shoemaker		*		*		*
Tanner	*		*			*
Well-digger		*	*			
Wood-worker		*		*	*	*

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463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the draftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
621 and sogdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[563] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice
[574] of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

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Table IV

Less Specialized Craftsmen in the Geidam Economy

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In Market: works	In Market: sells
Beggars		*		*		
Charm sellers		*		*		*
Grooms		*		*		
Hair setters		*		*		
Hunters		*		*		
Transporters		*	*			
Water carriers		*	*			
Wood cutters		*	*			*

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463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa--
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

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463 441 commodities; some are wholesalers and others are retailers; some are very wealthy men dealing in large quantities of goods while others buy and sell small amounts and count their profits in pennies. Some, as will be seen, center their trade activities in the market-place; others are never involved in trade in the market, but do their buying and selling entirely in private homes or in canteens.

463 441 192 [452] The Kanuri recognize many distinctions in the types of trade in which one may be engaged. These distinctions are reflected in their vocabulary. Four general types of tradesmen are recognized: balasma (or ribama)--one who buys and sells at a profit (riba means profit), paying for the goods, which were originally obtained on credit, after the sale; sabarma--one who buys in one place, pays for his goods in cash, then takes them elsewhere and sells them at a profit (saber means trade); dilelma--a broker or commission agent (dilel means commission). The dilelma arranges sales between prospective buyer and prospective seller and takes his commission from one or the other, depending on who first contacted him, and for whom he is attempting to obtain the most favorable price. Lastly, the fatoma is a dilelma who operates in a large town, from his house, as is indicated by the name fatoma (fato means house). People coming into town with goods to sell, primarily livestock, are accommodated in the fatoma's house while he seeks out prospective buyers, arranges for the sale at the best possible price, and takes a commission from the sale-price paid to his guest, the seller.

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Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

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441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fətkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taborma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fətkema are organized under a head man; the taborma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taborma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
177
178

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the
178 market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[191] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

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634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
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554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[863] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
565
871 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

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1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[462] [462] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Gei-dam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[297] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 463 565 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief

595 565 554 463 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

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Table VI

Age at First Marriage

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	...35
Aristocracy							1		1		1		2								
Koranic Malams							1					1		1							
Canteen Traders							1		1				1	1			2				
NA Malams						2		1	1			1					1				
Kabuna				1		1	1					1		1							1
Craftsmen				1	2				1										1	1	
Talaka						3	1		1		1	1		1							
Low-status	1								1					1							
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1	1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

582 The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin)
587 and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length.
565 Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə
463 yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Un-
554 der a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four cate-
gories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom
[183] four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is
for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage.
Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaska or a Zogor

	a. Present wives		b. First wife		c. All previous wives	
	kalə yaska	zogor	kalə yaska	zogor	kalə yaska	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	-	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

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582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

593 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two
562 individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound
565 but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower cate-
554
463 gories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives secluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75
586 (mean is 4.88). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205]

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Table X

X a

Total Number of Wives per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy		1		1			1		2												
Koranic Malams			1		2																
Canteen Traders					1	1	2		1	1											
NA Malams			3	1				1								1					
Kabuna					2	1		1		1	1										
Craftsmen		1				2		1	1									1			
Talaka		2			1			1	1					1			1				1
Low-status	1			1					1					1							
Totals:	1	4	4	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1

median = 5.5
mean = 6.4

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X b
Number of Divorces per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy	1		1		1		1	1													
Koranic Malams		1	2																		
Canteen Traders		1	2		1		2														
NA Malams	2	1	1			1								1							
Kabuna			2	1			1		1	1											
Craftsmen	1				2	1		1								1					
Talaka	1	1		1			1	1					1			1				1	
Low-status	1		1					1					1								
Totals:	6	4	9	2	4	2	5	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

median = 3.75
mean = 4.88

586 565 554 463 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalo yaskas have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa

Number of Living Children

163 565 554 463

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

[GEIDAN]

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning
Kabuna	-	
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11
	8	

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə. This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Koranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invariably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who survived were given away, and grew up in the household of another family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the great love for children and desire to have children. However, those who have borne a child have indicated their ability to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives who have no children of their own, and who are probably unable to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediately after the child was weaned; two were given away at later ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not have an adequate home at the time.

have an adequate home at the time.

634 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima
351 Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table
592 XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zagosa of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 The principles of household affiliation have been de-
565 scribed in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual
554 composition of forty-three households is presented. In each
463 row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

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Table XIIa

Household Composition

	wives	children	tata nlima	relatives	wife's relatives	zogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Aristocracy (minus Yerima)	2	1	1	-	WiYoSi	ElBrDa	1	-	4	8
	1	1	2	FaCou	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 friend's children	3	7
Koranic Malams	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7
	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	student	2	7
Canteen Traders	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	-	0	5
	2	0	-	YoBr + Wi	-	-	-	-	6	9
	3	1	2	YoBr+Wi+Da	-	-	2	-	4	9
	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
	2	0	5	-	-	-	-	friend+Wi	7	10
	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	malam+Wi: 5 students	11	19
NA Malams	1 (1 chir)	1	7	YoBr;YoSi	-	1	-	-	10	14
	2	2	-	YoBr	-	-	-	Fa's chibuna + Wi	3	8
	1	1	-	2 YoBr	WiYoSi	-	-	-	3	6
	2	2	2	ElBrSo	(ElWiYoBr (ElWiYoSi	1	-	-	6	11
	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
	1	-	1	FaBrSo	-	cousin	-	-	3	5

[BEIDAM]

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Table XIIa (continued)

	wives	children	tata nlima	relatives	wife's relatives	sogoro	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Kabuna	2	0	1	-	-	YoWiYoSi	-	YoWi's chibuna	3	6
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	0	0	-	-	-	YoSi	-	-	1	2
	2	3	1	ElBrSo	-	-	-	-	2	8
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	1	0	2	Mo	-	-	-	-	2	5
Craftsmen	1	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	2	0	-	MoBrSo	-	-	-	-	1	4
	2	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
Talaka	1	0	-	-	-	-	ElBrSo	-	1	3
	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	0	0	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	Wi's gr.so	-	-	-	1	3
Low-status	0	0	-	(lives in ElBr's house)					-	4
	1	0	-	-	WiElBrDa	-	-	-	1	3
	1	0	-	2 YoSi cousin	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3

[BEIDAN]

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[GEIDAM]

Table XIIb

Summary of Household Composition Table (XZIa)

Totals for 43 households:

38 Tata njima

21 relatives of household head: 3 Mo; 6 YoBr (2 with wives, 1 YoBrDa); 3 YoSi; 2 ElBrSo; 4 cousins

6 relatives of wife of household head: 3 WiYoSi; 1 WiYoBr; 1 WiElBrDa; 1 Wi's grandson.

7 zogors: 4 relatives; 3 not family.

6 chibuna

16 others: comprising - Wi's chibuna; Fa's chibuna + Wife; malam + Wi and 5 students; friend + Wi; 3 friends' children; student of Koranic malam.

Mean Number of Tata Njima and mean number of Non-nuclear family in Household

	Tata Njima	Yal Members	Mean size of Total Household
Aristocracy (- Yerima)	1.8	3.5	7.0
Koranic Malams	0	.67	6.67
Canteen Traders	1.5	4.67	10.2
NA Malams	1.8	4.3	8.2
Kabuna	.67	1.3	4.5
Craftsmen	1.0	1.8	3.5
Talaka	.13	.5	2.75
Low-status	0	1.0	3.75

[BEIDAM]

592 of Yerima Mustapha is not included.)
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Household composition has been broken down into the following categories: wives and children (which have already been discussed), tata njima, relatives of the household head, relatives of the wives of the household head, zogors, chibuna named after the household head, and miscellaneous others. The term yal refers to members of the household who are not part of the nuclear families of the household head. The final column gives the total size for each of the forty-three households in the table. It may be seen that household size ranges from two to nineteen members.

Table XIIb presents a summary of the information in Table XIIa. There are 38 tata njima attached to the present 43 households, but in looking at the mean number of tata njima in the various categories, it is apparent that they are found largely in four categories: those of the aristocracy, the canteen traders, the NA Malams and the craftsmen. Tata njima included in Table XIIa are only those actually living in the compound of the household head. The canteen traders in particular have a number of tata njima who are married and live in their own compounds but return to their "master's" house to eat their meals. These have not been included here. Relatives of the household head are primarily younger siblings (6 YoBr; 3 YoSi) and some even have their wives and children with them. There are three cases of mothers living with mar-
592 ried sons, but no fathers. In no case of the present 44

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592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson.
592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat-
586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away
597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are
565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in
463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named
[553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one
592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that
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592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that
592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
554 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table
463 XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of
[162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

567 status of slave therefore does not really exist as an important determinant in defining the place of these people within the Geidam community structure.

565 In terms of the traditional stratification system, most of the people of Geidam are talaka, neither aristocracy nor slaves.

2. Urban Social Structure.

463 The second variable, urban social structure, is much more 369 important in defining social stratification in Geidam. Most 565 Geidamites are specialists of one sort or another. In contrast to the village farming population, most of the people of Geidam make a living by practicing some special skill. They are middlemen in trade, craftsmen, religious specialists and bureaucrats in the political system. It is primarily this differentiation which defines the community as an urban community.

463 One might divide the various specialties found in the 568 community of Geidam in a number of ways. Specialties requiring manual skills might be contrasted with those requiring intellectual abilities; specialties requiring long periods of training might be grouped and compared with those requiring only a little specialized training. The approach adopted here in dividing the various specialists in the Geidam community into groups which might be compared is to look at the sphere of culture with which each of these groups of specialists is concerned. Thus there are several groups of specialists in

463 565 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. The Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

86 177 The third variable which must be considered in looking at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of con- [554] tact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

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177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[941] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

6. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

124 gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited
565 here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet per-
463 form some non-skilled activity in addition to farming.
Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

[559] 8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

124 The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and categories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions
125 of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing
124 with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115 1.	Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
• 463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792] 2.	Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zamabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441] 3.	Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634] 4.	NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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[634]

5. **Kabuna:** (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kengadi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. **Craftsmen:** (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kolidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kolidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. **Taleka:** (8)	Adamu-	a taberma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Farashama-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fatkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

115 8. Low-status Individuals:

551 (4) Bukar Mandalma- a tanner.

554 Yahuda Gundama- a praise-singer and drummer.

124 Mastapha Mandalma- a tanner.

463 Abdu Gurzam- a butcher.

Total: 44 individuals.

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*177 consistent with their desire to educate their children in West-
634 ern schools.

Since the group of Kabuna are a part of the political organization, they are able to realize the advantages of certain behavioral alternatives introduced by contact. Though they themselves do not interact with agents of Western culture, and are consequently not a very acculturated group, they show a degree of acculturation in their attitudes towards Western medicine and education. Their own aspirations are traditional but they favor Western education for their children, presumably because Western education is a factor in present day political advancement, and they favor Western aspirations for their sons. They appear to be a stable group according to the proposed criteria.

*177 6. Craftsmen. The Craftsmen are the most consistently un-
463 acculturated group of the eight. Though their responses do not indicate extreme degrees of conservatism, they are remarkably consistent in their choice of unacculturated responses. They are less likely to fast than other groups (Item 20), and they state that they would visit a European doctor (Item 22), though they prefer Kanuri treatment to European treatment for 4 of the 6 diseases. They are close to the mid-point for all three items dealing with education (Items 32-34), and themselves show a very slight preference for Western occupations (35) though their aspirations for their sons are strongly in the direction of traditional Kanuri occupations (36). They are slightly more per-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 352]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[GEIDAM]

Table XLV

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE GHAFFORNE

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

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1. knowledge of Hausa
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Tsaro Kbule
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Mbiam

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Hausa
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Babur
41. marry a Tarube
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

*177 missive about allowing their wives to work (43).

● 463 Not only do the Craftsmen present the fewest number of acculturated responses (6 in all), but in items where they do show themselves to be acculturated the response is not marked. One might therefore say that they are the most stably unacculturated group of all.

*177 565 7. Talaka. The most striking feature about the Talaka profile is the way in which it remains close to the baseline. The most extreme response is that concerning possession of a horse (10) which is not diagnostic of degree of acculturation. No other response exceeds a value of 32. This is true of no other profile. Excluding the three items that are not indicative of degree of acculturation, 20 items fall on the unacculturated side, and 19 fall on the acculturated side (one is at the mid-point). But for no less than 12 items the response is within a value of 4 from the mid-point--in other words the degree of deviation from the mid-point is of no significance for those items.

The group of Talaka cannot be characterized as generally acculturated or generally unacculturated. They are like the Canteen Operators in this respect, but unlike the canteen operators they are not an inconsistent group. Their responses do not swing wildly from acculturated to unacculturated and within each behavioral area they tend to be consistent. They are unacculturated with respect to language and to the possession of material goods. They are slightly acculturated in their attitudes towards these items, though at no point do they show ex-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

[GEIDAN]

*177 of these indicate that the NA Malams have not rejected important Kanuri values in the course of their acculturation. Though they are a very acculturated group, they are in no danger of drifting away from Kanuri culture and becoming deviants. Consequently they are a stable group, with clearly defined roles and mutually understood expectations and obligations. Other Kanuri can understand the NA Malam, and the NA Malam himself realizes the "self" that he wishes to convey without having to affirm his Kanuri identity through exaggerated behavior.

*177 The Craftsmen represent the opposite extreme of an unacculturated and stable group. Their primary role requires highly skilled and specialized behavior of them and their status is respected in the community. Although their activities are primarily within the economic area, the range of individuals with whom they interact is narrow and they have little or no direct contact with agents of Western society. Their knowledge of languages and of writing is slight. They have few Western goods, nor do they know much about these items. They are not very strict about fasting and drinking beer, but in other areas they adhere strongly to Kanuri values, such as taking disputes for arbitration and giving gifts of charity. They show a slight inclination to favor European doctors, and they favor Western occupations though their aspirations for their sons are strongly traditional. They are not very conservative about education generally. The overall picture of the Craftsmen is of a group that is obviously not very acculturated, but their responses,

*177 though consistently in the unacculturated direction, are not
• 463 strongly conservative. They are a consistent, though not an exaggeratedly, conservative group, and in some areas (medical treatment, education) they appear receptive to change. The Craftsmen are a group whose position within Kanuri society has led to a minimum of interaction with agents of Western culture, so that they have remained an unacculturated and stable group. This situation, too, may change if: (a) Western technology is introduced and alters traditional Kanuri craft techniques while retaining the craftsmen themselves, or, (b) imported Western goods begin to compete more directly with the goods and services produced by the Craftsmen. In either instance, one would predict that the Craftsmen would begin to show a higher degree of acculturation and a loss in stability as a group.

*177 The Canteen Operators are an intermediary group in their
441 degree of acculturation and the most unstable group which was studied. Many of the inconsistencies in the behavior of the Canteen Operators seem to be explained in terms of hypothesis 3. Unlike the NA Malams who themselves derive from the Aristocracy, or from households of traditional political leaders, the Canteen Operators as a group derive from the Talaka. They have risen most rapidly in the accumulation of wealth, and through their newly acquired wealth they have sought to achieve power and prestige. Because of the rapid changes in their status, their roles are not as clearly defined as the roles of

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[For information on occupational specialization associated with particular ethnic minorities and non-Kanuri groups, see category 563.]

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

175
692 whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper
693 of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the
[645] third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175
692 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu
643 served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjud-
[631] ication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175
182 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with
463 its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in
[44] Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.
175 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A
439 complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

178
642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained. [701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organization. [692] Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation [652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178
633 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
463 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
433 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
439 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178
642 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

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648 out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over
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651 in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilisation
[166] by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

175 In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to
648 strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted
645 a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organization, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

175 The newly introduced European governmental services demanded
463 some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of
871 Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were
[167] necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Ceifam, Magumeri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the *ziu* joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

(184) Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking 571 463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; *mallams* (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers; 614 648 pepper sellers and kola-nut wholesalers. Joking relations also hold between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tàra; Kuburi and Tàra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bàdde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 602 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by
[587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his
[554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He Married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

882 lack of achieved skill in some area of behaviour. This extension of the term for child into adolescence must not be mistaken for the European cultural trait of confusing childhood and adulthood in the adolescent period. It refers not just to a lack of skill, but more generally to a lack of power and authority, and in this sense can be utilized to describe anyone until he is an old man. In this context the term is applied to mean that in some particular manner the person is like a small boy in relation to others around him, i.e. he must defer to them. People do not find this unnatural and even middle aged men may refer to themselves as tada gana (small boy).(1)

883 From the time of true physiological puberty onward, the boy associates more and more with other young zairo and takes part more or less freely in the banter of age-mates, and those slightly older. These young boys go to markets, play together, discuss local gossip and politics, and often joke about possible and actual nocturnal [833] adventures with women. On this last point, boys generally receive their first sexual experiences after puberty from divorced women who may vary in age anywhere from fifteen to fifty. More often that not, it is reported that the first experiences are with older women because of the competition for the younger sexually accessible females, (i.e. those who are divorced). Like young men everywhere they discuss the merits of various occupations, the desirability of rural or urban life, but also speak to one another at great length about the qualities of various "big men" (kam kura) in Bornu, and the benefits received by their followers. Today, boys also learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble and to drink intoxicating liquors during this period.

882 463 _____ A primary function of this age status for adolescent boys

(1) See below, p. 174.

882 is occupational choice and training. For most boys the choice is
463 determined by the elders of the household in which they are living or by the economic specialization in their own quarter of town or hamlet. One youth, whose father is a small salt retailer and a farmer, lives in a quarter where many of the household heads are dyers. He has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households in order to learn the trade. In general and especially for rural areas, sons in a household are expected to take up the occupation of the household head.

This should not be thought of, however, as a system in which the young boy merely complies with the wishes of his elders. There is much evidence to show that some degree of personal freedom is involved in occupational choice. For example, a butcher's son remarked that, despite his father's wishes, he would never be a butcher and was planning to learn his Fa-Bro occupation of hides and skins trader. This is especially true today if the young boy is sent to the city to stay with a relative while learning a craft. The plethora of new and different occupations in the city may attract the young man and lead him to make his own decisions about his occupation.

274 There is an apprenticeship system for learning occupations
882 which varies in length depending upon the age of the boy, the socio-economic status of the occupation, and the relationship between the boy and the craftsman. As boys become older they expect their apprenticeship times to be shortened, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun the longer the period of training. However, even in the case of a twenty-two year old, a two to three year period is not uncommon. Again, if the occupation has a higher status and/or pecuniary return,

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

000 555 871 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognized, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, 571 [212] own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

871 563 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, September 1955.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high 128 463 554 position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wazirí indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these 125 data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

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TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys *

School: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Wazirl of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Wazirl of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.52	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kaigama (a D.H. today) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kaiguma	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

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School:	Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)		
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2	23	Trader(with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5	24	Village Head	23.94	7.3
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0	25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5	26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9	27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Village Head	27.75	7.1	28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9	29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	Building contractor	28.80	11.1	30	N.A. councillor	29.61	9.4
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6	31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5	32	Kachella Shehube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8	33	Building contractor	31.90	9.6
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4	34	Carpenter	31.94	7.8
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9	35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1	36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Kachella Shehube	35.82	10.4	37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7	38	Small retainer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Trader	36.20	9.4	39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8	40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4	41	Horsedservant	38.62	6.1
42	Horsed servant	38.16	7.5	42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6	43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0	44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0	45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

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Schools:	Senior Primary (younger)			Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4	46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2	47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0	48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0	49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9	50	Weaver	*42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0	51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4	52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1	53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8	54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2	55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N - 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7				N - 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

* Using Spearman's rank order correlation (Rho) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).

** The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

463 554 184 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows, of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush districts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older than for younger boys).

178 463 554 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried appointments, such as Shehu, Wasiri, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head, have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but traditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant of a chief, or Kachella Shehube (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army) have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The exception to this rule is the Koranic mallam who, although not give official support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because 178 463 554 184 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.

TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status Occupations

	Ranking	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a tendency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

178 ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In
463 their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th
554 place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The
[184] main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides
463 the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from
554 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that (1)
554 young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than
[171] in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

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554

er boys, 32nd on the list. This is in accord with the general high value placed on farm ownership and farm production, not farm labour. It is good to have a farm, and this means then that you are a farmer, but it is even better if you can have a labourer or some of your followers work the land for you. Thus farming is not contradictory with high status, only farm labour. The following table summarizes these comparisons.

TABLE VIII

Prestige of White Collar and Manual Labour Occupations

Kind of job		Ranking Younger	Ranking Older Boys
White collar jobs	high	11.9	11.9
Manual labour (European type jobs)	middle	26.9	28.9
Manual labour (Kanuri type jobs)	low	34.1	43.3

The final comparison to be made from the table is that between self-employed as against non-self-employed European occupations. The following table indicates the ranking which these two differently organized sets of occupational roles are given by the schoolboy population. It should be remembered that it is this group among the total population who, more than any others, have open to them the possibility of western type jobs.

TABLE IX

Prestige of the Employment Relations in European Jobs

Kinds of employment relations		Ranking Younger	Ranking Older Boys
Western jobs non-self-employed	high	11.1	14.4
" " self-employed	middle	27.4	27.2

The results indicate that self-employment as it is known by the Kanuri is less highly evaluated than its opposite. Certainly this is a result of the fact that all high status European (and Kanuri) occupa-

463 554 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par-
[613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from
[428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it,
602 one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community
[123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] [648] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [271] [369] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in the large urban centre. 565 463 602 At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities
463 during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry sea-
602 son activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as knanstko (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galabu

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labourers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

[463] [177] 562 592 562 323

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/or other compound members. Another source of labour is the Serwa (co-

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476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Nagumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their manya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Maguneri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishana (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

434

TABLE XIV

Table of Average Non-agricultural Income for 75 Cultivators #

Occupation	Annual income from non-agricultural pursuits (pounds sterling)	% of total annual income in cash and kind
Farmers	0	0
Craftsmen	31	43
Traders	44	67
Political and Religious Specialists	55	84

[128] # These annual figures are constructed from estimates made by each respondant in answer to questions concerning his earnings per week, (a) in the dry season, (b) in the wet season. The percentages are calculated by adding the figures in this table to those obtained for crop production after converting crop figures to cash values.

Increase or decreases in income from non-agricultural pursuits were reported by 26 (34%) of the sample. The reasons given for such changes are shown below.

TABLE XV

loss or gain of tada njima per household	16
sickness	3
better or worse income from membership in an extended household organization	2
loss or gain in wives	2
raise in salary (N.A.)	1
a new wholesale source or loss of an old one	3
	26

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The table on income indicates what degree of specialization away from sedentary agriculture various segments of the Kanuri population have achieved. Craft workers, it should be noted, are slightly more dependent upon agriculture than craft work, while trader, political and religious specialists are much more dependent upon non-agricultural activities for their incomes. This means that the crop producers

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Magumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as much respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the Kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential

592 461 in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Bukar's work schedule is ti[illegible] the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first [illegible]ce to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

231
463 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the
435 same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week
434 during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d. to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional income of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/- per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between 4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0. for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission" because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about £167.0.0.

434 However, he does not actually take in all this income as
[452] cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He complained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

considered in some detail.

563 The data on ethnic membership indicates that social contacts through physical proximity per se between people of different ethnic origins does not necessarily decrease the social distance between them. The Kanuri feel greater social distance towards pagan groups with whom they interact, than those with whom they have very little interpersonal relations. On the other hand, although they have few interpersonal contacts with Arabs and Europeans, these groups are ranked as high as their own, and in some cases even higher.

463 Occupations range widely in terms of the status they accord
554 to individual members of the society. In the low status range are such jobs as butcher, blacksmith, petty broker, drummer-entertainer, and money-lender. On the other hand civil service jobs, including the traditional political offices which have been supported by colonial rule in the contemporary society, are ranked as high status positions. In the middle range are the less highly valued European-introduced occupations requiring manual labour. Here too are the lesser valued traditional political offices like Village and Hamlet Head, while traditional crafts fall below these and above the low status range. The emphasis on non-self-employment among high status occupations indicates that for Bornu just as in many underdeveloped areas of the world, western education means most desirably to those who obtain it, a civil service career, rather than an entrepreneurial or self-employed occupational future.

554 Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. The other dimensions of rank modify this biologically given status, and thus birth, although important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of an individual's status in the social structure at any particular point in time.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kantuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565 554 [364]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then recipro-
241 cate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
571 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
[123] client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

463 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them
592 to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a
159 skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continu-
571 ous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who
[253] [554] wander through the area.
[177]

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together.
[428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the
[241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his appren-
[964] tices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also
[434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's
592 meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep
571 and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the
253 time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before
159 the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the
434 market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have
[221] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has
[512] unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

592 pected to provide for the larger needs of members of his house-
571 hold--to provide education for the gifted, or to give a donkey or horse to a particular household member so that he may more effectively perform his tasks. The obligations of one set of the pair, the master of the house for example, becomes the expectation of his counterpart, the tata njima. Conversely the master expects that the tata njima will fulfill his obligations
[567] to the household. In the case of slaves, obligations are more binding on both sides than in the case of tata njima. A master who recognizes his obligations to a slave is ultimately bound to provide for him. A tata njima who fulfills the expectations of his master can expect to be given greater responsibilities, in accordance with his master's position. However, a tata njima who does not fulfill his master's expectations (i.e., does not properly perform his obligations), can expect to have responsibilities taken from him, and less desirable tasks thrust upon
592 him. Should he radically violate his master's trust he may be
571 expelled from the household, and the relationship between tata
• 464 njima and master of the house is abruptly ended. This is far
[626] more serious than merely being unemployed. An adolescent who finds himself in such a position attempts to become attached to another household, that of a less important man, in which he occupies a more lowly position. It is imperative that he be attached to some household, particularly if he is a young man with not enough savings set aside to provide for a decent luwaliram. Should he be unsuccessful in finding another household for him-

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

[GEIDAM]

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head
[465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment
241 565 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some
464 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
[178] may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
241 427 proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 634 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
[423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

563 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or
829 confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana or Gwoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status people - kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a
[464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri
[273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri
[461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still regarded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is probable that the existence of urban classes and a nobility among the Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Gwoza and the Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kanuri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

241 433 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the District Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
[571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
[586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
[571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bərzum subordinates again help determine the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
[476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily salaries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
241 464 571 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure availability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties or working bərzum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).
(2) See below p. 305.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilise the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of ground nut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groundnuts have been as follows: (1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ø
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

ø Maiduguri market (average)
ø General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 874 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; 241 464 476 (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists (1) provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilised by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups (2) reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

241 592 571

241 476 571

241 464 571

511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).
(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success.

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way:

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kusa means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

[GEIDAM]

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

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241 634 [423] The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him. Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

[GEIDAM]

44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
214 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

593 over the leadership of the compound then for all intents and purposes the older brother must be treated by his younger siblings in a very similar manner to a parent. If the age disparity is not very great then the situation may be ameliorated although here [592] personality factors may enter into the situation. In one case of male twins the father had died, and because of a dominance-submission interaction between the two men, the second born but dominant twin had become the accepted head of the compound. Later when the submissive twin left to form his own compound nearby, he remained in close economic subordination to his brother.

Many informants felt that the discipline-respect relation of junior and senior siblings, real and classificatory, was at best a tenuous one, especially between males. The following example illustrates how culture contact can operate to increase the fragility of the sibling relationship. An informant who was employed by the N.A. obtained a job for his Fa-Bro-So as his assistant in the bush. The senior in the relationship was finding it extremely difficult to make the junior do any work, or take any instructions seriously. The junior complained privately that he was being mistreated and poorly used by the senior, who he said was not giving him enough to eat. Finally the relationship was severed and the junior (classificatory) sibling left to go to the provincial capital. These difficulties were accentuated by the differences in remuneration patterning between European and Kanuri cultures. The senior had been getting monthly pay and an allowance for his sibling assistant which he turned over to the boy. The youngster promptly spent the money and expected to be supported all through the rest of the month

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593 465 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 604 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bèrzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a

571 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a

607 reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bèrzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalized inter-

556 but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of
565 Nagumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked
829 why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about
[434] fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops.
[442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages"
[465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked, "What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mentioned the District Head of Nagumeri who earns officially seven hundred pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he said "atè a'l gèdigèdi" (that is something different) because "sandi kam gèdi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristocrat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kam birni (a city man) but "arma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his concept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range, and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to describe them. Yet he certainly recognized that they were of the same ethnic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

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are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

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farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando,* a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

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442 level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have
437 done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him,
452 his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he
159 were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took
[521] several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

441 AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's
466 older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

452 Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concu-
472 bine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in
571 Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the
592 near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organi-
159 zation.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

[434] The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

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man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

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areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

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647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, tele-
571 phones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional pat-
576 terns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the
[179] conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in
[663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

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634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

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241 634 [554] him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal 241 643 460 farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

241 463 565 554

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

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/For client-patron relationships (tada njima), see category 571./

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holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles. 175 178 554 66

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs. 175 433 175 423

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area. 175 463 467 [443]

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere. 175 43 [567] [286] [184]

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed. 175 431

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu- 175 439 437

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423 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer,
592 simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they
241 are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader
423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings.
[428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in
[691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams
[241] or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering.
[221] These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in
467 each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived
[622] in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather
[178] worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

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so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

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The second category is the tradesmen. They depend less on a special craft ability than on their general skills in buying and selling at a profit. Through their knowledge of the operation of the economic system they assist in the distribution of goods, and earn their livelihood by taking for themselves a percentage of the value of goods which pass through their hands. The tradesmen and the craftsmen are two specialized groups within the social system of the town of Geidam whose activities are largely centered within the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The third category of specialists typically found in an urban community are specialists in maintaining the bureaucracy, and though there is an economic component to their activities, these fall more properly within a consideration of the political organization, so that discussion of the role of this group of specialists will be deferred.

Table III lists the major types of craftsmen found in Geidam, and notes in addition whether they are organized under a single head, whether they are localized in one section of the town, and the extent of their participation in the market. The seventeen types of craftsmen listed in Table III are all full-time specialists. They are highly skilled at their craft, and no Geidam man would attempt to perform for himself the services, or to manufacture the products, which the craftsmen supply. Eight crafts in Geidam are each organized under a single head. The head of a craft group such as the barbers, or the butchers, is appointed by the Ajia of Geidam and is given a kulugu as a mark of office.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 138]

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Table III

Major Types of Craftsmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In market: works	In market: sells
Barber	*			*	*	*
Blacksmith	*			*	*	*
Baji-maker		*	*			*
Butcher	*		*		*	*
Calabash decorator		*		*		*
Dyer	*		*			
Fishermen	*			*		
House builder		*		*		
Leather-worker		*		*	*	*
Potter		*	*			*
Praise-singer	*		*			
Sagdi-maker		*	*			*
Sewing machine operator	*			*	*	*
Shoemaker		*		*		*
Tanner	*		*			*
Well-digger		*	*			
Wood-worker		*		*	*	*

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463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the draftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
621 and sagdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[563] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice
[476] of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

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Table IV

Less Specialized Craftsmen in the Geidam Economy

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In Market: works	In Market: sells
Beggars		*		*		
Charm sellers		*		*		*
Grooms		*		*		
Hair setters		*		*		
Hunters		*		*		
Transporters		*	*			
Water carriers		*	*			
Wood cutters		*	*			*

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

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441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fatkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taborma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fatkema are organized under a head man; the taborma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taborma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177
178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained through the market. 433 In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterized by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building-trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

442 level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have
437 done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him,
452 his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he
159 were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took
[521] several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

441 AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's
466 older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a
452 relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concu-
472 bine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in
571 Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the
592 near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organi-
159 zation.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

[434] The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

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433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[655] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439] sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
• 443 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[102] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

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241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city,
434 many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then recipro-
241 cate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
571 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
[123] client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

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467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

593 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 602 There is much friendship practised between ego and his collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzé (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate [476] friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sárwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sárwa contributions, and his ashirmanzé.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
576 superior-suborindate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider themselves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) expect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri family and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage. or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the political scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling, wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

241 433 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the District Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim- [571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is [586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to [571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bèrzum subordinates again help determine the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit- [476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily salaries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical- 241 464 571 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure availability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties or working bèrzum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).
(2) See below p. 305.

000
231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accommodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

342 476 565 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the owner. This method is only practised in the construction of house types 342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists 331 565 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la- [369] [563] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contractors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur- [427] [369] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea- [425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving 423 632 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Maguneri, the Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 874 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. 241 464 476 On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists[1] provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups[2] reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

241 592 571

241 476 571

241 464 571

511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

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(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).
(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of <u>serwa</u> use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 443 43 [455] in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 443 445 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 [192] [103] Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week [796] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium 443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one 484 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy 438 trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
366
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
[369] into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them 301 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seen to indeate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 441 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

571 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

366 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and
494
161 transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the
494 one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus
484 if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest
443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of
[203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics,
[273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale
[525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom
692 disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then
[632] the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of
[172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and
175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid
177
[648] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with
[487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the
[411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century
[179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh
[183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 The institution of slavery had always been a part of this
567
[439]

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[78]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route.

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling.

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they

[GEIDAM]

633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it
[496] marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos.
Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade
with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with
Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It
would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went
by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south
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[366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri vil-
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regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location
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the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles
[366] west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishama (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

571 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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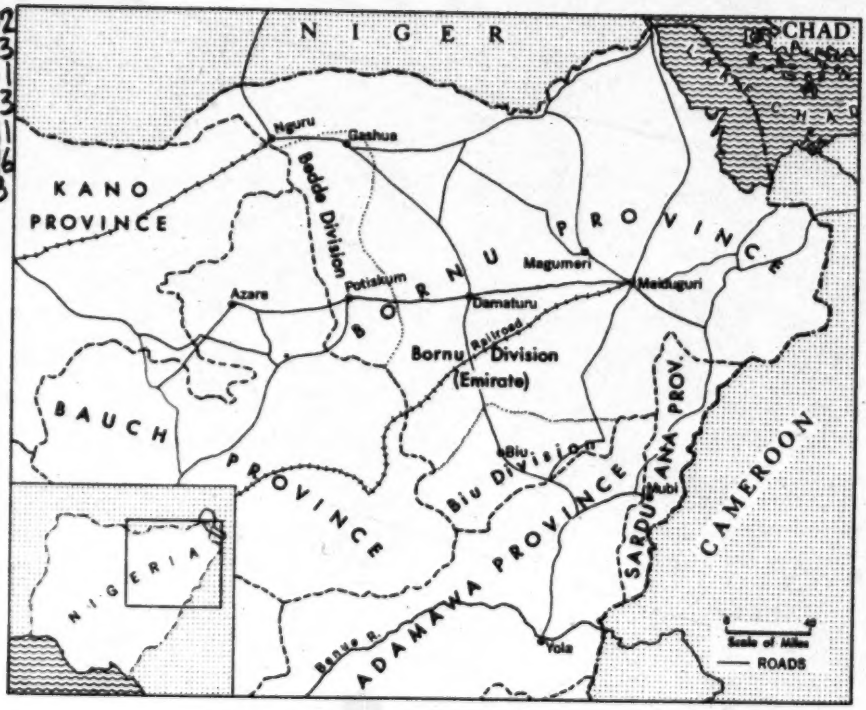

[P. ii]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

101 This study was carried out among the Kanuri people of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The writer and his wife were in Nigeria from August, 1956 until October, 1957. Almost all of that time was spent in the town of Geidam, in the northern part of the province.

A. Geography

131 1. Major geographic features.

Bornu Province is in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. It is bounded to the north by what was then Niger Territory, French West Africa (now the independent Republic of the Niger). [133] To the east lie the marshy shores of Lake Chad and, south of the lake, Cameroons, trusteeship territory administered as part of Bornu Province. The Yobe River, largest of the rivers flowing through Bornu into Chad, forms the northern border of the [161] province for much of its length. Maiduguri, the provincial capital, population 56,740, lies roughly in the geographic cen- [491] ter of the province. The main road through the province runs from Jos through Maiduguri and then on to Fort Lamy in Chad. [496] The railroad barely penetrates into Bornu, running from Kano and ending in the northwest tip of Bornu at Nguru, the second largest town in the province.

133 Bornu is a huge sandy plain, contrasting sharply with the rugged country of the Bauchi Plateau, which rises steeply to the southwest. South of the plain is the hilly area of Biu which is in Bornu Province. The flat plain extends eastward,

[text continues on p. 3]

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[643] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
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[178]

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
[137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[36] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it
[496] marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos.
Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade
with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with
Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It
would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went
by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south
from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total dis-
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2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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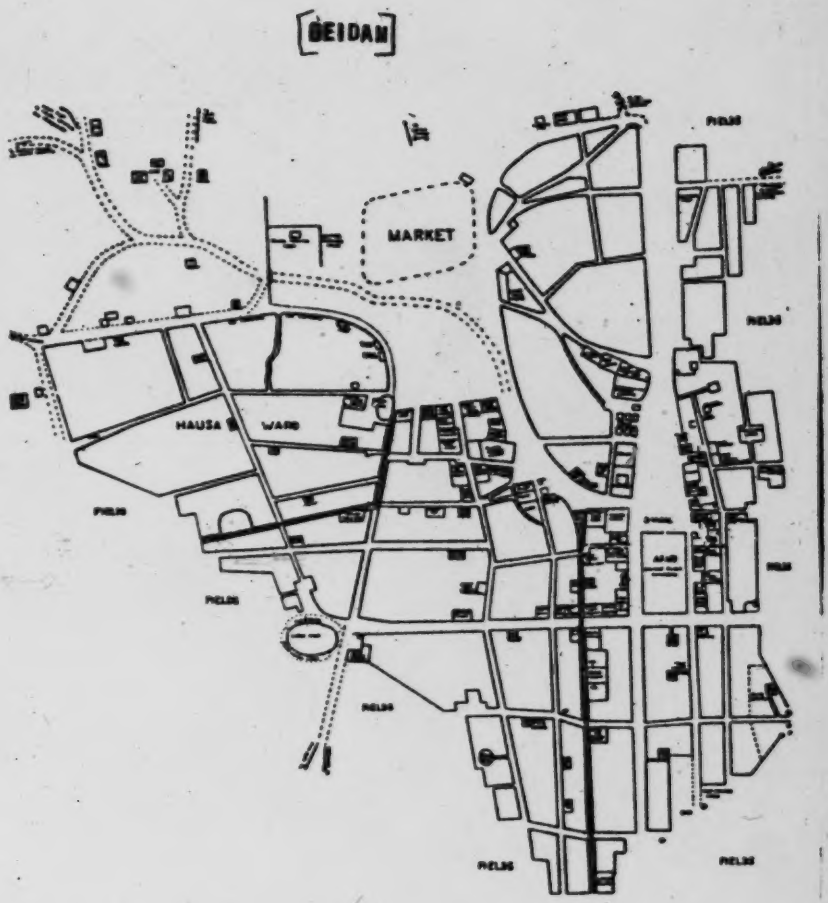

Figure 3 - Map of the town of Geidam.

[GEIDAM]

491 dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the
[366] European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds
across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town
361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has
no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In
three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded
by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying
compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe,
but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the
[244] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found
[134] garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly
[36] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering
[232] area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the
town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is
648 the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the
colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where
Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart
from the African town. In this case, the sole government build-
ing is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high
on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house,
remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years
ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied
by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during
a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied
by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

[GEIDAM]

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
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178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

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3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514 Nigeria FF1

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 369 433 178 the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons of millet per week in excess of (1) the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

175 439 [567] In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south. (2) This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

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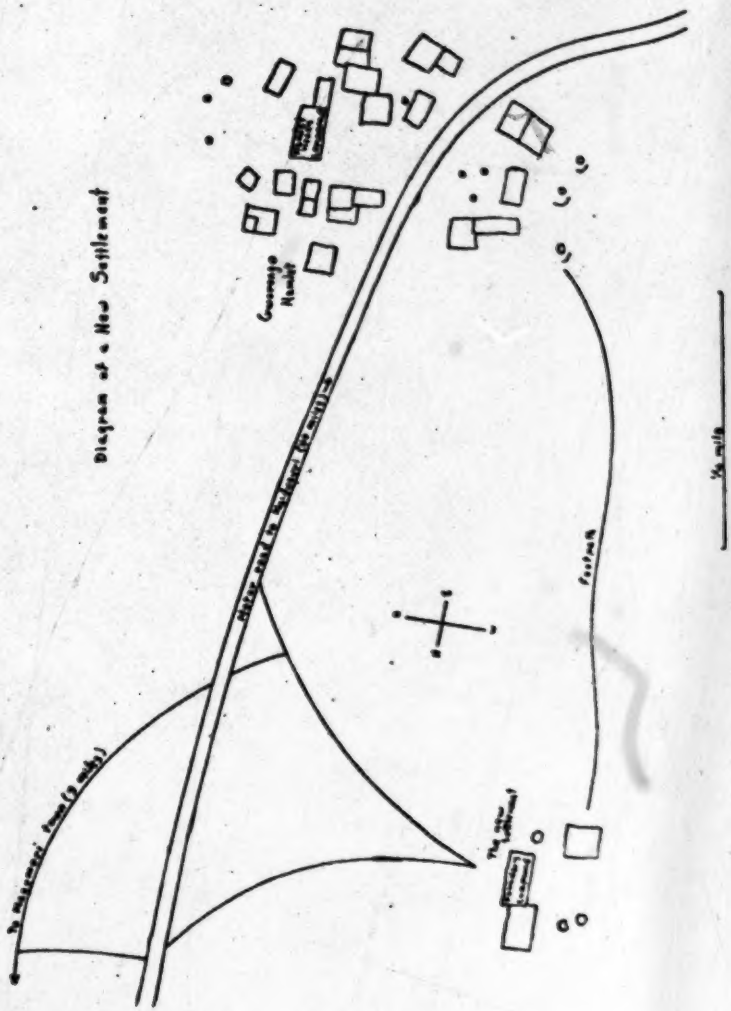

634 The District organization is roughly similar throughout the twenty-one such divisions in Borno Emirate. Each District shares the [368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a [491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

634 A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in
64 consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

634 The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most [644] impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the 634 palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household
571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

632 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
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342 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.
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361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are sim-
[363] ilar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern,
[492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided
[463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
361 the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's
[644] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

ooo Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

[GEIDAM]

44 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in
438 the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued. [492] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[563] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

[GEIDAM]

44 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly,
438 kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.
439 Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per
[117] [226] cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and
this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing,
traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when
Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining
44 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent
438 therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market,
serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam
itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen
[472] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with
donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such
as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they
sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam
craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all
small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who
buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these
saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market
to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east
of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Səbdə (Sat-
urday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding
towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating
market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each
44 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from
438 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are
439

[GEIDAM]

Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy 177 Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44 fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439 554 ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 452 who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439 of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276 The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494] by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435] the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492] to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

[GEIDAM]

[illegible]lists.

651 The essential problem in the collection of nomad jangali is to find the cows and their owners, who are wandering in search of good grazing, and who are most likely to wander into the deeper thickets when the time for jangali collection nears. Once the cattle owners and their cattle are found, their names are recorded along with the number of cows which each man owns. Then, as he usually has no cash, it is necessary for the owner of a herd of cattle to sell some of them so that he can obtain cash with which he will pay the jangali tax. After his name is recorded, he does not attempt to evade payment. He is then given several weeks to pay his tax. Nomad jangali rates are [687] five shillings for each cow. If a man attempts to conceal cows, if he reports that he owns a number of cows and then is discovered to have more than announced, he pays at the rate of ten shillings per cow.

651 634 The prescribed method for collecting jangali is for the Ajia personally to ride after the Fulani and collect the tax from them for their cattle. In a district the size of Geidam [497] this is obviously impossible. It is necessary for an Ajia to have many horsemen in order to canvass his entire district so that he will collect an amount in jangali which corresponds to the actual number of cows in his district. This is the primary role of the kabuna. There are several approaches to the problem of jangali collection, relying on differing tactics, all used by Yerima. One is to assign important kabuna, who can be

651 trusted, to large areas. A number of less important kabuna col-
634 lect the jangali, under the responsibility of the chief kabuna in their area. The wakil, Wakil Ali, tours the entire district. Occasionally Yerima himself tours key sections, accompanied by a special wakil (formerly Wakil Guloma had this assignment, but [142] he has been replaced). A second tactical approach is to keep a certain number of horsemen in reserve. When an unusually large number of cattle are reported in any one area, horsemen are rushed into that area, assuring that all the cattle will be reported and that the kabuna there will not be swamped in their work. A third approach which Yerima used successfully in Magumeri District is to divide the entire district into strips several miles in width. Several kabuna comb a strip moving from east to west looking for Fulani with cattle, while other kabuna are simultaneously combing similar strips to the north and the south. When a group of kabuna have gone through their own strip, they exchange strips with another group and return in the opposite direction.

563 In Geidam today the Fulani are organized under Ardos and
651 Mais. A Fulani lineage is under an Ardo, appointed by the Ajia, Yerima Mustapha. When an Ardo dies, his people bring the man that they would like to succeed the dead Ardo, usually his son, to Yerima who appoints him Ardo. The Mai governs over all Fulani in a large area; he has many Ardos under him. In Geidam District there are four Fulani Mais who fall within the territories of particular Lowans. These are Mai Musa, Mai Kusur, Mai

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[805] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Ènugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
79 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[529] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2*a	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5*b	1	5*c	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4*d	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

*a one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

*b four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

*c one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

*d two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

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radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

*177 *829 805 *463 *565 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the *177 825 *829 • 492 493 [125] attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

[BEIDAN]

Table XXI

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7, 8. Comparison of horse and bicycle: which is more useful; which would you rather have.

	Which is more useful? horse	bicycle	different	Rather have horse	bicycle
Aristocracy	3	1	1	2	3
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	2	1	3	3
NA Malams	3	1	2	3	3
Kabuna	5	-	1	5	1
Craftsmen	6	-	-	6	-
Talaka	4	2	2	5	3
Low-status Individuals	3	1	-	3	1
Totals:	28	9	7	29	15

constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were mentioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bicycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." Another Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kaji)."

The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle? Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not dignified (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Craftsmen) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and overwhelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-

632 others are of more recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organization.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher pol-
631 itical organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organization above
634 the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the
631 Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the nomad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial.
[492] When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe
[411] and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

511 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

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Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2*a	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5*b	1	5*c	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4*d	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

*a one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

*b four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

*c one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

*d two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

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own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

[GEIDAM]

*177 128 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use *177 is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX • 493 that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen *565 Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them, [441] many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one-*[634] half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two *177 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the 805 sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread *[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two *[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather me-805 chanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the *829 hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

[GEIDAM]

Table XIX

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4,5. Knowledge about Western Material Items.

	4. Can you ride a bicycle? yes	4. no	5. Can you tell time? yes	5. no
Aristocracy	4*a	1	5	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	1	2
Canteen Operators	4*b	2	4	2
NA Malams	5	1	6	-
Kabuna	2	4	3	3
Craftsmen	2	4	4	2
Talaka	4	4	5	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	2	2
Totals:	23	21	30	14

[576] *a one of the aristocracy (Yerima) stated that he doesn't ride a bicycle though he knows how to, because it isn't dignified.

*b one of the canteen traders stated that though he knows how to ride a bicycle, he doesn't ride, but travels on horse.

*177
*829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion
805 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen
*463
*565 Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the
*177 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case
825
*829 the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle
492 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were
• 493 then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bi-
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

[BEIDAN]

Table XXI

#177
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#329
492
• 493
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#554

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	Which is more useful? horse	bicycle	different	Rather have horse	bicycle
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Craftsmen	6	-	-	6	-
Talaka	4	2	2	5	3
Low-status Individuals	3	1	-	3	1
Totals:	28	9	7	29	15

[GEIDAM]

constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were mentioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bicycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." Another Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kaji)."

The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle? Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not dignified (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Craftsmen) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and overwhelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-

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#177 441 the NA Malam--yet the NA Malams are the more acculturated group overall. Trade was present in Kanuri society long before the coming of the British, but with increased Western contact new alternatives were introduced in the network of external trade. Some of the individuals who accepted these new alternatives had success in their trading ventures, and their abilities to rapidly master the new techniques involved led to even greater successes. Their very acceptance of these new alternatives represented a measure of acculturation, for they now interacted regularly with non-Kanuri managers of the trading companies, some of them Europeans. In the course of these new activities the successful Kanuri traders, who later became the operators of their own canteens, learned new trading skills and learned about the intricacies of the credit system through which so much buying and selling takes place. In addition, they learned to speak Hausa and became accustomed to dealing frequently with Hausas. As they became wealthier, their contacts with Western culture led them to acquire many of the new material possessions available in Geidam--in particular bicycles and radios. Only two Kanuri in Geidam, both members of [493] the Aristocracy, possessed automobiles at the time that this study was done. Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, had both a Chrysler sedan and a Land Rover, and the Alkali acquired a GM pick-up truck during that year. It can be predicted that the next member of the Geidam community to buy a car would be a member of the trading group, because of their wealth and because of their

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494 HIGHWAY TRANSPORT--use of highways for travel and transportation; animal and vehicular traffic; private and public transport systems (e.g., carting, stagecoaches, cab services, trucking, tramways, bus lines); organization; specialized personnel (e.g., drivers, carters, tram and bus conductors); fares and tolls; regulation (e.g., licenses, traffic rules); highway patrols; etc. See also:

Urban transportation facilities . . . . . 36 Incidence of highway accidents 164, 165

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have 443
links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there 489
are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and 438
take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route.

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm 443
of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to 494
take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows 489
that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the pres- 443
ence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and 438
this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhyth- 182
mical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head 443
man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot [691]
settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if [692]
the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling.

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. 443
Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide 438
price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much 435
as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

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494 A number of material changes have been introduced which have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[653] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] [651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

[GEIDAM]

Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 439 series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy 177 Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44 fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439 554 ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 452 who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439 of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276 The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494] by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435] the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492] to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
[498] it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting fro[illegible]s system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

366 494 161 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 494 484 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of 443 [203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, [273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale [525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 692 [632] Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

175 648 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 178 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been [433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the [494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 441 The introduction of the few European trading houses has served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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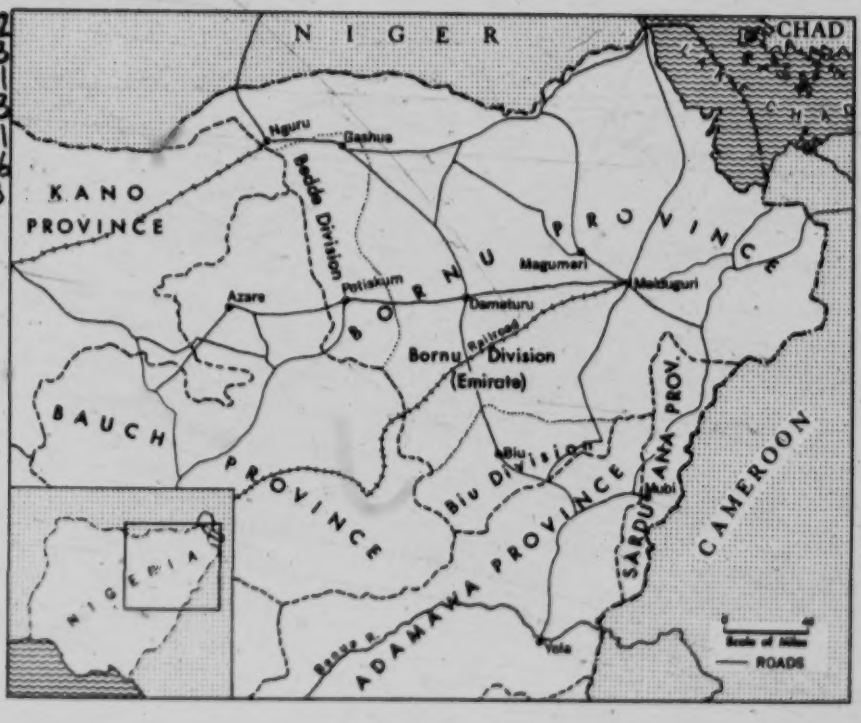

[P.ii]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

101 This study was carried out among the Kanuri people of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The writer and his wife were in Nigeria from August, 1956 until October, 1957. Almost all of that time was spent in the town of Geidam, in the northern part of the province.

A. Geography

131 1. Major geographic features.

Bornu Province is in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. It is bounded to the north by what was then Niger Territory, French West Africa (now the independent Republic of the Niger). [133] To the east lie the marshy shores of Lake Chad and, south of the lake, Cameroons, trusteeship territory administered as part of Bornu Province. The Yobe River, largest of the rivers flowing through Bornu into Chad, forms the northern border of the [161] province for much of its length. Maiduguri, the provincial capital, population 56,740, lies roughly in the geographic cen- [491] ter of the province. The main road through the province runs from Jos through Maiduguri and then on to Fort Lamy in Chad. [496] The railroad barely penetrates into Bornu, running from Kano and ending in the northwest tip of Bornu at Nguru, the second largest town in the province.

133 Bornu is a huge sandy plain, contrasting sharply with the rugged country of the Bauchi Plateau, which rises steeply to the southwest. South of the plain is the hilly area of Biu which is in Bornu Province. The flat plain extends eastward,

[text continues on p. 3]

633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it
[496] marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos. Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total dis-
131 tance covered amounts to 170 miles. Though distances are great
49 and the condition of the roads is very poor, trade is dependent
438 on trucks which are the life-line of the country. Goods come into Geidam by truck from both Maiduguri and Nguru. They are then distributed throughout the countryside by merchants and tradesmen, using camels and donkeys to transport their goods.
[366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri villages north of Geidam, nor do roads lead east along the Yobe River to the villages and towns there, Geidam is an important regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location is therefore an important factor in determining the nature of the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles
[366] west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

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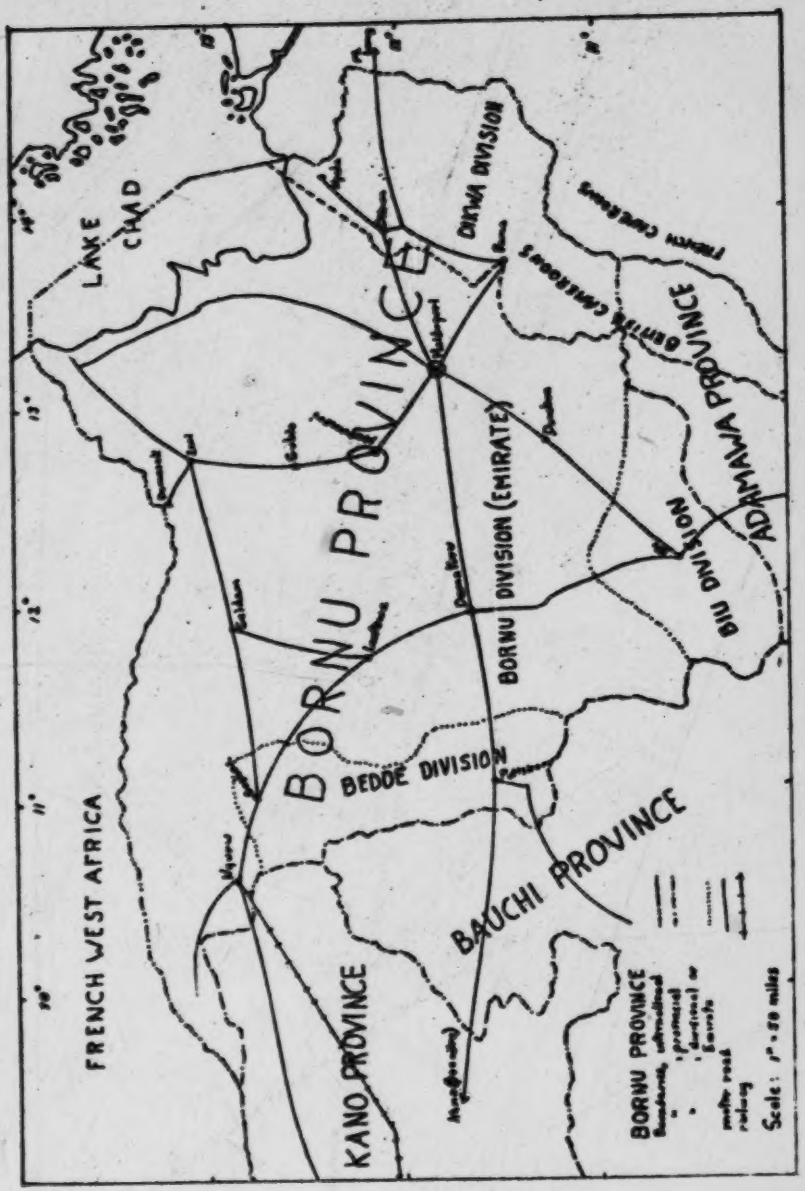

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
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563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
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563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

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1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

[GEIDAM]

177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
625 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
648 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
567 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature
571 of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the
178 political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[501] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

[GEIDAM]

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
[137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[36] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, 565 178 along with wealth and political office. Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life; go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

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648 orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organization of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A. salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs. [511]

178 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
619 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
648 brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim popula-
177 tion of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of prop-
556 erty by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Magumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

Consumption

511 128 In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

264 For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male
262 head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of
264 millet flour (pennisetum typhoideum) made into porridge or dumplings (buri argumbe) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

262 [264] [782] where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, occra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet.(1)

• 511 In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 zaka(2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half zaka per person. Using the zaka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 [435] lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Magumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 zaka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

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[146] (1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

[804] (2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A zaka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quantities of grain, beans and nuts. Four zaka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one sa (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 sa per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 zaka per buhu. Zaka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

511

The expenditure for condiments, vegetables, cooking oil, meat or fish, etc. varies from household to household, for this reflects the individual tastes, and more especially the standard of living of any particular family unit. The lowest reported was 2/6d per week for an unmarried man whose aged mother cooked for him and herself in their small compound, while the highest was £5.5.0 (105/-) given by the District Head to his wife for the meat, fish, rice, chickens, condiments, oil, etc. In about two-thirds of the cases, however, the figures fell between 3/- and 5/- per household per week. If the person had any identification with urban life, as several did who were in Magumeri for the farming season, then this weekly expenditure seemed to be somewhat higher, ranging between 5/- and 9/- per week.

Using 3/- to 5/- as the weekly market money that the rural peasant householder spends on additional necessities for his staple foods (median value of roughly 4/-) an annual minimum for this part of the peasant diet can be set at about £10.0.0 for the average (four person) family. That is to say, the figures from budget interviews in combination with the survey material, give a rough estimate of the minimum amount(measured in cash values) required to keep this constructed "average" household unit in its nutrient requirements at prevailing (1955-57) prices — this is £41 sterling per annum (approximately $125.00).(1)

262 Although the consumption of millet porridge is fairly standard for all levels of the population - what goes into the soup, and the scale of differences among other foods eaten, varies with socio-

(1) This does not mean that the average family buys $125.00 worth of food per year since almost every family grows some part of its nutrient requirements. See above p.272 for the approximate amounts of millet produced by various occupation groups.

291

In a culture where houses are often extremely similar from person to person, within any one strata of society, clothing tends to give expression to individual tastes and desires. On a broader scale, difference in dress reflects class divisions and higher and lower echelons of the status dimensions discussed in previous chapters, giving cultural support and emphasis to those social distinctions. Thus on a normal work day in Magumeri these differences are readily apparent.

• 511 The actual amount of expenditure for clothing is a function of income and social status and seems to range for many of the peasant population (over two-thirds of the budgets) between three and thirteen pounds sterling per annum for each male household head. If we take £9.0.0. as a rough median value per rural male householder, the calculated rural expenditure for food (£41.0.0) and clothing (£9.0.0) is about £50.0.0 per year, in cash and kind (translated into cash values at local Bornu prices).

[562] The following table, taken from nineteen of the more reliable budgets, illustrates the relationship between occupation and clothing expenditures, as well as pointing up the fact that most women's clothes are bought by men. The extremes of the table are: (1) a District Head who buys a larger amount and a better quality of clothing as a mark of his high status, as well as giving away many gifts of robes to his followers; (2) a servant of the District Head who buys no clothing at all, since the D.H. supplies him with his needs; (3) a wealthy trader from the city who utilizes clothing expenditures, among other things, to raise his social status commensurate to his recent rise in wealth.

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men ø (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Oworongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

ø All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment,
511 ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social
431 relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and
511 informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand,
796 religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lie-

517 tening to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
[554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 177 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

302 sexes and constitutes one of the minor expenses to be reckoned with by
301 the ceremonial initiator. Men and women wear rings of silver or some other white metal and women also wear bracelets, anklets, hairpins, ear
302 plugs, and necklaces. Women darken their eyes with antimony, and colour their front teeth red. Males have their heads shaved by a barber once every two or three weeks, sometimes letting it go for an entire month. Women dress their hair every fifteen days. Female friends, relatives or neighbours dress one another's hair in turn. Men give their wives a regular allowance to cover the cost of hair dressing which includes expenditures for pomade, cloves, special needlelike objects for braiding and other materials that go into the elaborate confection of a Kanuri woman's hair styling. Men and women also (not universally) dye their hands and feet in indigo and henna respectively.

511 In the budget interviews the composite expenditure for ceremonials, entertainments, stimulants and cosmetics ranged between £3.0.0 to £12.0.0 (per annum) with one person lower (£2.0.0) and three higher (£15.0.0, £20.0.0 and £88.0.0) - those higher were two N.A. officials and a city trader; all, therefore, non-peasants. Taking the median point as our measure of central tendency, we can allow about £8.0.0 sterling for this category of consumption in the average (four person) rural household. This brings the calculated rural expenditure in cash value to £58.0.0 per household.

Operating Expenses

Operating costs are those expenditures which are not consumed for their own value as entertainment, or subsistence items, but are necessary expenses, which maintain the economic unit as a productive entity. In this category are such things as housing, tools, labour, land, transportation, taxes, fuel and seeds.

571 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [512] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

000
231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accommodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists[1] provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups[2] reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

241 592 571 241 476 571 241 464 571

511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).
(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of <u>serwa</u> use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems
[511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarizes the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX

Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance
44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

441 439 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maiduguri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Nakurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 438 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought groundnuts for sale in the capital.

441 571 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its bazum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 452 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This [511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

631 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of
642 political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu
665 have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the DH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

511 Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives
[433] us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of $180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living".(1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1) This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is, the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

511 and services at current Bornu prices, which a family needed to occupy a normal place in the culture during 1956-57. In America, the average rural family requires about fifteen to twenty times as much in cash values at North American prices. Or put another way, the Kanuri peasant family has relatively few wants; food, clothing, shelter, tools, entertainments, cosmetics, ceremonials, some form of status in the community, self respect, are perhaps the major components of Kanuri socio-economic life. In comparison, an American wants a multitude of government services, schools, electricity, protection against foreign aggression, old age pensions, unemployment insurance etc., regular holidays, job security, and a host of other items which the Kanuri are not aware of yet, but which seem like necessities to North Americans.

It should also be noted that the Kanuri, although backward materially, are not at all faced with the hardships presented to the people of the overpopulated regions of the world. Thus in India, caloric intake per capita is estimated to be 24.4% below a calculated re-
[146] quirement of 2250 per day. As we have seen, the Kanuri are not generally underfed, although there is a seasonal variation in food supply, and their diet lacks certain nutrient requirements in vitamins and protein.

434 The consumption data should not be construed to suggest that because 76% of Kanuri consumption is for food and clothing, it follows then that the Kanuri are inordinately interested in these items. This statistic only demonstrates again the low level of economic development in the area. For given higher incomes the proportion of total income taken up by food and clothing will decrease, as it does today among the upper classes. To the Kanuri higher income means more food and clothing, but it also means much more expensive ceremonials, better housing, and above all more subordinates who are partially supported by the

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of <u>bbrzum</u> relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

178 511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes 178 511 have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in 369 the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

433 The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predicability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.

2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialization of labour

178 571 369 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 571 511 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical relationships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

178 571 511 556

000 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

58 often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and
159 so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose
[832] magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali*, (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

183 The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in
586 and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

592 By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great
593 deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their
512 friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

593 In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household)
562 and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave
565 the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

463 592 159 571 [253] [554] [177] their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins; the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. [428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the [241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] [964] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also [434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 592 571 253 159 434 [221] [572] The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

[GEIDAM]

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785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
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785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
• 512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks 844
by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby.

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a pregnant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy [515]
and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a [759]
local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose.

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains 846
inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman.

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is un- [851]
known outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats [825]
are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section [966]
of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community.

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the 431
child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the 851
men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of

[GEIDAN]

second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Nəumərí Kura (great festival), Nəumərí Kuçuibe (kuçui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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[P.3]

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(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

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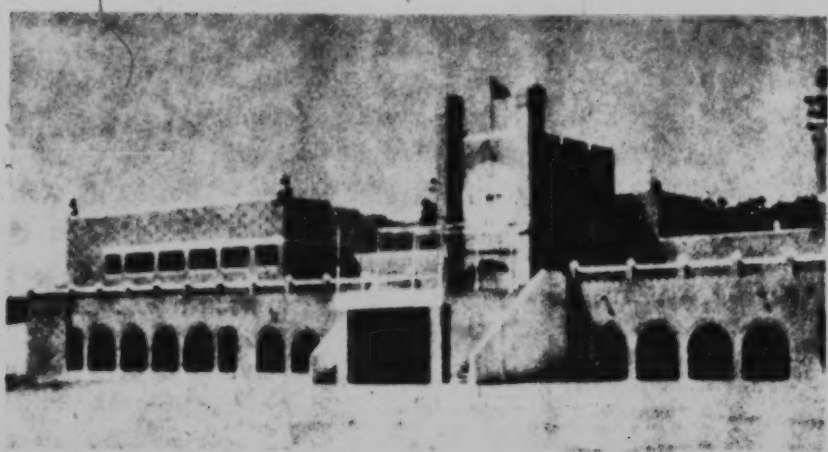

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862 "This is just a common, everyday matter," and should not be thought of as giving anyone any trouble. When difficulties do arise an older woman of the compound or the family offers her breast as a pacifier. In the odd case where this does not succeed pressures tighten up. The breast is referred to as "dirty" or specifically as "excreta" and in extreme instances bitter grounds of leaves are put on the breast and the lesson is very quickly learned.

861 863 858 [516] [826] After weaning, pressures are slowly brought to bear to teach the child proper ways of living among its people. Thus, as soon as a child can totter, the adult woman in whose hut he is sleeping starts to enforce the rule that he or she should go outside to perform toilet functions, stoop over with knees bent and buttocks near the ground using only the left hand for any attentions necessary to elimination. Later on as language skills develop the importance of the left hand is more highly emphasized as well as the advisability of being discreet about toilet functions. After the age of two and a half or three, scolding gets more intense and the child is told it is dirty or bad for urinating on the floor. Naturally the severity of the training depends to a large extent as well on the particular situation, the mood and personality of the mother, or other socializing agents present, as well as the age of the child. Thus a grandmother was observed who was not overly excited when her two-year-old grandson urinated on the floor, but she became quite angry when he wet her bed.

861 Patient but continuous teaching by adults in the household is a constant part of everyday activities for the young child. The following excerpt from field notes tells its own story:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little grandson, "Kachella, pick up the plate. Now, take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now, take that other plate and cover the food over. (Plates are made of grass.) That's right, very good." This simple operation which would have taken the grandmother a few seconds has been carried out after two patient minutes of instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

867 868 Childhood also ushers in the establishment of sex roles. Boys are now called "small boys" and girls are "small girls" or "three heads" referring to the three-pronged hair style of prepubescent girls. Boys and girls wear different clothes and begin fairly soon to associate with members of their own sex and to carry out chores that are specifically for boys or for girls. In play groups based on sex they wander freely about the village or neighborhood of the city gathering like flies to honey at the slightest hint of any excitement, and wandering further afield from their own compound as they get older. The girl comes quickly under the authority of the women of the household especially her own mother if she is brought up at home. She learns the intricacies of preparing food, carrying water, and the ever-present task of grinding millet either at a quern or by pounding it on a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, run messages, gather grass for a horse if there is one, tend the goats and sheep of the compound, and learn the family dry-season occupation. Pressure to learn these skills is slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but severe. The child is beaten with a rod or whip until neighbors and friends succeed in persuading the parents to cease or desist. Reasons given for the beating often concern the sudden, or con-

861 868

[GEIDAM]

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785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
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511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men ø (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Gworongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

ø All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment, ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand, religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

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517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lis-

517 taming to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 [554] quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
[517] done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
[273] millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

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595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 590 562 837 521 593 586 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' compound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

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dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the infant then has a simple 863
and comforting toilet ready made for it by the mother. Afterwards its loins are
washed and the hole covered up with sand. During the entire infant stage breast- 853
feeding is carried on easily and simply upon demand by the infant for the breast.
Indeed the breast is generally used as a pacifier.

A typical scene in a mother's hut illustrates the way in which the introduc- 867
tion of a new baby to society is carried out. The mother and her friends sit around 854
chatting and they pass the baby around, dandling it in turn, although the baby re-
mains with the mother for a large part of the time. A very common topic of con- [521]
versation at such times is, quite unsurprisingly, the new baby. But unlike a similar
group of American ladies most of the talk is *to* and not *about* the baby. The
mother and many of those present tell the uncomprehending infant in sing-song
voices about its kindred, "So-and-so is your father, so-and-so is your brother, so-
and-so is your sister," and so on through a vast complex of kinship links on both
the mother's and the father's side of the family. The infant is also told in the same
way about its neighborhood, its section of the town, or its village, its political lead-
ers, and so on. "So-and-so is your village head, so-and-so is your district head, and
this is your tribe and this is your emirate, and this is your *Shehu*, and so-and-so
is your Waziri." The family occupation is also mentioned and how soon the infant
is going to help in such-and-such activities around the compound and grow up into
successful adulthood within the framework of all the associations and expectations
that are referred to constantly.

Why tell a baby about its social connections, occupational expectations, po- 867
litical affiliations, and so on? Certainly later on, when it can understand a little 182
more of the language, such talk is a means of initiating it into the social groupings
of the society. However at this stage another function is performed. The child is a
new member of the society, and it is being introduced into and given a recogniz-
able place in its social setting. The new member means new relationships. So-and-
so who did not have a younger brother's son, now has one; someone else now has a
new cousin and perhaps a future spouse; or someone else now has a sister's son or
an additional one. The coming of the *tiful* or infant creates changes because a new
member has been added and in introducing it to society people are asked to shift
their understanding of the organizations which now must include this new mem-
ber. By constantly referring to these new relationships during the infant's first few
months people close to the family affirm to themselves and finally to others
the fact that many relationships are different now that the new baby has ar-
rived safely.

As far as training goes, the *tiful* is too young to be very harshly dealt with 861
or to be told not to do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and grow into a 854
useful, law-abiding, member of its community.

Childhood

Infancy ends as weaning begins, about the end of the eighteenth month al- 862
though a good deal of variation exists in actual practice so that many are weaned [858]
earlier. In general weaning is carried out with a matter-of-fact attitude as if to say,

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442 level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have
437 done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him,
452 his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he
159 were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and [521] entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

441 AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's
466 older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

452 Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concu-
472 bine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in
571 Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the
592 near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organi-
159 zation.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

[434] The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

593 wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities.
557 Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their
[558] husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female domin-
[521] ated household. Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking
[837] of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power
[183] available to him to assert his rights. Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function
593 properly. This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accord-
565 ance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they
183 are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

262 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may
262 be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with
264 a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bɔ̀lɛ̀m (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bɔ̀lɛ̀m, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins, bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
441 closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men, there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the different kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and

286 [192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature
of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and
indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was
originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today
these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desir-
ability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one
of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, work-
manship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kan-
uri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men
have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often
worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not
be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of
excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-
sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the
waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover
the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the
wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over
the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a
sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which
range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rare-
ly wear prints).

517 taming to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 [554] quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

366 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and
494
761 transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the
494 one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus
484 if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest
443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of
[203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics,
[273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale
[525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom
692 disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then
[632] the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

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361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

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173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, 195
so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected supe- 576
rior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other 197
areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most [178] Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading through- [191] out all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri ori- 178
gin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic 177
features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related 302
ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash 412
carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are 531
tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life 171
are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one 304
ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not 171
significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 114
1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and [101]
hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my un- [121]
derstanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

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789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differ- 301 ences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seen to indcate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

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558 The literal translation of wujirma is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Litterally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So
[571] many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

556
558 Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different
533 to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

556 foolish, and call persons who behave this way wujirma. On the other
• 533 hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to
(171) praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shehu, is perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status.(1)

556 The optimum use of wealth is described as kire. The kan kire (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the kan kire.

556 The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of
571 balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefactors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants. Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of persons who would willingly become his tada or tada njima (his boy, his son, his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", You are powerful", "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "Wuro she" (Give to

(1) See Smith, M.G. The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing, Africa, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.

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632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[273] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[285]
[463]

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[805] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumori Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[539] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

[GEIDAM]

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[GEIDAN]

second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time, so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P.4]

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A naming ceremony—women sitting in front of the mother's hut. (Crowd includes Diana Cohen, wife of the author).

Horsemen saluting a chief in Magumeri.

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It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
584 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
587 of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
548 ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
83 receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them. A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and someone else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
626 new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage, begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him, "What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is perfectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife. However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 [369] Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatized occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognized, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a gower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 582 871 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri culture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
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565 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
576 superior-subordinate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider themselves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) expect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri family and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage. or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

• 55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the political scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling, wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

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makes what power he has work well for him, avoids illness, poverty and derision, or does anything that can be measured in terms of achievement, then the degree of his success is the proof as to how much arziyi (good fortune, personal degree of success) he has in his hal (his nature, his being, his essence). Like Calvinistic pre-determination, arziyi is hoped for before the fact, and indicated or substantiated after the fact, of success.

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In answering questions about arziyi, informants of all classes and ranks are generally agreed that no matter how much success a peasant has with his farm, his wife, at cards, or at his craft work, he can never possibly come close to having as much arziyi as even a bad District Head or Village Area Head. When finer discriminations are asked for, however, disagreements sometime arise. Thus informants when questioned as to who has more arziyi, a trader in the city who recently bought a big truck and has a large compound of wives and followers, or a somewhat effete District Head, they answered according to how they ranked wealth alone as compared to political power. Since both of these dimensions of status are usually congruent when ranked high, the discrimination is often a difficult one. Nevertheless there is, at any one level in the society, a large measure of agreement about the amount of arziyi of the various social roles in the society at any one time. People from different levels of the society give somewhat differing pictures of the distribution of arziyi throughout the society. This results from their different vantage points and therefore differing opportunities for perceiving the social structure. Thus although many lower class people find it difficult to decide whether or not the effete District Head has more arziyi than the rich city trader, those close to the chief, including himself, feel that the rich trader has more.

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458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

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571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

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55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more
433 recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds,
369 and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations

175 they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial
361 organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his
634 slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked
617 by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of
567 his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or
[792] the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

175 There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the
651 Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on some-
[192] thing, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two
[193] main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

175 One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To
178 understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept
554 of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble ti-
66 tles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The ti-
551 tles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success. 553 431 465

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way: 792 782 431

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes 551 553 553

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115 1.	Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
• 551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792] 2.	Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441] 3.	Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634] 4.	NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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5. **Kabuna:** (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. **Craftsmen:** (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. **Talaka:** (8)	Adamu-	a taberma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Fərashəma-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

115 8. Low-status individuals:

551 (4) Bukar Mondolma- a tanner.

554 Yahuda Gundama- a praise-singer and drummer.

124 Mastapha Mondolma- a tanner.

463 Abdu Gurzam- a butcher.

Total: 44 individuals.

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's
[862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

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[553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of
[551] opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

553 Generally speaking, Kanuri names are passed on through alternative generations. Ideally a man and his wife take turns obtaining names from each of their descent groups. Some men insist that boys be given names from the patrilateral group, while allowing girls to be named after the mother's relatives. As we have seen, a parent may name his child after some high status person thus establishing what is hoped will be a fruitful namesake relationship. 551 There is a non-reciprocal name avoidance between ego and his parents, parents-in-law, and high status persons in general. In order to avoid using a name the parents give the child, a nickname which usually indicates his relationship to the person whose name he bears. [553] Thus many young boys are called Aba gana (small father) or just Aba (father) which indicates that they have been called after the father of one of their parents.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months (lunar) the child is referred to exclusively as a tiful (infant, baby) regardless of its sex. This period marks the beginning of the individual's incorporation into society. Its criterion is breast feeding. In social rather than individual terms the period is one of introduction. The infant is introduced to its family, to the friends of the family and 858 to its community. Sibling rivalry is recognized and dealt with 867 gently but firmly. The Kanuri believe that a sibling, especially one who shares one or both of his parents with the new arrival, may exhibit antagonism towards the baby. Very often the older sibling is sent off to a nearby compound, usually to a grandparent, for the period of the birth. It returns to receive gifts from the parents

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place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

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Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somehwat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Magumeri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name. [551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P.4]

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A naming ceremony—women sitting in front of the mother's hut. (Crowd includes Diana Cohen, wife of the author).

Horsemen saluting a chief in Magumeri.

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

rare circumstances women themselves initiate the proceedings by announcing the divorce, although this is usually done with a circumlocution such as when she says, as one woman did, "There is nothing holding us together but these gifts that you have given me. Take them. I wish to go." 593 586

About eighty to ninety percent of all marriages end in divorce, probably because it is such a simple affair. The husband in most cases simply tells the wife to go, saying "I divorce you." He does not say it three times, as is usual in Islamic countries, because the wife may return, for the Kanuri practice of Muslim marriage is such that, after saying "I divorce you," three times there should be no reconciliation or remarriage. Once a pronouncement of divorce has been made the woman leaves her husband's household and the marriage enters a special hundred-day period in which the woman cannot remarry although the man may do so. This is defined as a waiting period to see whether or not the woman is pregnant so that the man can claim the child. The woman generally returns to her *luwali* at this time and there is always some negotiation between the man and the *luwali* to see whether or not the marriage can be patched up. About one-third of all divorce pronouncements do end in reconciliation even though the husband most often divorces her again later on. It is interesting to note that unlike western society, practically no Kanuri divorce cases (perhaps one percent) go to the courts; thus it is impossible to get the records of divorce except through field study of actual cases. [979] [114]

When a divorce occurs children remain with their father unless they are still nursing. After nursing they are generally sent back to the father's household, although the period is sometimes stretched out for young girls who are trained by their mothers. Children of broken unions are cared for by a father's co-wife or by some other close relative of the father. Contacts with a divorced parent are always maintained and the child visits his or her mother regularly. This is especially true for boys who expect to take care of their mother when she is an elderly unmarried woman. Conflicts sometimes arise because a man's daughter does not return and the mother's relatives or one of her subsequent husbands might try to arrange a marriage without consulting her own father. If such consultations take place, however, no one feels put out and the man who arranged the marriage takes a portion of the bridewealth in payment.

Each spouse in a marriage maintains very close contacts with his or her own relatives. Presents are exchanged and visits back and forth between members of kin groups are very common. Children are named after relatives, especially grandparents, and in many cases go to live with them after weaning, or before the birth of a new baby in the family. Only in cases of long term marriage does a wife finally come to feel a part of and fully accepted by her husband's family. However when this does happen the wife can become a very powerful voice in the family, and her long and intimate association with her husband often means that she has become a permanent authority in the household. In one such case a senior wife had never been married to anyone else and had been married to her husband, a powerful man in the village, for thirty years. The man remarked that he made very few decisions without consulting this woman, and people recognized that she had a powerful position in village affairs. Such cases, however, are not common. Kanuri marriage involves a separation of the sexes not only by custom and tradition but as a result of the conflicts in marriage relations which produce tensions between husbands and 593 602 [553] 593

this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success.

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way:

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's chibuna). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

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592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson.
592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat-
586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away
597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are
565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in
463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named
[553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one
592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that
597

571
602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalized pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if [555] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are [591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth- [553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate
553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer-
602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

553 602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken 603 [591] [593] [867] away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bàrzum) because there is no bàrzum, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of [602] some respect (bàrzum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocality of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the yeiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's
[862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602]
[553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of
[551] opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553 On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal
[562] naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

553 money, which helps to allay the expenses of the ceremony, is collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. When the face marks have been cut, and the uvula removed, the father sends a subordinate to tell the women inside the name he has chosen for his child. When the subordinate returns the name is supposedly revealed to the seated men. However, the father or his friend, who has collected the money, usually tells the gathered men at the same time as the women are being told. It is at this time that the sex of the child is made public. The Koran reading being finished the head mallam leads the entire male assemblage in the fatiha (first verse of the Koran) and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts are passed around to all males, as well as perfume for dipping the fingers, and prayer beads. Each reader of the Koran receives a few pennies, in addition, as a token of gratitude from the new father. He must also give a small present of money to the barber and the head mallam as well as the leading woman who helped organize the activities inside the compound. Each of these may receive a couple of chickens or more if the father is wealthy and/or wishes to give the impression that he is a "big" man.

[231] A ram is killed and cooked during the day by the women of the compound, their relatives and friends. The skin is given to the head mallam. Some food is given to the poor, and at the father's instructions, other portions are sent to the houses of relatives, friends and high status persons. The naming ceremony is a day of keen pleasure for the namesake of the new child, if he or she is present, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection with which they are regarded by the family.

553 Generally speaking, Kanuri names are passed on through alternative generations. Ideally a man and his wife take turns obtaining names from each of their descent groups. Some men insist that boys be given names from the patrilateral group, while allowing girls to be named after the mother's relatives. As we have seen, a parent may name his child after some high status person thus establishing what is hoped will be a fruitful namesake relationship.
551 There is a non-reciprocal name avoidance between ego and his parents, parents-in-law, and high status persons in general. In order to avoid using a name the parents give the child, a nickname which usually indicates his relationship to the person whose name he bears.
[553] Thus many young boys are called Aba gana (small father) or just Aba (father) which indicates that they have been called after the father of one of their parents.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months (lunar) the child is referred to exclusively as a tiful (infant, baby) regardless of its sex. This period marks the beginning of the individual's incorporation into society. Its criterion is breast feeding. In social rather than individual terms the period is one of introduction. The infant is introduced to its family, to the friends of the family and
858 to its community. Sibling rivalry is recognized and dealt with
867 gently but firmly. The Kanuri believe that a sibling, especially one who shares one or both of his parents with the new arrival, may exhibit antagonism towards the baby. Very often the older sibling is sent off to a nearby compound, usually to a grandparent, for the period of the birth. It returns to receive gifts from the parents

361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are
361 the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their
[622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is
[788] always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev-
[443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan.
[302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their
[291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts
[231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the
[554] few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to
197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of
[193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the
[195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his
000 obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 704 72 [703] ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

175 178 642 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu Shehus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachellas [554] and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court.

175 554 642 178 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to discuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

175 554 644 [643]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tives, usually female relatives, in the name of the groom; these are called the *kwororam*, or the asking-a-question payments. Secondly, there are the formally recognized payments. The first of these is a large one called the *luwaliram*, given to the *luwali*, or the man who officially gives the bride to the groom and to whom she will return if she ever runs away or separates from her husband. This is followed several weeks later by a *sada'u*, a small fee given to the girl's family through her *luwali* on the morning of the wedding day. And thirdly there are a number of small payments paid out to the girl and her young friends, to the female relative(s) who accompany her to the groom's house, and to any unmarried sister she has left behind. The groom receives a few small gifts from the girl's family, and on the morning of the wedding day when the *sada'u* is paid, he receives gifts of money, clothes, and even on occasion a horse. He never knows beforehand, however, just how much or how little this "rebate" will come to in relation to his own outlay for the marriage. 583

When the status of the two families is similarly low, as it is in the vast majority of rural marriages, then there is very little worry over bridewealth. Generally it is not very high and almost standardized for the locality. An important man always pays more bridewealth because everyone believes he can afford it. Paying more for everything he does, including marriage, is one of the ways he validates or proves his higher social rank. An interesting insight is also gained when it is realized that not only is the status of the person getting married taken into account, but also the status of those whom he is associated with and whom he can count on for help. In our little town of Magumeri many people tried to have their daughters marry members of my household because, as they laughingly admitted, they knew I would help my household members with bridewealth, and my apparently wealthy status in Magumeri meant that payments could be set a good deal higher than usual for such a marriage. 583 554 • 583 554 123

No matter what the status of the two families may be, girls who have not been married before command a much higher set of bridewealth payments, and more of them. The magnitude is often three to five times as much and in extreme cases it goes even higher than that. Men tend to give more as they grow older and can afford it, while conversely women often receive less as they go from one marriage to the next. Kanuri say that a woman who has been married many times has been used a great deal and is therefore worth much less than others who have not had so many marriages and been used as much. On the other hand, if she remained with previous husband(s) for longer periods, has a reputation for quiet obedience, and staying inside the household, then the groom feels more confident about her and will pay more. Similarly if the women has borne children and has demonstrated her fertility, she is also worth more. Although some men know practically nothing about their wives to be, others investigate them and inquire into the reasons for previous marriage break-ups and so on. Was it because her previous husband beat her, or because she was an adulteress, or was excessively jealous of co-wives? Did she not perform her wifely duties properly, or show proper respect to her husband? Certainly some men like to know what kind of wife they are getting and this affects their willingness to pay bridewealth. However, it is not uncommon for a Kanuri man to say that he knew a particular wife for only a week, or perhaps just a day or two before they were married. In this case the woman's marital record is 58 562 581

·1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali*, especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali*.

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the [582]
time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

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592 uses it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather
593 than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for
592 more than one generation.
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> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, ". . . continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances. An-
554 other informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of
592 people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

592 About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two un-
571 married adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

000 The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bər-*

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The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ə is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
871 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such
[554] as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[3]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[3] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district-capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] [368]

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose '<u>Mais</u>' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [565] <u>Shehu</u> (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents 829 resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition, political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural assistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They function as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Village Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers. Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri community.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav-
[356] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

178 783 554 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trading class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take
[554] the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a gen- 565 178 eral sense, along with wealth and political office. Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
• 554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178 A number of material changes have been introduced which
474 have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
312 [653] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] [651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
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[567] selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[554] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
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876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [872] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 177 554 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, Ibid., p. 81.

779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. 779 595 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than [illegible] wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse. [554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. 779 58 Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the [595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

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5. Slaves--both male and female; chirs and their children.

6. Zogors and bachelors, as temporary members.

7. Tata njima--non-kin.

8. Malams of the Koran--taken in, and provided with a house and food, as an act of charity.

592 The term yal is used for members of the household who are not
571 close kinsmen of the household head. This group, some of whom
554 are necessarily present while others are occasionally found, some permanent and others temporary, some kinsmen and others not, forms the central social unit in Kanuri society. Its size and its composition reflects the status of the household head in the larger society, in terms of both the old and traditional system of social stratification, and in terms of present-day
[156] realities and opportunities. The solidarity of the household as a unit also reflects the ability of the household head to satisfy the expectations of the various members of his household, and consequently to live up to his own view of himself and his status in Kanuri society. In order to satisfy his wives, his slaves, his tata njima, and to induce people to name sons after him, he must be in a position, economically and politically, which will permit him to meet expectations. They, in turn will labor for him, and by their labors, as well as by their very presence as part of his household, the members of his household will help the household head to validate his status in the society.

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556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
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437 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
[425] is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through ecp-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
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565 head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>borzom</u> or <u>darela</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kaiya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

175 565 554 granting of titles by the Shehu (and before him by the Mais), and the regular practice of slavery.

A title (kagala) which the Shehu bestowed on a man was both a recognition, and a source of his social position, for the title embodied power, wealth and prestige. Power lay in the political office which accompanied the title; wealth lay in the access to land, labor and taxes which followed from title and office; prestige lay in the recognition by all of the symbolic meaning of the title. Aristocracy and slaves were given titles, but talaka, commoners, never were granted titles in former times.

565 554 644 [643] One set of titles is held by royalty. The title of Shehu itself is conferred by a council (modulos) according to strict rules of succession, after a Shehu dies. Other titles belong to members of the Shehu's family. These are unlike most titles in that they are titles ascribed by virtue of royal kinship and are not conferred to the individual by the Shehu. They include:

Maina - a prince, the son of a Shehu; also brothers of the present Shehu whose father was himself Shehu.

Mairam- (also called Nana) - the daughter of a Shehu.

Maidugu - the grandchild of a Shehu.

Some royal titles are granted by the Shehu to royalty. These are:

Maira - mother of the Shehu. If the Shehu's own mother is dead, another woman is given the title Maira, and functions as the Shehu's 'mother'. The title can be given to someone not of the Shehu's own family, should he wish to do so.

554 565 644 Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Karliroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

175 423 631 565 554 644 Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.

175 565 554 567 The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaigama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

175 554 565 The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

175 554 565 are individual titles which can be held by only one man at a time. There can be only one Kaigama, one Mastrema, and one Yerima at any given time. A man's son did not invariably inherit his father's title at his father's death. The title was conferred by the Shehu, customarily to the son of the previous title holder. If there were several sons, the one whom the Shehu judged most worthy was given the title; and if a title-holder had no sons, or no sons worthy of holding a title, the title might be given to anyone, though it was almost always given to someone of the household of the title-holder. There are several interesting cases of high titles given to talaka who were members of a household (the present holder of the title Talba is a slave who was given the title because there were no sons of the previous Talba; a horse boy inherited the title of Kaigama in the past; the Malam to the family, and a member of the household, inherited the title of Yirima). A talaka who was considered worthy, and was a member of a household whose head held a title might inherit that title; a common talaka without appropriate household affiliations could never hope to receive a title in former times.

The title was the mark of nobility in Kanuri society, and the embodiment of the several dimensions which, when taken to-
[631] gether determined social importance. The title was linked to the system of feudal chimas who paid allegiance to the Shehu
[642] and effectively governed the land. The chimas had power, subject only to review by the Shehu himself, over the people in

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554 their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the
565 populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land
642 worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to
556 labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had
651 prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But,
175
554 interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in
565 order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave
567 of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.
554 Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which
565 determine social position are shared by an entire household,
592 and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

2. Slaves.

565 Royalty, by virtue of their close kinship with the Shehu,
• 554 fall into a distinct category in Kanuri society. For some, the kinship terminology takes the form of a title (Maina = prince), others are granted royal titles by the Shehu (Gumsu). Nobility represent a second category, composed of those titled freemen who trace no relationship to the Shehu. Here the titles are all conferred by the Shehu to a member of a household, who becomes the head of that household upon receiving the title.
567 Since the Kanuri recognize a category of slaves, they should be
565 distinguished as a separate segment of the population. However, they do not form the bottom-most stratum of Kanuri society, as might be supposed. On the contrary, just as freemen are stratified into nobility and commoners, so too can slaves be considered as a vertical segment of Kanuri society, falling into numerous stratified layers within the category called "slave."

567 The principles governing slavery in Kanuri society must now be considered so that the above view of the position of the slave can be properly understood. A Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, so that slaves can be taken only from pagan
175 peoples. In former times slaves were captured by raiding parties
567 who drove into pagan territory, sacked and burned villages, and
721 brought back captives who became slaves of Kanuri masters, either of the Shehu himself, or of officers of the army. Slaves were most frequently taken by the Kanuri from among the Marghi, to the south; from the tribes of the Gwoza hills; from the neigh-

175 borhood of the Shari river, south and east of Bornu; and the
567 lands east of the Shari. Of course, only pagan areas were
[721] raided.

Pagan peoples, on being captured in slave raids, remained with their Kanuri masters. As noted above, captured slaves belonged to either the Shehu (or the Mai in olden times), or to officers of the army, who invariably were titled nobles, and kabuna of the Shehu. However, Kabuna of the Shehu might be freemen or might themselves be slaves of the Shehu. In either case they could own slaves, so that it was possible for a slave to have slaves himself. In fact, a slave of the Shehu might own a slave, who in turn had a slave. In a legal sense, the owner of the first slave owned all the others, so that the Shehu owned all slaves of his slaves.

Although a Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, it is proper for a Moslem to own another Moslem as slave. Pagan slaves taken by Kanuri masters learned Kanuri culture, and their children grew up speaking only the Kanuri language and considered themselves Kanuri. They also became Moslems, but continued to remain slaves. This is in order, since one may not capture another Moslem, but one is not obliged to free a slave who converts to Islam. The slave of course has no jili since his ancestors were originally pagan (kərdi).

567 The hierarchy with respect to slaves is determined by sev-
554 eral factors. The first is whether the individual, and his descendants, are slaves of the Shehu or the slaves of a noble

175 567 554 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas, ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna, 175 567 644 839 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of [304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six, who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's 175 567 household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:

644 839 554 Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the four greatest chimas. On his death his title goes to the adim presently holding the title of:

Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim, and another of the four greatest chimas. He is succeeded by the holder of the title:

175 567 644 554 639

Shetima Abu Karim - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Agadi. All other adim are called abagana.

Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Borsari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Maiduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title Digma is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

175 567 554

Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled freeman, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the susana, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one

175 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi
567 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
554 new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
[304] was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
175 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
567 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The
554 susana of an important noble shares some of that importance
592 by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
428 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
567 themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his mas-
576 ter, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to
178 Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and [673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554
463 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
[441] the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
• 554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
178
565 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 556 565 441 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

of the dandal to watch.

368 788 The central mosque of Geidam also faces on the dandal, along its northern edge. Geidam has several smaller mosques, and although it is not necessary for a Moslem to go to the mosque to pray, Friday prayers at 2 PM (Duar) have become communal prayers. At that time almost the entire adult male community of Geidam gathers to pray. The mosque itself will hold only a small portion of the community, no more than 300 or so. All others gather under the shade of trees which line the northern and southern edges of the dandal, and while the Liman leads prayers in the mosque itself, all go through the ritual positions of prayer in unison following his lead. On the Friday Sabbath, the mosque and the dandal become the focus of attention.

368 Along the dandal, to the right and left of the entrance-way to the Ajari, are a number of buildings housing branches of the administration of the town. On the northern edge is the police charge-office, the court, and the community reading room. The courthouse serves daily as a center of activity. On the southern edge are the police barracks, the prison, the dispensary and [554] the primary school. Along with these compounds housing various types of officialdom are to be found the compounds of several important men whose gateways also face out onto the dandal.

The dandal, leading up to the chinna of the political head of a town, is the traditional political center of that town. Just as the market-place serves as the focus of all local commerce, the dandal serves as the focus of political, ceremonial and religious activity.

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him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

241 are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly
565 more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people
554 in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by
463 their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class
[462] people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the
241 previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none
433 depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

463 The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

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seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, 441 their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another sec[illegible] of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a 44 series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy 439 177 Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who 44 fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and import- 439 554 ance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers 452 who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type 44 439 of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. 276 The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk [494] by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, [435] the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell [492] to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

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175 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from
634 Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kaigama Zubairu.

175 Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa kabuna who came
634 into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who
554 [167] entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. However, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili), their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were "Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab, who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar (son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house, with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu", so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the position of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Laminu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

159 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary
634 school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and Vac-
554 cinator in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District, where he resided first at Ngəlzerma and later at Damagum. At that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

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159 634 554 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha. The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 632 634 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

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The
693 personnel who occupy positions in the judiciary, however, are
554 bound to the social system. The Alkalis of Geidam exhibit a pattern in their personal histories, and are representative of specific social strata--the Koranic malams, the Imams and the Alkalis--whose sons follow their fathers and pursue the same
693 goals. Alkali Baba Kura was the son of Imam Komi, the chief
159 Imam at Maiduguri who later became Chief Alkali. He studied the Koran, explanations of the Koran, Hadith (traditions), and Tarikh (chronicles) at his father's house and at the houses of other learned Malams in Maiduguri, and then went to study law at the Kano Law School. He was appointed Alkali for the districts of Magumeri and Gubio when he was only twenty-five years old, at the time when Yerima Mustapha was Ajia of Magumeri, and Yerima became his mentor. Alkali Baba Kura remained in Magumeri for four years. After Yerima moved to Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura was transferred to Geidam. One year later he was elected to serve in the Northern legislature at Kaduna, while continuing on as Alkali of Geidam. Then in August, 1957 he was again promoted, this time to be Inspector of Courts in Mai-
693 duguri. He and two other powerful and important Alkalis make
159
662 up the Shehu's court. This is an extremely important position
554 for so young a man, and Alkali Baba Kura owes much of his success to help which he received from Yerima, although his own family connections were still more important in helping rapidly
693 to further his career. Alkali Baba Kura's older brother is to-
554 day Imam Ibrahim, having succeeded his father as chief Imam in

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693 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri
554 District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another young man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the same families tend to retain their positions of power and
[66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a reliable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group
692 justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Disputants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the zogora arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has disputants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia
[648] for sholo. The Alkali will settle disputes out of court. The British officially forbade Lowans and Ajias from hearing cases
[719] and arbitrating in disputes. However, Alkali Baba Kura says that according to the Koran, the settlement of disputes through

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627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan 663 661 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition [431] [554] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which 431 he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the [671] case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

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651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
563
662

651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[64] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
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• 554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
565 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
871 Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 871 555 177 545 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 76 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[463] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[162] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Ngumeribe (ngumeri means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zemabe (Zema means Friday). The Liman Ngumeribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was considered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that Malam as the Liman Zemabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zemabe was given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumeribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bori, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumori Ashembe, at Ngumori Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[212] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-
[264] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

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796 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at
574 the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe,
554 the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan,
182 Ngumori Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In
554 the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumori Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 Another extremely important yearly festival is called
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582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 463 565 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief

595 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing

565 the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

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Table VI

Age at First Marriage

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31...35
Aristocracy							1		1		1		2							
Koranic Malams							1					1		1						
Canteen Traders							1		1				1	1			2			
NA Malams						2		1	1			1					1			
Kabuna				1		1	1					1		1						1
Craftsmen				1	2				1										1	1
Talaka						3	1		1		1	1		1						
Low-status	1								1					1						
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1	1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[183]

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaskə or a Zogor

	a. Present wives		b. First wife		c. All previous wives	
	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	--	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

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582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
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554 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
463 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives), many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80). It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

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593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

593 562 565 554 463 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower categories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives secluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75 (mean is 4.88). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-

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Table X

X a

Total Number of Wives per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy		1		1			1		2												
Koranic Malams			1		2																
Canteen Traders					1	1	2		1	1											
NA Malams			3	1				1								1					
Kabuna					2	1		1		1	1										
Craftsmen		1				2		1	1									1			
Talaka		2			1			1	1					1			1				1
Low-status	1			1					1					1							
Totals:	1	4	4	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1

median = 5.5
mean = 6.4

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X b
Number of Divorces per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy	1		1		1		1	1													
Koranic Malams		1	2																		
Canteen Traders		1	2		1		2														
NA Malams	2	1	1			1								1							
Kabuna			2	1			1		1	1											
Craftsmen	1				2	1		1								1					
Talaka	1	1		1			1	1					1			1				1	
Low-status	1		1					1					1								
Totals:	6	4	9	2	4	2	5	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

median = 3.75
mean = 4.88

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586 565 554 463 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalø yaskøs have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa

Number of Living Children

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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

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Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning	597 565
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning	554 •
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning	463
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning	
Kabuna	-		
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11	
	8		

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

163 163 165 [842] [164] 164 586 [842]

have an adequate home at the time.

634 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima
351 Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table
592 XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zagoso of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 The principles of household affiliation have been de-
565 scribed in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual
554 composition of forty-three households is presented. In each
463 row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

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Table XIIa

Household Composition

	wives	children	tata njima	relatives	wife's relatives	zogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Aristocracy (minus Yerima)	2	1	1	-	WiYoSi	ElBrDa	1	-	4	8
	1	1	2	Fa'cou	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 friend's children	3	7
Koranic Malams	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7
	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	student	2	7
Canteen Traders	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	-	0	5
	2	0	-	YoBr + Wi	-	-	-	-	6	9
	3	1	2	YoBr+Wi+Da	-	-	2	-	4	9
	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
	2	0	5	-	-	-	-	friend+Wi	7	10
	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	malam+Wi: 5 students	11	19
NA Malams	1 (1 chir)	1	7	YoBr;YoSi	-	1	-	-	10	14
	2	2	-	YoBr	-	-	-	Fa's chibuna + Wi	3	8
	1	1	-	2 YoBr	WiYoSi	-	-	-	3	6
	2	2	2	ElBrSo	(ElWiYoBr (ElWiYoSi	1	-	-	6	11
	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
	1	-	1	FaBrSo	-	cousin	-	-	3	5

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Table XIIa (continued)

	wives	children	tata n.lima	relatives	wife's relatives	zogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Kabuna	2	0	1	-	-	YoWiYoSi	-	YoWi's chibuna	3	6
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	0	0	-	-	-	YoSi	-	-	1	2
	2	3	1	ElBrSo	-	-	-	-	2	8
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	1	0	2	Mo	-	-	-	-	2	5
Craftsmen	1	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	2	0	-	MoBrSo	-	-	-	-	1	4
	2	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
Talaka	1	0	-	-	-	-	ElBrSo	-	1	3
	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	0	0	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	Wi's gr.so	-	-	-	1	3
Low-status	0	0	-	(lives in ElBr's house)					-	4
	1	0	-	-	WiElBrDa	-	-	-	1	3
	1	0	-	2 YoSi cousin	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3

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Table XIIb

Summary of Household Composition Table (XIIa)

Totals for 43 households:

38 Tata njima

21 relatives of household head: 3 Mo; 6 YoBr (2 with wives, 1 YoBrDa); 3 YoSi; 2 ElBrSo; 4 cousins

6 relatives of wife of household head: 3 WiYoSi; 1 WiYoBr; 1 WiElBrDa; 1 Wi's grandson.

7 zogors: 4 relatives; 3 not family.

6 chibuna

16 others: comprising - Wi's chibuna; Fa's chibuna + Wife; malam + Wi and 5 students; friend + Wi; 3 friends' children; student of Koranic malam.

Mean Number of Tata Njima and mean number of Non-nuclear family in Household

	Tata Njima	Yal Members	Mean size of Total Household
Aristocracy (- Yerima)	1.8	3.5	7.0
Koranic Malams	0	.67	6.67
Canteen Traders	1.5	4.67	10.2
NA Malams	1.8	4.3	8.2
Kabuna	.67	1.3	4.5
Craftsmen	1.0	1.2	3.5
Talaka	.13	.5	2.75
Low-status	0	1.0	3.75

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592 of Yerima Mustapha is not included.)

565 554 463 Household composition has been broken down into the following categories: wives and children (which have already been discussed), tata njima, relatives of the household head, relatives of the wives of the household head, zogors, chibuna named after the household head, and miscellaneous others. The term yal refers to members of the household who are not part of the nuclear families of the household head. The final column gives the total size for each of the forty-three households in the table. It may be seen that household size ranges from two to nineteen members.

Table XIIb presents a summary of the information in Table XIIa. There are 38 tata njima attached to the present 43 households, but in looking at the mean number of tata njima in the various categories, it is apparent that they are found largely in four categories: those of the aristocracy, the canteen traders, the NA Malams and the craftsmen. Tata njima included in Table XIIa are only those actually living in the compound of the household head. The canteen traders in particular have a number of tata njima who are married and live in their own compounds but return to their "master's" house to eat their meals. These have not been included here. Relatives of the household head are primarily younger siblings (6 YoBr; 3 YoSi) and some even have their wives and children with them. There are three cases of mothers living with mar-
592 ried sons, but no fathers. In no case of the present 44

592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that
592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
• 554 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table
463 XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of
[162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

[GEIDAM]

G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momoh Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

463 565 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. The Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

86 177 The third variable which must be considered in looking at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of con- [559] tact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

56 177 [554] prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

177 567 565 648 The direct influence of the British colonial administration has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, 634 177 178 565 political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Geidam. [648] The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

[GEIDAM]

177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
554
565

177 prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri
178 culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict
554 with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have
565 brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain groups in the community structure, particularly among the talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one another in the community of Geidam represents the social structure of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a
56 result of the interaction of the three variables discussed
178 here: the traditional system of social stratification, the
369 urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of
177 the Industrial West.

124 gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited
565 here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet per-
463 form some non-skilled activity in addition to farming.
Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

[559] 8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

124 The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and cate-
gories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions
125 of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing
124 with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

Table XIII (continued)

115 8. Low-status individuals:

551 (4) Bukar Mandalma- a tanner.

554 Yahuda Gundama- a praise-singer and drummer.

124 Mastapha Mandalma- a tanner.

463 Abdu Gurzam- a butcher.

Total: 44 individuals.

[BEIDAM]

#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
#829
441 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
178 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

735 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generos-
577 ity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
• [EB4] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

[BEIDAN]

*177 565 tremes of response. They are acculturated in the area of religious behavior. In the area of medicine, they stay close to the baseline for the entire group, though they do show a preference for Western treatment of smallpox. They are consistently conservative with respect to education, and are generally conservative in their attitudes towards marriage. The Talaka are a stable group that is neither very acculturated nor very conservative.

*177 554 8. Low-status Individuals. The group of Low-status individuals is small and is therefore less reliable than other groups. On the whole they appear to be a generally unacculturated group. The extremity of their responses give them the appearance of an unstable group, though this might have been brought about by their few numbers. Within individual behavioral areas they appear fairly consistent. They appear acculturated in certain items of Western material goods: smoking cigarettes (item 16), wearing shoes (Item 18). With respect to the treatment of diseases they show a preference for European treatment of 5 of the 6 diseases, though here they seem most inconsistent since they are distinctly unacculturated in their hesitancy to visit a European doctor (Item 22). They also appear quite acculturated in their willingness to allow their wives to work.

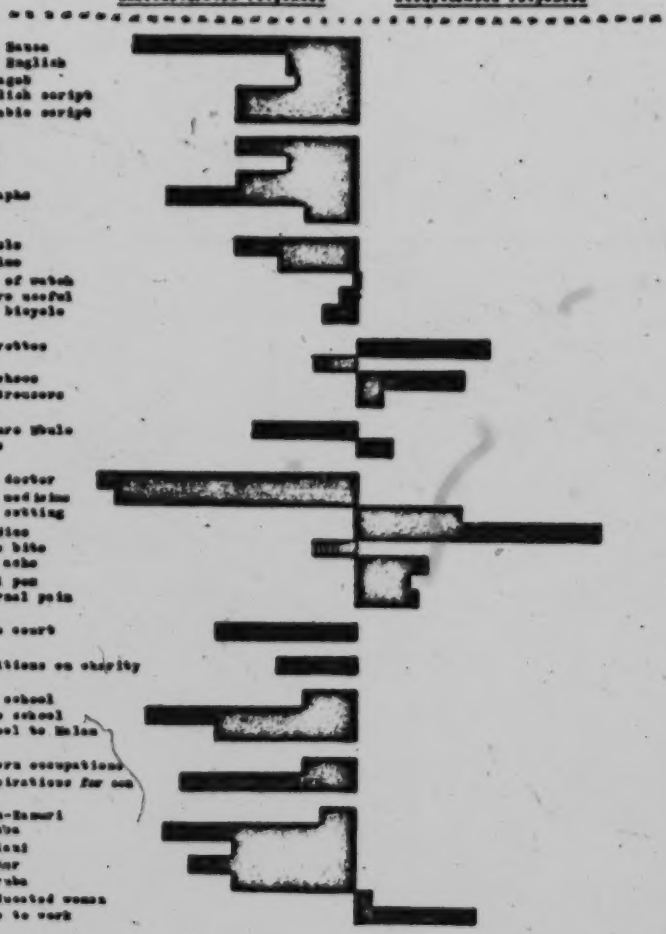
Much of their inconsistency and consequently their apparent instability can be explained in terms of their low status in Kanuri society. It is surely this which accounts for their readiness to allow their wives to go out and work as a school-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 356]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XLVII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE GROUP OF LOW-STATUS INDIVIDUALS



*177
• 554

[GEIDAM]

#177 teacher. They smoke cigarettes and are willing to wear Euro-
• 564 pean shoes and trousers because they do not threaten their status within Kanuri society by doing so. They are not in a position to be directly influenced by contact with Western industrial society, and are thus little acculturated, but in certain areas of material culture about which they have some familiarity they are willing to behave in an acculturated fashion. One might even argue that they feel that Western medicine is generally the more effective, though they actually know very little in this area, but their contact with Western culture is so slight that they cannot imagine themselves visiting a European doctor for treatment.

*177 634 156 554

they are such a stable group then? The role of the NA Malam is clearly defined. His Western education is generally acknowledged as a useful thing and he is accorded prestige by being called "Malam". The goals of the NA Malams are traditional Kanuri goals. This is brought home most strikingly in their choice of occupations (Table XXXIII) where four of the six NA Malams chose "Lowan." Their education, their knowledge of the English language, their general high degree of acculturation have not hindered them from attaining positions of political power, a very traditional goal in Kanuri society. On the contrary, these things have become assets. The acculturated individual is at an advantage over the unacculturated individual in rapidly rising within the political system. This state of things will remain at its present level only so long as: (a) the number of NA Malams does not rapidly increase so that many individuals are competing for a limited number of political positions, which would mean that a group of disgruntled and disappointed individuals would be created, and, (b) their degree of acculturation does not reach the point where their goals, too, will change. At present, in the community of Geidam, neither of the latter conditions have arisen. It can also be seen from their acculturation profile that the NA Malams adhere to important Kanuri values in other areas. They do not smoke or drink beer; they fast and wear many charms; they are not reluctant to give gifts of charity; and they would tend to avoid marrying an educated woman or let her work. All

[GEIDAN]

*177 of these indicate that the NA Malams have not rejected important Kanuri values in the course of their acculturation. Though
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156 they are a very acculturated group, they are in no danger of drifting away from Kanuri culture and becoming deviants. Consequently they are a stable group, with clearly defined roles and mutually understood expectations and obligations. Other Kanuri can understand the NA Malam, and the NA Malam himself realizes the "self" that he wishes to convey without having to affirm his Kanuri identity through exaggerated behavior.

*177 The Craftsmen represent the opposite extreme of an unac-
463 culturated and stable group. Their primary role requires
[554] highly skilled and specialized behavior of them and their status is respected in the community. Although their activities are primarily within the economic area, the range of individuals with whom they interact is narrow and they have little or no direct contact with agents of Western society. Their knowledge of languages and of writing is slight. They have few Western goods, nor do they know much about these items. They are not very strict about fasting and drinking beer, but in other areas they adhere strongly to Kanuri values, such as taking disputes for arbitration and giving gifts of charity. They show a slight inclination to favor European doctors, and they favor Western occupations though their aspirations for their sons are strongly traditional. They are not very conservative about education generally. The overall picture of the Craftsmen is of a group that is obviously not very acculturated, but their responses,

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by [587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his [554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

571
557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is [554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

556
592 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to
621 have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[941] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593
428 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[104] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595
178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
881 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the <u>luwal-</u>

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[129] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription
for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who at-
tempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for ap-
proaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food
and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes
downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master,
and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in
a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a
position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by
the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad",
causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
822 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment build-
ings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to
himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living
quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity
to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any
Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata
of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables oper-
ating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or
conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [209] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

563 Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with
829 Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hos-
[554] pitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arziyi, see below pp.225 -228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the
[555] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

125 Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven (1)
563 Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from
829 the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank

(1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

563 829 who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwoza peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yoruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwoza and Banana.

Occupation

554 The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the 554 567 status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumari a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

555 793 Koranic mallams are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialized powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage. The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

793 228, arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beggar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized, high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
[441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
554 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded shame (mungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanzako) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (mungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams; he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only a man with no proper shame could do such work.

(1) Composite statement from informants.

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high 128 463 554 position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wazirí indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these 125 data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

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TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys *

School: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Wazziri of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Wazziri of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.52	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kaigama (a D.H. today) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kaigama	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

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School: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2	23	Trader(with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5	24	Village Head	23.94	7.3
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0	25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5	26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9	27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Village Head	27.75	7.1	28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9	29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	Building contractor	28.80	11.1	30	N.A. councillor	29.61	9.4
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6	31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5	32	Kachella Shehube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8	33	Building contractor	31.90	9.6
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4	34	Carpenter	31.94	7.8
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9	35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1	36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Kachella Shehube	35.82	10.4	37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7	38	Small retainer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Trader	36.20	9.4	39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8	40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4	41	Horsedservant	38.62	6.1
42	Horsed servant	38.16	7.5	42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6	43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0	44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0	45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

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School:	Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation		Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4		46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2		47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0		48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0		49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9		50	Weaver	42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0		51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4		52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1		53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8		54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2		55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N - 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7					N - 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

* Using Spearman's rank order correlation (Rho) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).

** The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

463 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices
554 was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to
184 say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows, of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush districts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older than for younger boys).

178 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried
463 appointments, such as Shehu, Wasiri, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head,
554 have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but traditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant of a chief, or Kachella Shehube (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army) have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The exception to this rule is the Koranic mallam who, although not give official support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because
178 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The
463 following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger
554 and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.
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TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status Occupations

	Ranking	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a tendency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

178 463 554 [184] ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 463 554 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 554 [171] It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers (1) that young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

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er boys, 32nd on the list. This is in accord with the general high value placed on farm ownership and farm production, not farm labour. It is good to have a farm, and this means then that you are a farmer, but it is even better if you can have a labourer or some of your followers work the land for you. Thus farming is not contradictory with high status, only farm labour. The following table summarizes these comparisons.

TABLE VIII

Prestige of White Collar and Manual Labour Occupations

Kind of job		Ranking Younger	Ranking Older Boys
White collar jobs	high	11.9	11.9
Manual labour (European type jobs)	middle	26.9	28.9
Manual labour (Kanuri type jobs)	low	34.1	43.3

The final comparison to be made from the table is that between self-employed as against non-self-employed European occupations. The following table indicates the ranking which these two differently organized sets of occupational roles are given by the schoolboy population. It should be remembered that it is this group among the total population who, more than any others, have open to them the possibility of western type jobs.

TABLE IX

Prestige of the Employment Relations in European Jobs

Kinds of employment relations		Ranking Younger	Ranking Older Boys
Western jobs non-self-employed	high	11.1	14.4
" " self-employed	middle	27.4	27.2

The results indicate that self-employment as it is known by the Kanuri is less highly evaluated than its opposite. Certainly this is a result of the fact that all high status European (and Kanuri) occupa-

463 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests
554 that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par-
[613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from
[428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it,
602 one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community
[123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

554 602 was considered inappropriate as a servant and household member to a powerful newcomer to the community.

Matri-kin do not give a man much ascribed birth status one way or another. However, the matri-kin often aid the individual and if they are a powerful high status group in the society, he may derive some benefits from this relationship. But these rewards must be realized before this ascribed status is worth anything to ego in the eyes of others.

The importance of birth status was made plain during the gathering of genealogical data. A well known "arriviste" in Magumeri, who served as the District Head's right hand man and principal link with the urban community, gave a completely trumped-up genealogy which included, patrilineally many antecedents who had been the horsed servants (ko'una) of well known nobles of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bornu. Only later, when crosschecking some of the material, was it discovered that this informant was the son of a man who used to tend camels for their owners in the Maiduguri market and that he, himself, had started life as a gatherer and seller of bush grass for horse fodder. His faked genealogy reveals his sensitivity to his low status background and his desire to give a newcomer the impression of continuity regarding his origins. His own rank at the time of the interview was that of horsed servant to the District Head of Magumeri, so that the faked genealogy indicated his desire to create for himself a family background of similar status to his present one.

554 602 156 Along with other explanations (see below pp.225 -228 , arsiyi) birth ascription is also used to describe the reasons for success or failure at any given role, especially among the high ranks of society where improper behaviour can be attributed to the person's rise from a

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime. (1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] [648] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [271] [369] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in 565 463 602 the large urban centre. At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 463 602 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry season activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as knanshko (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galabu

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[171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

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562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

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562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

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562 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a
571 total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
576 superior-subordinate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider themselves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) expect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri family and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage, or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the political scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling, wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

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828 makes what power he has work well for him, avoids illness, poverty and derision, or does anything that can be measured in terms of achievement, then the degree of his success is the proof as to how much arziyi (good fortune, personal degree of success) he has in his hal (his nature, his being, his essence). Like Calvinistic pre-determination, arziyi is hoped for before the fact, and indicated or substantiated after the fact, of success.

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829 In answering questions about arziyi, informants of all classes and ranks are generally agreed that no matter how much success a peasant has with his farm, his wife, at cards, or at his craft work, he can never possibly come close to having as much arziyi as even a bad District Head or Village Area Head. When finer discriminations are asked for, however, disagreements sometime arise. Thus informants when questioned as to who has more arziyi, a trader in the city who recently bought a big truck and has a large compound of wives and followers, or a somewhat effete District Head, they answered according to how they ranked wealth alone as compared to political power. Since both of these dimensions of status are usually congruent when ranked high, the discrimination is often a difficult one. Nevertheless there is, at any one level in the society, a large measure of agreement about the amount of arziyi of the various social roles in the society at any one time. People from different levels of the society give somewhat differing pictures of the distribution of arziyi throughout the society. This results from their different vantage points and therefore differing opportunities for perceiving the social structure. Thus although many lower class people find it difficult to decide whether or not the effete District Head has more arziyi than the rich city trader, those close to the chief, including himself, feel that the rich trader has more.

828 829 This brings up an interesting observation. The judgment of any individual about the distribution of arziyi in society at any one time is his particular notion about the arrangement of social roles in the social structure. Furthermore, his estimation of the distribution of arziyi at any one level of the hierarchy, e.g. comparing the behaviour of one District Head with another, is his judgment of the success that occupants of similar roles were enjoying relative to one another.

554 828 829 Arziyi seems to be used in two related ways in Kanuri culture. Firstly, in an enormously heterogeneous society, it gives a satisfactory answer to individual variations along one of the most affective dimensions of behaviour, success in achieving immediate and long range goals. Secondly, it is used as an explanation for the nature of the social structure, i.e. for its stratification. Those people, who have higher status along any dimension of stratification, have more arziyi, which accounts for their ability to maintain such a role in the social organization. These two ways of using arziyi as an explanation for differentiation are related so that what results is a Kanuri theory of society that at once validates its structure and explains the changes in personnel which accompany a system where personal fortunes may rise and fall rapidly. Thus a high status position in the structure indicates that the person has that amount of arziyi. His performance of the role required by this status may show him to have even more arziyi then he will outstrip others who occupy the same status and seek the same goals. On the other hand, he may do badly which will indicate a loss of arziyi and a loss of status. Arziyi is also, besides being a theory of society, a theory of causation, which integrates social and individual differentiation under one simple, mystical force, personal

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828 good fortune, which is continually being validated since its presence
829 is manifested after the fact of its operation in behaviour.

If the extended household head can maintain the
621 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
571 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
554 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bɨlama), depending upon the location
622 of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bɨlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bɨlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Nagumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organisation. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

632 871 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated him with deference. [554] His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A.(1)

632 423 [622] All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan 632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

[202] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

634 571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'una if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Magumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live 634 571 561 either in the DH's compound or with elder members of the organization are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a
634 647 554 [576] highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 647 662 Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the extended household organization of the DH, then the factional memberships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 647 557 The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household organization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[838] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

634 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connec-
647
554 tions to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri. The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from
[661] Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to
[203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to guage properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

634 The prison warder who kept the little jail in Magumeri, al-
647
662 though not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

517 tening to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, require expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
511 [554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Maguneri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate berzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

[439]

[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it evey after he has become inactive in the role.

considered in some detail.

563 The data on ethnic membership indicates that social contacts through physical proximity per se between people of different ethnic origins does not necessarily decrease the social distance between them. The Kanuri feel greater social distance towards pagan groups with whom they interact, than those with whom they have bary little interpersonal relations. On the other hand, although they have few interpersonal contacts with Arabs and Europeans, these groups are ranked as high as their own, and in some cases even higher.

463 Occupations range widely in terms of the status they accord
554 to individual members of the society. In the low status range are such jobs as butcher, blacksmith, petty broker, drummer-entertainer, and money-lender. On the other hand civil service jobs, including the traditional political offices which have been supported by colonial rule in the contemporary society, are ranked as high status positions. In the middle range are the less highly valued European-introduced occupations requiring manual labour. Here too are the lesser valued traditional political offices like Village and Hamlet Head, while traditional crafts fall below these and above the low status range. The emphasis on non-self-employment among high status occupations indicates that for Bornu just as in many underdeveloped areas of the world, western education means most desirably to those who obtain it, a civil service career, rather than an entrepreneurial or self-employed occupational future.

554 Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. The other dimensions of rank modify this biologically given status, and thus birth, although important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of an individual's status in the social structure at any particular point in time.

560 at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept arziyi. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565 554 [369]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 Two one-acre plots were to be used for each peasant, so that the utility of the fertilizer could be seen on both millet and groundnut plots. In addition, the field worker was to keep careful records on date of sowing, date of application of fertilizer, dates of first and second weeding and harvesting, farmer reaction to super-phosphate, name and village of the cultivator, and finally, the weight in pounds of millet and groundnuts harvested per half acre on the demonstration plots. The field worker was instructed on the necessity of weighing the harvest from each half acre in the presence of the owner, so that each peasant would see the difference in yield from the treated and untreated portions of the plots. The instructions on this last point were very strongly worded and field workers were made to feel particularly responsible for the final demonstration to the farmer of the weight of crops coming from each part of the demonstration plots. Field workers were also told to play down the efficacy of this particular stock of super-phosphate pellets by commenting on its age and its probable loss of power in comparison to new super-phosphate which could be expected to give much more powerful results. The field worker was also asked to make the point that this free application was only for the purpose of demonstration, and that anyone wishing to obtain super-phosphate fertilizer in the future would be expected to buy it. (Actually, the plan was to distribute the fertilizer the following year at a very nominal price, well below its actual worth.)

The District Head organized a meeting of Magumeri cultivators and introduced Malam Abdulla and his project. The [632] Village Head of Magumeri and the local school teacher, both [875] highly respected men in the village, made short speeches ex- [554] tolling the virtues of the fertilizer, and the Village Head asked for volunteers who would participate in the project. Only a few came forward, others were then ordered to do so, and the rest of the Magumeri sample was obtained through the participation of the school teacher and servants of the District Head, all of whom had their own farm plots. Malam Abdulla also went to two other villages in the area, after obtaining the permission of the District Head, and obtained "volunteers". In

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demonstration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

[829] The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

242 177 561 [576] [554] Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age. However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite, and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training, and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people.

242 177 [829] Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Abdulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ə is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
• 555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition, political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural assistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They function as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Village Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers. Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri community.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [535] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [577] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular 177 554 education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 556 565 441 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

[GEIDAM]

634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
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554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
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565 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
871 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 871 555 177 545 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 78 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

[GEIDAM]

177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

563 Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with
829 Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hos-
[554] pitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arziyi, see below pp.225 -228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the
[555] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

125 Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven (1)
563 Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from
829 the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank

(1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

563 829 who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwosa peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yoruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwosa and Banana.

Occupation

554 The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the 554 567 status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumeri a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

555 793 Koranic mallams are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialised powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage. The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

000 555 871 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognised, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, 571 medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, [212] own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

871 563 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, September 1955.

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

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643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bernum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav-
[556] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

178 788 556 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trading class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take
[554] the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, along with wealth and political office. 565 178 Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

632 [366] The towns are market centers, and frequently also administrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nguro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
556 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size
342 of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sagdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled, thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
565
342 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.
• 556

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are sim-
[363] ilar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern,
[492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided
[463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
361 the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's
[644] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

ooo Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
• [556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's <u>chibuna</u>). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

121 61 66 565 of a society. In societies where the state as an institution does not exist, political structure is either coterminous with kinship structure, or there is close co-ordination between the two. In the case of the Kanuri, the separate and distinct administrative organization which serves as the framework of the political structure,[1] implies a lessening of the role of kin groups to the point where they have disappeared among the Kanuri. Aside from relationships within the nuclear family, and to a lesser extent kinship relations generally, power derives its authority, among the Kanuri, from one's position in the political system, and the ability of one man to exert power over another is determined by the roles which the two men play in the political system.

121 • 556 565 Wealth as a variable used to determine the social importance of a single individual or of a category of individuals is analogous to power. Relative wealth defines a relationship between two individuals or two classes of individuals, and just as power derives from one's role in the political system, wealth derives from one's role in the economic system. In most primitive societies, the economic system is submerged within kinship and within the operation of kin groups. In some, the market has begun to emerge as a separate economic institution and increasingly social relationships are defined in terms of the market.

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1. the distinctions made here as to types of political systems are taken from the Introduction to African Political Systems, edited by Meyer Forres and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

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[925] The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
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565 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through economic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
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565 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri household, is what one must do for one's household head; the head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554
565 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>bərzəm</u> or <u>dareja</u>) is a quality assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

175 554 565 [642] [556] [651] 175 554 565 567 their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But, interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace. 554 565 592 Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which determine social position are shared by an entire household, and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
• 556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

4. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
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565 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new 556 avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading 565 class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy 441 individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times.

[121] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

[GEIDAM]

seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, 441 their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

[BEIDAM]

44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
439 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
563 ly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the
[815] Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439 process through which Western goods, imported by the European
177 trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
177 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The
952 companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are baləsma in Kanuri terms.
[956] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[971] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

[GEIDAM] 4

*554 *829 441 *777 178 441 *463 • 556 *554 tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka. Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the categories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new innovation brought about by contact with the West, has undergone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (*k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

*554 *829 Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is interesting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (*a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly *c who has selected a time-honored [792] ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table [44] XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

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557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is
[554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

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592 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to
621 have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
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571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

793 228, arsiyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beg-
gar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic
knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized,
high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
[441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest
status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
554 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded
shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-
entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper
sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanaako) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams; he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only a man with no proper shame could do such work.

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(1) Composite statement from informants.

565 463 602 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry season activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as knansèko (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galèbu

• 556 (a rich man). There is no word to describe a middle range income, so that a speaker expresses this idea, if he has to, by negating both terms for rich and poor thus giving the ideal of a position somewhere in between the two extremes of his experience.(1) The various translations given for ngudi reflect the Kanuri evaluation of this dimension of rank. A ngudi is a man without property, or possessions; he is a sad man and an unfortunate one. He wears shabby clothes, eats poor food and cannot entertain his friends, or give decent gifts to them when they have ceremonies. The galibu, or rich man, is the very opposite of all these qualities (ideally). That is to say, it is considered good and desirable to be wealthy and undesirable to be poor.

Wealth is used to subsist well. This means that it is good to have fine clothes and lots of them, good horses, a big house, more than one wife, a bicycle or even a car, and to be able to afford an aeroplane ticket to Mecca, and so on. Conversely, it is bad not to have some fine clothes, and, in general, subsist at a lower level of consumption.

Enhancing this dimension and elaborating upon it, are other cultural concepts concerning the purposes of wealth. Property is used to validate status. A man who is known to be comparatively wealthy and is not using it to establish and maintain obligatory relationships of discipline-respect and/or loyalty, is considered to be bayil(2) or jokku [558] (stingy, miserly). On the other hand, a man who gets into heavy debt because of his desire to give or loan money and material goods to his friends, relatives and supporters, and initiate large expensive ceremonies far above his actual economic assets is a wujirma (spendthrift).

(1) It is only when subtle discriminations are being made in conversation that a person is spoken of as neither rich nor poor.
(2) From the Arabic.

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558 The literal translation of wujirma is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Litterally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So
[571] many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

556
558 Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different
533 to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

556 foolish, and call persons who behave this way wujirma. On the other
533 hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to
(171) praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shehu, is perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status.(1)

556 The optimum use of wealth is described as kàre. The kan kàre (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the kan kàre.

556 The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of
571 balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefac-- tors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants. Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of persons who would willingly become his tada or tada njima (his boy, his son, his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", You are powerful", "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "Wuro she" (Give to

(1) See Smith, M.G. The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing, Africa, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.

556 571 me a . . .."). This validates the higher status of the person being asked to give and can strengthen or initiate an obligatory subordination of some kind on the part of the would-be receiver. But, because there are so many more potential receivers than possible donors, all informants felt that it was always wise to keep quiet about the exact proportions of one's wealth in order to limit the amount of requests which widespread knowledge of property surpluses would bring.

It should be noted here that this imbalance of donors and receivers and the culturally defined potentiality of their interrelationship, offers a much travelled route for social mobility in Bornu. Any man who obtains material surpluses may begin to use his property to obtain discipline-respect (bbrzum) relationships with an expanding [558] group of followers. Contrarily, a man whose material wealth is declining finds his followers less apt to remain within his organization. This is one of the primary elements in the operation of political and economic power.

An example of what this can mean in every day life is seen in the following example. In Magumeri the local school teacher who is on a monthly civil service salary is considered moderately wealthy by local rural standards. During an interview, at the writer's house, the teacher became increasingly nervous and fidgety, continually watching a rather elderly peasant who seemed to hover around the base of a tree about twenty yards in front of the house. Towards the end of the afternoon, the informant interrupted the conversation to ask whether the writer had seen the man near the tree. He then complained bitterly that this man was no friend or relation to him, but had been begging for a hat (price, four to eight shillings) for the last few weeks. The

556 571 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 183 What this means is that the ideal of kbre (wise generosity) is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption. [454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings, which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation [123] and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

556 183 [123] so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food, [251] and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert [152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this conflict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 829 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence, there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

121 notion of class becomes a somewhat knotty one for the researcher. This is because it lacks the precision of his analytically derived status dimensions and yet it demands discussion, for the very good empirical reason that the people themselves recognize class distinctions. The theoretical answer lies in the nature of the concept of class as distinct from status. Class is a more inclusive category which cuts up an entire society into only a few segments. In so doing it incorporates many of the status dimensions by correlating them into ranges so that all the high statuses of dimensions a, b, c, d, . . . n, are unified into a large segment of the population, while the same thing may occur at other ranges along the status dimensions, giving the society one, two or more classes. When these segments are present, the outward signs such as differentiation in language, dress, manners and other social and cultural characteristics of class membership, become another status dimension to that recognizable membership in any class confers varying status upon the individual. Because of the noticeable sub-cultural differences between class segments, recognizability and imitation often blur the distinction and widen the scope for social mobility. Nevertheless, in order to actually obtain continuous high status in the society, the person must be seen and judged as having high rankings along the dimensions already discussed above. In the following discussion, this theoretical framework can be seen as the process underlying Kanuri class distinctions.

• 556 565 829 In the every day life of Bornu, the life spans of different individuals in the population are lived out within differing ranges of experience (which may change through time). This rather abstract statement can easily be explained by an illustration drawn from the judgements made by a young peasant in Magumeri on the subject of wealth. He reported that there were very few wealthy people in Magumeri village itself,

556 565 829 [434] but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Nagumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops. [442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages" [465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked, "What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mentioned the District Head of Nagumeri who earns officially seven hundred pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he said "atè n'l gèdigèdi" (that is something different) because "sandi kam gèdi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristocrat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kam birni (a city man) but "amma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his concept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range, and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to describe them. Yet he certainly recognized that they were of the same ethnic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

556 565 829 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1) The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 369 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic [166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban [103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var- [241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of prop-
556 erty by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Magumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

Consumption

511 128 In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

264 For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male
262 head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of
264 millet flour (penisetum typhoideum) made into porridge or dumplings (buri argumbe) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

OWO at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept <u>arziyi</u>. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

178 571 369 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 571 511 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a 178 571 511 556 tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical relationships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

600 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

1: Cohen E.-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from
434 village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
571 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
[123] client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

1: Cohen

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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/For client-patron relationships (tada njima), see category 571./

584 obstacle to such a marriage is the bride-price, which will be
565 high for a daughter of a good family. The father of a boy of good family, conversely, may arrange to have his son marry the daughter of a talaka if he likes the girl, particularly if she is very pretty. A talaka will not usually arrange for the marriage of his son with the daughter of a very rich man (a wealthy trader, for example), because the girl will eventually inherit wealth and her husband will have no claim to it, nor will the
584 boy's father ever see any of it. However, a talaka father may
565 arrange for his son to marry the daughter of a kantuoma (aris-
557 tocrat) family in order for his son to benefit from his future father-in-law's influence in obtaining power, though the boy's own father will not himself directly benefit from the marriage.

581 The qualities desired in a kalə yaskə spouse are as follows: a pretty girl is highly desirable in marriage; a girl with a nasty temper, one who curses people or has other undesirable personality characteristics (such as shamelessness--nungu ba) will not find a husband so easily. A pretty girl is better than a wealthy one, but better still is industriousness and willingness to work hard. Being able to cook well is also more important than beauty. If the father of a boy has two girls to choose from as brides for his son, one pretty and the other industrious and skillful, he will prefer the industrious
584 one for his son. If a girl does not like the boy suggested for her by her father, if she thinks him ugly, the marriage will not take place. The father of the girl will ask her if she likes the

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[528] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's <u>chibuna</u>). The chibuna then
• 557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Nagumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sia "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sia is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

593 complete autonomy even when his new residence pattern has been
596
571 established. On the other hand, the father is only a lower link in
593 a large,complex political system, and the father's relationships to
557 those above him are carefully scanned by the son. If the father should fall out of favour in the total political organization of Bornu, then to that extent his degree of power over his son may diminish, for the son being desirous of eventually stepping into the father's shoes is also sensitive to higher authorities than those of his immediate residential grouping. The continued loyalty and subservience of the son is therefore a function of the father's beneficence and his total position in the society at large. Certainly the bonds of consanguinity enter to thicken the tie between them, but a continued violation of the above methods of making the relationship work, i.e. validating the relationship, would lead to the possibility of the son looking for a more beneficent superior, real father notwithstanding. The father-son relationship would then have more formal bèrsum (respect) than actual functioning power and authority involved. Because of the ascribed nature of the real father role, however, the relationship can never be totally divested of authority. He can always secure some little performance of action on the part of the son, which the culture sanctions, such as attendance at family weddings, funerals, etc. although his power, i.e. his ability to make decisions about action for his son's behaviour is more highly variable and requires more careful cultivation if it is to be as diffuse as is ideally desired in the patrilocal family organization.

571 If the foregoing description seems too mechanistic, it is
557 a result of the example chosen to illustrate the phenomena. In this

571
557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is
[554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

556 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to
592 have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large
621 group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
621
571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

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range of personal ambition, inertia, and variation in the scale of social relations. The kinds of structures which result from the natural processes of birth, maturation, marriage and death may vary and, as we have seen, result in various kinds of stresses to be incorporated into the organization. However, these can almost always be mitigated when the structure has a satisfactory operating distribution of power and authority. If not, then fissionable forces in residence structures tend to emerge and themselves determine the character of the group.

Maximal Lineages and Clans

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It is not necessary within the scope of the present discussion to go into a full description. Nevertheless, it should be noted that traditionally Kanuri kinship included functional clans and to some extent at least, i.e. among the upper classes, maximal patri-lineages. In Chapter II, mention was made of the military use of clans in the army in the pre-1893 periods of Bornu history. All Kanuri if pressed are able to give their clan membership whose identity they generally recognize patrilineally. Exceptions were found, however, where informants gave two clans which they identified as coming to them from their mother and their father. Nevertheless, basing judgment upon the statements of older informants it seems fairly certain that clan membership was reckoned patrilineally.

The Magumi and Kubûri clans are recognized by some to be the clans of the leading lineages of the Kanuri and Kanembu peoples respectively. It is also generally known in a rather vague way, which varies from informant to informant, that all clan members are descended from a common ancestor about whom there is sometimes an

As a man and woman grow older they demand
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters 582 [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more
likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who
is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although [589]
not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and
restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper
class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does
the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an
extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little
freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early
divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (gower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the tem- [585]
porary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless
their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few [595]
exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable
and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The excep- [589]
tions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and
thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/
or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These
factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

581 In discussing the matter
582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which draws a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

582 The next type of marriage to be considered is the <u>nyis kam</u>
557 <u>rukatabe</u> (marriage of pleasure). The expression means marriage to a man of wealth or high status, i.e. marriage with one of his daughters or with one of the girls over whom he has rights of marriage dispensation. The closer the girl comes to being the actual biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

One common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of <u>luwali</u>. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law.(1) It will

[608] (1) Ego always behaves to his wife's <u>luwali</u> in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

582
557 be remembered that a bride's family is traditionally of higher status than a groom's. In this situation we see the perfect fit to the traditional evaluation of status between a man (and his group) and his in-
[583] laws. The bridewealth is usually not excessive since the entire set of arrangements takes place within the extended household organization of one wealthy and/or high ranking man. This does not mean that the groom must live inside the superior's household, for the organization may encompass a group of households. The arrangement parallels the form of cousin marriage since two members within one organization are being married, rather than members from two separate and distinct organizations.

Another way of doing the same thing would be for the household head to find a girl from among the households of his friends or relatives and initiate the arrangements for a marriage between his subordinate and the girl in question. In this case the superior would almost certainly help the subordinate with gifts and loans of money. This kind of behaviour is very similar to that of a father obtaining a wife for his young unmarried son who lives in the father's compound. Consequently when a powerful household head arranges such a wedding for his subordinate he is acting like a father to his follower. Informants noted the similarity when they spoke of this kind of behaviour.

Where no strong relationship exists between two males a high ranking person may single out some individual, junior to himself in status, with whom he wishes to obtain a relationship and give him a fere (daughter, ward, girl), in order to create some obligation as a basis for their relations into the future. As a general rule the superior uses his powers of dispensation to maintain, create and strengthen supportive subordinates, while the subordinate invests his subservience to obtain the fruits of his superior's powers of dispensation.

582 For example, in 1930 the District Head of Mobber, who was in grave dan-
557 ger of being dismissed from his position by the British, contracted a marriage with a daughter of the Wazirí of Bornu.(1) This was his own way, the Kanuri way, of attempting to strengthen his waning political position in the State. He felt that a marriage link between himself and the household of the Wazirí would make it more difficult for the higher powers to dispose of him, and would enlist the aid of the Wazirí, the second most powerful man in the Kanuri political organization, on his
[648] behalf. The British administration, however, did not take into account the feelings of fathers-in-law for sons-in-law(2) when judging political performance, and so the manoeuvre was in the end to no avail.

The nyia kam rukatabe can also refer to a marriage which is initiated purely for the sake of marrying a woman or a girl, whose attachment to ego will obviously profit him economically. She is often wealthy herself, or is a wealthy heiress. Thus a high ranking person was observed to spend a great deal of money (this might almost be termed an "investment") for a virgin girl who was the only heir of a rich old man of lower social rank to himself. Informa[illegible]cribed this as a true nyia kam rukatabe (marriage with a rich man [illegible]l).

582 By their very nature marriages of this variety are more com-
587 monly of the virgin type. However, young girls who divorce and return
557 to the households of their luwali, as tradition prescribes, very often
565 can be utilized for such marriages in their second or possibly even third unions. Since high ranking women are more often in seclusion there is a greater probability that successive dispensations after div-

(1) See above; chap. III.
(2) The official records do not give the actual biological linkage of the girl to the Wazirí, and it is therefore impossible to tell what kind of a ward she was in the Wazirí's household.

582
587 orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to
557 return to the partial seclusion of their luwali's compound, especially
565 during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

582 Nyia sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage[1] is sim-
793 ilar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the
582 donor. In such cases much, if not all, of the gift giving by the male
793 to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in
583 connection with the formalizing ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and

(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nyia mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

582 the motivations of the lumali in giving his ward. It may be that the
793 mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage
583 very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage pay-
[557] ments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam
582 for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills.
793 This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made, because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural powers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their
793 wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immediate ward of town. He had been married six times, almost always to one wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been a nyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obligations.

58 Nyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

593 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a
565 higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realises that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

593 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the
156 husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and
557 return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

593 wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities.
557 Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their
[558] husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female domin-
[521] ated household. Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking
[837] of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power
[183] available to him to assert his rights. Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function
593 properly. This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accord-
565 ance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they
183 are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

634
571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a
634 highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are
647 ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus
554 if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his resi-
[576] dence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the
647 extended household organization of the DH, then the factional member-
662 ships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials
647 disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household or-
• 557 ganization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[838] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

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643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

647 557 traditional one. One of the senior members of an individual's agnatic group arranges an audience with some person connected to an N.A. department. One informant in the N.A. commented on recruitment in the following manner.

> If you want a job in the Treasury, one of your relatives (a senior male agnate) will find out, if he does not already know, the name of some person who is known to "help" people and go to greet him some night. Your relative will give him some money and he will say that you must come back the next day and he will tell you. Then he will find you a job in the Department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him, and then the job is yours, and you are in the N.A. . . . Sometimes it takes a long time.

647 Because of the constant shifts in personnel, some to higher positions, others because of dismissals or jail terms, there is much unpredictability of job tenure in the N.A. and suspicion of unorthodox 647 behaviour is a common rule. Thus one junior N.A. official remarked 576 that he must be careful in his department to always dress less well than his superiors, or it would be considered ro kura (ambitious, proud), and therefore threatening. On the other hand, he must not dress too poorly or his superiors will consider him a wastrel, who 647 spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again, it is extremely difficult to transfer (through own effort) from one branch of the service to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to the person's own department heads and N.A. council; if a release is granted, then a further application to the desired department [829] can be submitted. To the Kanuri such a transfer is not considered a rejection of the work, but of the people in the department. Thus informants claimed that they would be considered ingrates and trouble- [662] makers if they were ever to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends "visiting at night", i.e. paying tribute to the appropriate

647 662 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647 [557] Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense 647 571 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However, within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the DH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or [641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

581 593 [565] only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings.

581 557 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create [582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt [583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the luwali.

581 [584] Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri are Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life.
• 557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

593 wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities.
557
[558] Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female domin-
[521] ated household. Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking
[837] of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power
[183] available to him to assert his rights. Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function
593 properly. This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accord-
565 ance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they
183 are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

565 463 602 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry season activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as knanzike (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galèbu

556 (a rich man). There is no word to describe a middle range income, so that a speaker expresses this idea, if he has to, by negating both terms for rich and poor thus giving the ideal of a position somewhere in between the two extremes of his experience.(1) The various translations given for ngudi reflect the Kanuri evaluation of this dimension of rank. A ngudi is a man without property, or possessions; he is a sad man and an unfortunate one. He wears shabby clothes, eats poor food and cannot entertain his friends, or give decent gifts to them when they have ceremonies. The galibu, or rich man, is the very opposite of all these qualities (ideally). That is to say, it is considered good and desirable to be wealthy and undesirable to be poor.

Wealth is used to subsist well. This means that it is good to have fine clothes and lots of them, good horses, a big house, more than one wife, a bicycle or even a car, and to be able to afford an aeroplane ticket to Mecca, and so on. Conversely, it is bad not to have some fine clothes, and, in general, subsist at a lower level of consumption.

Enhancing this dimension and elaborating upon it, are other cultural concepts concerning the purposes of wealth. Property is used to validate status. A man who is known to be comparatively wealthy and is not using it to establish and maintain obligatory relationships of discipline-respect and/or loyalty, is considered to be bayil or jokku(2) [558] (stingy, miserly). On the other hand, a man who gets into heavy debt because of his desire to give or loan money and material goods to his friends, relatives and supporters, and initiate large expensive ceremonies far above his actual economic assets is a wujirma (spendthrift).

(1) It is only when subtle discriminations are being made in conversation that a person is spoken of as neither rich nor poor.
(2) From the Arabic.

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558 The literal translation of wujirma is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Litterally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

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533 Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

556 571 me a . . ."). This validates the higher status of the person being asked to give and can strengthen or initiate an obligatory subordination of some kind on the part of the would-be receiver. But, because there are so many more potential receivers than possible donors, all informants felt that it was always wise to keep quiet about the exact proportions of one's wealth in order to limit the amount of requests which widespread knowledge of property surpluses would bring.

It should be noted here that this imbalance of donors and receivers and the culturally defined potentiality of their interrelationship, offers a much travelled route for social mobility in Bornu. Any man who obtains material surpluses may begin to use his property to obtain discipline-respect (bbraum) relationships with an expanding [558] group of followers. Contrarily, a man whose material wealth is declining finds his followers less apt to remain within his organization. This is one of the primary elements in the operation of political and economic power.

An example of what this can mean in every day life is seen in the following example. In Magumeri the local school teacher who is on a monthly civil service salary is considered moderately wealthy by local rural standards. During an interview, at the writer's house, the teacher became increasingly nervous and fidgety, continually watching a rather elderly peasant who seemed to hover around the base of a tree about twenty yards in front of the house. Towards the end of the afternoon, the informant interrupted the conversation to ask whether the writer had seen the man near the tree. He then complained bitterly that this man was no friend or relation to him, but had been begging for a hat (price, four to eight shillings) for the last few weeks. The

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829 This brings up an interesting observation. The judgment of any individual about the distribution of arziyi in society at any one time is his particular notion about the arrangement of social roles in the social structure. Furthermore, his estimation of the distribution of arziyi at any one level of the hierarchy, e.g. comparing the behaviour of one District Head with another, is his judgment of the success that occupants of similar roles were enjoying relative to one another.

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829 Arziyi seems to be used in two related ways in Kanuri culture. Firstly, in an enormously heterogeneous society, it gives a satisfactory answer to individual variations along one of the most affective dimensions of behaviour, success in achieving immediate and long range goals. Secondly, it is used as an explanation for the nature of the social structure, i.e. for its stratification. Those people, who have higher status along any dimension of stratification, have more arziyi, which accounts for their ability to maintain such a role in the social organization. These two ways of using arziyi as an explanation for differentiation are related so that what results is a Kanuri theory of society that at once validates its structure and explains the changes in personnel which accompany a system where personal fortunes may rise and fall rapidly. Thus a high status position in the structure indicates that the person has that amount of arziyi. His performance of the role required by this status may show him to have even more arziyi then he will outstrip others who occupy the same status and seek the
[558] same goals. On the other hand, he may do badly which will indicate a loss of arziyi and a loss of status. Arziyi is also, besides being a theory of society, a theory of causation, which integrates social and individual differentiation under one simple, mystical force, personal

[GEIDAM]

G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momoñ Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

463 565 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. The Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

56 177 The third variable which must be considered in looking at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of con-
[559] tact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

[GEIDAM]

56 177 prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.
[554]

The direct influence of the British colonial administra-
177 567 565 648 tion has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a North-
634 177 178 565 ern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Gei-
[648] dam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

177 prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri
178 culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict
554 with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have
565 brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain groups in the community structure, particularly among the talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one another in the community of Geidam represents the social structure of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a
56 178 result of the interaction of the three variables discussed
369 here: the traditional system of social stratification, the
177 urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of the Industrial West.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizontally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfortable with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State. This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked" by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating. However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

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(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

882 will lead them to their adult roles in the socio-economic structure of
582 the society. Since boys do not marry until the end of this period, first marriages are much later for males as compared to females.

885 By maturity, the Kanuri mean several things. For a man it means that he is married, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a household and some degree of independence. When some of these social attributes are lacking the person often refers to himself as a "small boy" no matter what his age. There is no one status term meaning maturity for females, although terms exist which define her status as a woman who has had a child or not, as middle aged, and so on.

888 Old age for women often means dependence upon her sons if she has any, plus some petty trade in order to help sustain herself economically. For men, old age can be viewed on a continuum running from the one pole of successful seniority achieved or ascribed during life, to its opposable and supportative complement, subordination. Some achieve their seniority, others support this achievement by acting as subordinates, sometimes only as stepping stones to their own growth in seniority, or at other times, as a life goal in itself. However, it should be remembered that all men, even the Shehu, are in some sense subordinate in the total social structure.

• 56 The discussion of stratification has been organized within a theoretical framework in which the complex differentiation of Kanuri society is classified into status dimensions. These are sets of agreed upon rankings of persons within some specified area of behaviour. For the present discussion the status dimensions of ethnic membership, occupation, birth ascription, wealth, and rural/urban status, have been considered in some detail.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 579 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Life Cycle: From Birth to Death in Kanuri Society

THE HISTORY of Kanuri society, its family and household organization, and the other groupings described later in this book that make it into a system, are all activated and made real by the people who spend their lives in Bornu. Kanuri society, indeed any society, can be described by giving the major details of its organized social life. However, such a description uses as its units the roles and groups that make up each organization. The units (roles and groups) are separate parts of the system, but it is important to remember that roles and groups are stage settings for the behavior of real people who are born, grow up, love, hate, get married, grow old and die. Some are more successful, some less so, but the way in which they live a Kanuri life from beginning to end is what produces the energy, the continuity, and the change within the structure of their society.

Like people everywhere the Kanuri see a pattern in the life span of individuals. This is thought of as a series of stages or grades determined fundamentally by age and sex. Whether he or she be rich or poor, peasant, slave, or of royal blood these stages still apply and mark off a lifetime. Like age grades in all societies there is a rough correlation at each stage with that of physiological growth, maturation and decline. However, the specific factors of local geography and the adaptation to it, as well as their social complexity and culture history, have molded the grades into the specific set of life stages that can be called Kanuri. In the future, the forces of modernism will add their weight to this stream and produce changes in this traditional cycle. For the present, however, I want to present a picture of a Kanuri lifetime, as my informants report it and as I have observed it in Bornu, starting with gestation and ending with the death of an individual.

Gestation

Kanuri men and women almost universally claim that having children is desirable for married couples, although charms that both promote and prevent pregnancy can be obtained locally from specialists. The culture norms on this point are

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness. A woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumoribe (ngumori means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zomabe (Zoma means Friday). The Liman Ngumoribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [702] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [634] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 292 Malam as the Liman Zomabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zomabe was 554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumoribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the [561] age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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796 Ngumori Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
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[GEIDAM]

128 to determine in which behavioral areas the younger group proved
*177 to be the more acculturated.

*177 Table XXXVIII presents 15 items in which the younger group
• 561 was more acculturated than the older. The responses of members
128 of the older group may be compared with those of the younger group by examining columns a and b. Table XXXIX lists 8 items in which little or no difference was detected between the two groups. Examining each of the items in Table XXXVIII, it is
*177 apparent that one half involve Western material goods. Item
561 1: more young men own watches and bicycles; more older men own horses. Item 2: more young men can ride a bicycle and can tell time. Item 3: both young and old say that a horse is more useful than a bicycle, but of those who say "bicycle" there are more young than old. Item 4: more young men would rather own a bicycle than a horse, while the older group would rather own a horse. This is a response which well might shift with age. When this same group of young men grows older, might they not then prefer to own a horse? Item 5: more young men smoke cigarettes and drink beer than do the older men. This type of behavior might also drop out with increasing age. Item 6: more young men have European shoes; more old men state that they would not wear them. Item 7: only members of the young group have European-style trousers; most of the older group state that they would refuse to wear them. It is clear that in the area of behavior involving Western material goods, and attitudes towards these things, the younger group appears to be the more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 334]

2:Rosman | E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Table XXXVIII

Comparison of old and young individuals with respect to acculturation measures.

			a. old	b. young
*177 • 561	1. Western Material Goods: possession - (Table XVIII)	watch	7	17
		bicycle	3	13
		horse	20	15
	2. Western Material Goods: knowledge about items - (Table XIX)	bicycle	6	17
		time	12	18
	3. Western Material Goods: relative usefulness - (Table XXI)	bicycle	3	6
		horse	17	11
		different	1	6
	4. Western Material Goods: rather have- (Table XXI)	bicycle	3	12
		horse	18	11
	5. Western Material Goods: cigarettes and beer - (Table XXII)	do smoke	3	7
		do drink	1	5
	6. Western Material Goods: wearing European shoes - (Table XXIII)	has shoes	10	20
		would wear	5	2
		wouldn't wear	6	1
	7. Western Material Goods: wearing trousers - (Table XXIII)	has them	0	11
		would wear	4	2
		wouldn't wear	17	10
	8. Religious Behavior: wearing charms - (Table XXV)	wearing now	10	15
		rarely wears	11	8
	9. Western Medicine: would go to a doctor -	yes	16	21
	effectiveness of medicine- (Table XXVI)	European	7	11
		Koran	7	5
		different	7	7
	10. Western Medicine: number of diseases of the six for which European medicine is better (Table XXVII)-	median	2.1	3.1
	11. Western Medicine: treatment of small pox -	Kanuri	6	2
		European	12	19
		different	3	2

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Table XXXVIII (continued)

			old	young
$177 • 561	12. Aspirations for son: (Table XXXIV)-	European type	7	11
		Kanuri "	13	12
	13. Marriage: marry a non-Kanuri- (Table XXXV)	yes	9	16
		no	12	7
	median number chosen of the four choices-		.4	1.2
	14. Marriage: marry an educated wife - (Table XXXVI)	yes	12	20
		no	.9	3

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XXXIX

*177 561 Acculturation measures in which little or no difference was shown between the old and the young members in the sample.

1. Knowledge of other languages (Table XVI) - slight superiority of young in English, not in others.
2. Ability to read (Table XVII) - slight superiority of young in English script, not in Arabic script.
3. Religious behavior: fasting during the minor fast of Tsuro Mbulo (Table XXIV).
4. Charity and generosity: giving a gown to a stranger (Table XXIX).
5. Education: sending son to school (Table XXX).
6. Education: sending daughter to school (Table XXX).
7. Arbitration of Disputes: going for sholo or going to court (Table XXVIII).
8. Marriage: willingness to allow wife to work (Table XXXVII).

[GEIDAN]

#177 #56 acculturated.

The greater acculturation of the younger group also emerges from their responses in the area of attitudes towards Western medicine (Items 9, 10, 11). Item 9: more young men would go to a European doctor; the young men believe that Western medicine is the more effective, while the old men are evenly divided between Western medicine and the Koran. Item 10: the members of the young group tend to prefer Western medicine for a greater number of diseases than do the members of the older group. Item 11: with respect to the treatment of smallpox, more members of the older group prefer Kanuri treatment than do members of the younger group. In this area the responses of the younger group are like their responses with respect to Western material goods.

In examining the remaining items in Table XXXVIII in which the young and the old group differ (Items 8, 12, 13, 14) it is revealing to turn to Table XXXIX to compare these items with similar items in which the two groups do not differ. The two groups do not show much difference in their knowledge of other languages (except that the younger group shows a slight advantage in their knowledge of English), or in their ability to write (except that again the younger group has an advantage in writing in English script). With respect to religious behavior, there is no difference between the groups among those who fast at Tsuro Mbulo (Item 3, Table XXXIX), but there is a difference between the groups in the wearing of charms (Item 8, Table

*177 XXXVIII). Both of these findings are of interest because several
561 of those who did not fast at Tsuro Mbulo gave as their reason the explanation that they were young, implying that the young are not expected to keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo while the old are. On examining the ages of those who do fast on that occasion it becomes apparent that there is no difference in age--equal proportions of young and old observe the fast. With respect to the wearing of charms, it is found that a greater number of young men actually wear charms than do old men. In this case, the younger group exemplifies traditional religious norms more avidly than does the older group. The value of charity and generosity is upheld among the young to the same extent that it is upheld among the old (Item 4, Table XXXIX). The young do not appear more eager to send either son or daughter to the European school than do the old (Items 5 and 6, Table XXXIX). On the other hand, they favor European sorts of occupations in their aspirations for their sons (Item 12, Table XXXVIII), more so than does the older group. It would appear that members of the younger group are freer and wider ranging in the hopes which they express for their sons, but are not really prepared to implement these hopes by sending their sons to receive a Western education which would make some of their hopes possible. Perhaps this is once again a case of wider aspirations among the young men, which change and become more conservative with age. As they grow older, their aspirations may change and they may wish their sons to engage in traditional Kanuri activities rather than in Western activities.

[BEIDAN]

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The final items that remain to be discussed are the arbitration of disputes (Item 7, Table XXXIX), in which the two groups do not appear to differ, and marriage. Attitudes towards marriage again reveal an interesting inconsistency in the younger group. It can be seen in Item 13 (Table XXXVIII) that most of the younger group are willing to marry a woman who is not Kanuri, while most of the older group would not; furthermore, they would marry a higher percentage of the four tribes mentioned than would the older group. The overwhelming majority of the younger group would also marry an educated woman (Item 14, Table XXXVIII); many more of the older men would refuse to marry an educated woman compared to the younger group. However, when it comes to allowing one's wife to work as a dispenser or a school-teacher the younger group is no more permissive than is the older group. The two groups do not differ with respect to this question (Item 8, Table XXXIX). It would appear that greater tolerance in accepting a woman as one's wife is a function of youth, but that this is not necessarily accompanied by greater permissiveness in the treatment of wives. The younger group would uphold traditional Kanuri norms as strictly as would the older group in the matter of allowing one's wife to work as a school-teacher.

It is evident that relative age is a factor influencing degree of acculturation in specific behavioral areas. The areas most affected are material culture, treatment of diseases, aspirations for children, and permissiveness in selecting a mar-

GEIDAN

*177 riage partner. On the other hand, no differences were detected
• 561 in areas involving important traditional Kanuri values: religious behavior, charity, arbitration of disputes, education of children, and willingness to permit a wife to work.

C. Degree of Acculturation of the Eight Groups and Categories.

128 *177 Having considered each of the acculturation measures in turn, and having discussed the relative acculturation of each group with respect to that measure, it is appropriate now to consider each of the eight groups and categories in turn, examining the behavioral areas in which that group demonstrated a high degree of acculturation when compared to the other groups as well as the behavioral areas in which that group proved to be less acculturated than the others.

The method adopted for the presentation of each group so that it might be compared with the other seven groups, was to take all the measures of acculturation used in the study, of which there were forty-three (that is, forty-three distinct questions), and to give the proportion of acculturated responses on all forty-three questions for each group in turn. However, in order to judge how each group compared with the total sample, it was necessary to compare the proportion of acculturated responses in each individual group with the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample for each question. Thus the proportion of acculturated responses in the entire sample was considered as a baseline, from which each of the eight

As a man and woman grow older they demand and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

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During the harvest season (November to February) divorced women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the temporary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

581 [585] [221] [595] [589]

1. Age Differences

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It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her [183] husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

[p. 148]

CHAPTER VI

The Life Cycle

121 In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialized.

561 As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the [571] only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organization is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

844 At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (sartâma). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as [846] other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 571 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif- 881 582 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 885 562 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 [561] [165] [162] One of the interesting functional results of having an extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

634 571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'uma if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Nagumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live 634 571 either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization • 561 are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

634
571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

593 183 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of [565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper [586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialisation training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bèrzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demonstration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

[829] The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

242 177 561 [576] [554] 242 177 [829] Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age. However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite, and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training, and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people. Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Abdulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
• 562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tives, usually female relatives, in the name of the groom; these are called the *kwororam*, or the asking-a-question payments. Secondly, there are the formally recognized payments. The first of these is a large one called the *luwaliram*, given to the *luwali*, or the man who officially gives the bride to the groom and to whom she will return if she ever runs away or separates from her husband. This is followed several weeks later by a *sada'u*, a small fee given to the girl's family through her *luwali* on the morning of the wedding day. And thirdly there are a number of small payments paid out to the girl and her young friends, to the female relative(s) who accompany her to the groom's house, and to any unmarried sister she has left behind. The groom receives a few small gifts from the girl's family, and on the morning of the wedding day when the *sada'u* is paid, he receives gifts of money, clothes, and even on occasion a horse. He never knows beforehand, however, just how much or how little this "rebate" will come to in relation to his own outlay for the marriage. 583

When the status of the two families is similarly low, as it is in the vast majority of rural marriages, then there is very little worry over bridewealth. Generally it is not very high and almost standardized for the locality. An important man always pays more bridewealth because everyone believes he can afford it. Paying more for everything he does, including marriage, is one of the ways he validates or proves his higher social rank. An interesting insight is also gained when it is realized that not only is the status of the person getting married taken into account, but also the status of those whom he is associated with and whom he can count on for help. In our little town of Magumeri many people tried to have their daughters marry members of my household because, as they laughingly admitted, they knew I would help my household members with bridewealth, and my apparently wealthy status in Magumeri meant that payments could be set a good deal higher than usual for such a marriage. 583 554 583 554 123

No matter what the status of the two families may be, girls who have not been married before command a much higher set of bridewealth payments, and more of them. The magnitude is often three to five times as much and in extreme cases it goes even higher than that. Men tend to give more as they grow older and can afford it, while conversely women often receive less as they go from one marriage to the next. Kanuri say that a woman who has been married many times has been used a great deal and is therefore worth much less than others who have not had so many marriages and been used as much. On the other hand, if she remained with previous husband(s) for longer periods, has a reputation for quiet obedience, and staying inside the household, then the groom feels more confident about her and will pay more. Similarly if the women has borne children and has demonstrated her fertility, she is also worth more. Although some men know practically nothing about their wives to be, others investigate them and inquire into the reasons for previous marriage break-ups and so on. Was it because her previous husband beat her, or because she was an adulteress, or was excessively jealous of co-wives? Did she not perform her wifely duties properly, or show proper respect to her husband? Certainly some men like to know what kind of wife they are getting and this affects their willingness to pay bridewealth. However, it is not uncommon for a Kanuri man to say that he knew a particular wife for only a week, or perhaps just a day or two before they were married. In this case the woman's marital record is 58 562 581

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
58 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife. 581 562

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times. 58 159

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bridewealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [887]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali*, (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household) and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

For the most part relations between husbands and wives are highly formalized. They avoid using one another's names in conversation. In public only the most necessary interaction takes place between them when other people are around. Women walk generally behind their husbands when the two are going somewhere together, and even in the household the woman remains or should remain inside the compound. When he is not working, the husband sits most often in the entrance hut or in front of his household. A visit to a Kanuri household brings the husband to the entrance hut if he is inside, and at the same time the wife retreats out of sight. For the most part women remain in the company of women, and men with men. Only in a few rare cases have I ever observed public expressions of friendliness between a husband and a wife. 593 576 562

Cultural tradition has ordained that men are the dominant members of society, and women, more specifically wives, are to be submissive. This is both Islamic and Kanuri. It is good and seemly for a woman to obey her husband and to appear humble in his presence. Men decide where the family is to live, who a daughter is to marry, and a multitude of day-to-day questions on every aspect of family life. For a wife or indeed any family member to make a decision without consulting the husband-father is asking for trouble. Disputes between a husband and a wife, in which a man can refer to a breech of his authority as the cause of the disagreement, are invariably settled in his favor and might include physical punishment by the husband if the wife is very young. Thus a district head ruled against the plaintiffs in a case in which the husband had been accused by the wife's relatives of a beating which he had administered to her. The district head stated that the girl had been grossly disobedient and that it was the husband's right to punish such acts, especially in one so very young who was still learning how to be a proper wife. 593 [562]

One out of every two Kanuri marriages is a polygynous one. Thus a woman is very likely sometime during her life to be in a situation in which she is one of two or more co-wives. Relations between co-wives is governed by strict codes of procedure. Each wife has her own hut in the back area of the compound farthest from the entrance hut or gate. Each wife cooks her own food and raises her own children who sleep in her hut while they are small. When co-wives go abroad as a group to the wells or to a ceremony, the senior wife—the one married to the husband-in-common for the longest time—takes the lead with the other wives behind in a single file. Then come the female children in terms of their own relative ages. During a family ceremony the senior wife is the authoritative head of the women's section and directs the work of the others. Relations with the husband are strictly regulated. The general rule is that each wife performs her duties from sunset to sunset and the evening meal is taken after sunset. Every wife takes her own turn cooking the husband's food and that night she visits him in his hut. He may or may not have intercourse with her, but he must try to share sexual favors as equally as possible or else word about it will spread around in the family and cause tension between wives. 595

Although it is very rare to observe cases of long-standing co-wife relations because of the high amount of divorce in Bornu, the Kanuri always say that co-wives can become very good friends if they remain married to the same man for a long period of time. On the other hand it is fairly easy to observe co-wife relations that are stiff, formal, and even tense and hostile. One woman whom I know actual-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very
590 common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' com-
562 pound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed
837 this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes
521 about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their
593 own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband
586 and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

431 this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no hus-
851 bands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

165 It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable
754 reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the
782 result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their new-
182 born infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

553 Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is per-
[562] formed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground mil-
[431] let flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women
[302] sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his
[305] young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and
[304] then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness
[302] of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tinual dereliction of some duty although outright malfeasance such as stealing can also bring swift and awesome retribution. For example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest. When punishment occurs its severity is noted by all children within earshot, and thus the beating of one child of the village or ward serves notice on all that punishment is not just a matter of threats but may become a reality if limits are transgressed. 861 868

That such household learning soon becomes habitual can be seen any day in a Bornu village by watching children. Even a little girl of three and a half can accomplish tasks involving quite a lot of dexterity. One little girl of this age was passed a straw mat plate and separately given some paper clips. She neatly put the paper clips on the plate and began her own already advanced imitation of the quick, deft, jiggling movements associated with the sifting of ground-nut shells. None of her paper clips was dropped, and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some sifted ground nuts." 868 857

Sometimes play takes in both sexes and is more complex than simple imitation like the one above. Thus for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through ten may organize a "wedding." The "bride" and "groom" are chosen as are the various kindred, the best man, the leading woman, etc. Care is taken to practice as many of the details of the adult virgin wedding ceremony as they can manage including even a mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll. Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children. Adults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children. Such play is related to an even more complex form called *mai-mai*, which is no longer practiced in Bornu. In playing *mai-mai* the young children in a village put on a pageant. They chose a king, nobles, servants, slaves, wives, gave titles to everyone, and behaved for several days in the guise of these socio-political roles. Mock battles were fought, slaves taken and justice meted out in a mock court. Seniority was established by age and consent. The organization was temporary like the "wedding" and disbanded after a few days. During periods when adults are out of the compound, away at a market, or working in the fields during the growing season, children often play house. The group gets together and appoints "fathers," "wives," and "children." The little children may actually cook for their "husbands" on such occasions and the couples go into a hut in the compound where sexual play is carried on. They are, however, soon called back to the larger group where it has been declared "morning" by another child who has announced the "morning prayers" signifying that night has passed. Boys are aware that such play should stop when they can ejaculate. From then on they are men; sex is a serious affair and unmarried girls are illegitimate objects of sexual intercourse. However such prepubescent sex derived from playing "house" is widespread, or to paraphrase one young informant, "Everyone does such things when they are young." 867 857 [864] [858]

Boys especially, but girls as well, may also begin some religious instruction during their childhood. Although girls never leave home for this purpose, boys sometimes do after the age of six or seven. In some cases the teacher lives nearby 869 87 562

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[571] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they become full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families, and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role produce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[8] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a

[8] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

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692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

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779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
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779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Ko-
[792] ranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

593 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two
562 individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound
565 but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower cate-
554 gories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives se-
463 cluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75
586 (mean is 4.88). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205]

[GEIDAM]

735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299

[GEIDAM]

Table XXX

*177 871 *829 *562 *565 *463 *554 21, 28. **Education:** Would send your son to school?
Would you send your daughter to school?

	Son: Yes	Son: No	Daughter: Yes	Daughter: No
Aristocracy	5	-	5	-
Koranic Malams	-	3*a	-	3
Canteen Operators	5	1*b	4	2
NA Malams	6	-	5	1
Kabuna	6*c	-	5	1*g
Craftsmen	4	2	4	2
Talaka	5*d	3	3*h	5
Low-status Individuals	1	3*e	2	2
Totals:	32	12*f	28*i	16*j

Son:

*a Koranic Malam: "No. I want my son to become Liman after me."

*b Canteen Operator: "No. I will do according to our custom. I will do what my father and father's father did."

*c Kabuna: "I would send my son to school. I wish that I had been sent to school, but my father forbid it."

*d Talaka: "Yes. It's useful. But a girl won't stay in her husband's house if she goes to school."

*e One low-status individual has a son in school, but if the Lowan had said nothing he would not have sent him to school himself.

*f 8 of the 12 who answered "no" specifically stated that they would not send their son to school unless forced to do so by their Lowan.

[GEIDAN]

Table XXX (continued)

Daughter:

*177 *g One kabuna sent his daughter to school, but only because the Ajia told him to send her. He would not otherwise have sent her to school.

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• 562 *h Talaka: "I would send her. If you have no money you can't do anything for your daughter. If she goes to school, she later will earn a salary and will give you food when you're old."

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*i Four respondents said: "School is more useful," or "School opens the mind."

*j 8 of the 15 who answered "no" specifically stated that they would not send their daughter to school unless forced to do so by the Lowan.

*177 daughter to the Western school. Most (73 per cent) would send
871 their sons to school, and the reasons for doing so (*c, *d)
*829 stress the usefulness of Western schooling and the benefits to
• 562 be gained. 27 per cent said that they would not send their sons to school, a number adding "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *f). Four groups would overwhelmingly send their sons
*[565] to school. These are: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, NA
[441] Malams, Kabuna. The remaining four are divided, although none
*[634] of the Koranic Malams and only one Low-status Individual would
[792] send a son to the Western school.
*[554]

Fewer would send a daughter to school, though once again
*[565] a majority (64 per cent) state that they would. The Aristoc-
*[634] racy, NA Malams and Kabuna would overwhelmingly send a daughter to school (though one individual in each of the latter groups has shifted from a "yes" for a son to a "no" for a daughter).
[792] The Koranic Malams remain adamant and would no sooner send a daughter than they would a son. Whereas a majority of Talaka would send a son to school, most would not send a daughter to school. The reasons given for sending a daughter to school appear in *h and *i. Of the 15 who answered "no", 8 added "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *j). One Talaka noted (*d) that school was useful for a boy, but not for a girl because marriage difficulties arise for educated women. This issue will be discussed more fully in Table XXXVI which concerns marriage with an educated woman.

*177 In following up the choice involved in educating one's son,
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*829

175 631 [173] Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing continuity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organized as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the Shehu.

175 631 642 An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu.(1) Tomlinson found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants.(2) Being a stranger in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced. Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as possible to consolidate his power.

173 634 [562] Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were, as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants in residence at the fief.

173 651 The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of two separate levies. One, the binèmram collected in binèm (winter) was the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

(1) Tomlinson, F.J.F. Report of Nganzai District; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
(2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

527 is still solemnized at a sada'a ceremony as at all weddings. With her
562 growing freedom in life a woman exerts a progressively stronger independence in her marriage choices. It was observed (but not measured) that the rate at which this occurs in the life span of women is increasingly rapid as one descends the socio-economic scale, and increases as well with the number of divorces per woman.

567 To complete the discussion of types of sexual unions, it
595 might be well to digress slightly at this point to include a brief description of concubinage. A concubine (chir) is a female slave who obtains this status as a result of her birth as a daughter to a male slave (karliya); once having been ascribed the role of chir by her birth she is groomed for a life concubinage. She is considered part of the household property, the inheritable property of the agnatic lineage of her father's owner. She may be given away as a gift to someone (without a wedding) or she can be kept in the family of her father's master. Formerly she could be sold. Once she is sexually mature she is available sexually only to her master unless her master gives her permission to marry someone, for example, another of his slaves. Any children she has as a result of union with a free man, i.e. her master, are themselves free, for slave status is determined by that of the father. This means that the slave population in Bornu is reproducing itself only through the efforts of functioning male slaves who are producing children.

A concubine is primarily a sexual partner to her master and a mark of his high status. She is also a servant to her owner's wife who may use her to do household work, carry water, etc. In several cases slave owners told of using both male and female slaves for farm labour. There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with concubines as there

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[124] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who attempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for approaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master, and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
• 562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad", causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
827 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment buildings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables operating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

1. Age Differences

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It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her [183] husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [709] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

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available only to her husband and this turns to sexual freedom and experimentation when she is a divorced woman.(1)

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This results in much marital infidelity on the part of married men and women. As we have seen, this can take a sanctioned and an unsanctioned form for men, while for married women any extra-marital sexual intercourse is considered to be adultery. Thus X, a Magumeri man, well known for his extra-marital sex relations woke up a local official late one night and asked him to come and see the woman whom X had brought to his compound. This was to ensure public recognition of the fact that he was sleeping with a nower (divorced

593 woman) and not someone's wife. When asked what his wife thought of his behaviour X replied that she did not like it. He added that it was none of her business and she could leave him if she wished.

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On the other hand, Kanuri men are usually extremely suspicious of their wives. One man whose wife attended local dances used to come to these evening celebrations to make sure that no one shone a flashlight on his spouse while she was dancing. The only time that this did occur the husband reported the incident to the Village Head who in turn locked up the voyeur for the night. This same woman was observed on several occasions entering single men's sleeping huts while her husband was away on trading trips.

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Even one seemingly submissive woman, the wife of an upper class man, was observed to blossom out suddenly and visit strange

589 (1) This is not meant to imply that the woman has complete freedom, even when divorced. A woman may have one or two men supporting her and sleeping with her while she is divorced (one at a time is more common), often for only periods of a week or two at a time. Women who sleep with too many men at the same time while divorced are considered bad marriage risks and tend to be regarded as acting somewhat more like a prostitute, rather than a divorced woman, who should really be going through a series of "trial" marriages, one of which will eventually lead to the real thing.

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

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[562] On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 885 562 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 [561] [165] [162] One of the interesting functional results of having an extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with woman marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

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(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

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885 would, he said laughingly, soon be a chiari (an old man). He explained that he had a married daughter, a farm, a compound, and a wife, who he proudly asserted had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he was a rashidi. But when asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his superior's headquarters, without instructions he quickly replied, "ata ngai wuma tada gana" (in that sense I am a small boy). In other words, in that particular area of behaviour generally associated with rashidi status I am not a participant as one who is a grown man, rather I am like a young son who must obey his father. This is not in any way shameful for the informant, since his status in the subservient relationship to the District Head is accepted by the culture.

885 Rashidi is then more than just a description of physiological age. In general people consider that when a man has been married he should be defined as having reached adult status. But when the term is applied to an adult male who had been married, it is found that a set of achievements is used as a criterion for judging a person's age grade status. These achievements are valued attributes of adult male life as defined by the culture which are available in varying degrees to all male members of the society.

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A woman who has had a child can be referred to as kuke, which means that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and has added a new member to her husband's agnatic group as well as to her own. Middle aged women (about thirty to forty) can be referred to as gudum to distinguish them from younger or older women, whether or not they have borne children. In actual practice these terms were not observed to be in common use, the woman's status and age being

885 described in other terms. The main distinctions for women are,
562 fero (girl), Kanu (woman) and Kanursu (old woman). A woman (kanu) can be given descriptive attributes to place her properly in people's minds. For example, she can be kanu kwanzb mbeji (a woman with a husband, i.e. married), or sanzb ngubu or gana (older or younger). These can be extended to include statuses such as having borne children or not, having an influential family, having a rich husband, being in seclusion and so on.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term rashidi whose meaning also connotes or embodies the ideology of mature behaviour.

The ideal view of the adult female role positively evaluates marriage, durability of marriage, children, obedience to husband, proper and efficient performance of women's tasks, chastity, staying in husband's compound much of the time, and maintaining some contact with her own family as some of the more important goals towards which
183 adult females should strive. In actual practice, women who divorce
885 the least number of times give their unqualified support to the cultur-
562 al ideal of the female role. On the other hand, women who divorce
586 easily and frequently tend to qualify their support of the ideal. This contrast is illustrated by the answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband required you to stay always in the compound?" A woman, who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years, answered simply, shi kura fatobe (he is the head of the household), i.e. he is my authoritative superior and I must obey. Contrarily, a woman, who at the age of about thirty-five had married and divorced four times, replied, daji lenyin (then I would go away), i.e. divorce him.

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[171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

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562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

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562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

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571 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
576 superior-subordinate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider themselves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) expect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri family and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage, or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the political scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling, wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labour-
[463] ers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics,
[177] clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European
562 origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say
572 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and in kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving
562 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery
323 production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/
000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>serwa</u> (co-

291 In a culture where houses are often extremely similar from person to person, within any one strata of society, clothing tends to give expression to individual tastes and desires. On a broader scale, difference in dress reflects class divisions and higher and lower echelons of the status dimensions discussed in previous chapters, giving cultural support and emphasis to these social distinctions. Thus on a normal work day in Magumeri these differences are readily apparent.

511 The actual amount of expenditure for clothing is a function of income and social status and seems to range for many of the peasant population (over two-thirds of the budgets) between three and thirteen pounds sterling per annum for each male household head. If we take £9.0.0, as a rough median value per rural male householder, the calculated rural expenditure for food (£41.0.0) and clothing (£9.0.0) is about £50.0.0 per year, in cash and kind (translated into cash values at local Bornu prices).

[562] The following table, taken from nineteen of the more reliable budgets, illustrates the relationship between occupation and clothing expenditures, as well as pointing up the fact that most women's clothes are bought by men. The extremes of the table are: (1) a District Head who buys a larger amount and a better quality of clothing as a mark of his high status, as well as giving away many gifts of robes to his followers; (2) a servant of the District Head who buys no clothing at all, since the D.H. supplies him with his needs; (3) a wealthy trader from the city who utilizes clothing expenditures, among other things, to raise his social status commensurate to his recent rise in wealth.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
[563] Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
[579] but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

618 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[931] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and
• 563 are numerous in the western sections of the province. In sim-
177 ilar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[463] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

177 of Moslems and Europeans.

4. Peoples acculturated to the Kanuri

177 563 101 A circle of peoples surrounding the Kanuri have become, in varying degrees, acculturated to the Kanuri. These are relatively small groups who today are part pagan, part Moslem, and who speak Kanuri as well as their own individual languages. They lie in a sweeping circle along the borders of the area occupied by the Kanuri.

Directly east of the Kanuri, along the borders of Lake Chad and on the innumerable islands in the lake itself, live the Buduma. They probably represent part of the indigenous population of the plains of Bornu, forced into the inhospitable environment of the lake by the incoming Kanuri. Buduma living on the shores of the lake and in constant contact with Kanuri are Moslem and very Kanurified (acculturated to the Kanuri). Those in the interior are neither.

South of the lake and southeast of the Kanuri towns of Dikwa and Bama are two large tribes, the Mandara and the Kotoko (or Mogori). Kotoko towns like Segel, on the border of Chad, whose inhabitants are in immediate contact with the Kanuri from nearby towns, are very Kanurified. The people of Segel all speak Kanuri in addition to Kotoko, but the Kotoko are a distinct group. The Mandara, Moslem like the Kotoko, are more strongly identified with the Kanuri. Many individuals of Mandara origin live among the Kanuri and have adopted Kanuri cul-

177 ture. Many slave families among the Kanuri today were orig-
• 563 inally Mandara. The Mandara live to the immediate east of the
101 [567] mountainous area inhabited by the Gwoza pagans, and Mandara is
the lingua franca for the Gwoza hills.

The Marghi of Damboa District, just west of the Gwoza hills, are perhaps the clearest case of a group which, though still identifiable as a distinct people culturally, is fast [567] losing that identity and adopting Kanuri culture. The Marghi, up to recent times, served as a source of slaves for the Kanuri. Famous Kanuri title holders were Marghi slaves, called by the surname 'Marghi'. In Bornu Province they have become entirely integrated within the larger Kanuri society, within the present Kanuri-dominated political system, and within the urban-oriented economy of the area which looks towards the Kanuri capital, Maiduguri. Although older people among the Marghi still speak their own language, it is very common to find younger generation Marghi who have never learned Marghi and speak only Kanuri.

The Babur people live in the hilly upland area directly south of the Kanuri, centering around the town of Biu. They remain a part-Moslem, part-pagan people. The Bura and the Tera are sub-groups of the Babur. The upper classes of the Babur are entirely Moslem, and speak Kanuri. Many Babur have moved to Kanuri towns, particularly to Maiduguri. Often, after being accepted by the Kanuri community, they seek to deny affiliation with the Babur and call themselves Kanuri.

The Bolewa, southwest of the heart of Kanuri territory,

177 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of
• 563 small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika
101 and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct
563 groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and
[75] in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the
[636] empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist

177 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are
• 563 many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 The culture of a people never remains static; it is con-
105 stantly changing in response to forces, both external and in-
177 ternal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957)
[01] Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178 A number of material changes have been introduced which
494 have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[603] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] [651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Ni-
134 geria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts [492] [439] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the 433 [534] world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but 433 233 563 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in

433 great numbers. Bud wai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233
563 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
233 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri
agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most north-
easterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep dif-
ferent breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

632 565 342 556 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks, with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are sim-
[363] ilar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern,
[492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided
[463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 361 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's
[644] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

602 younger brother (kərami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The kərami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
• 563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
174
[197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

174 184 563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

173 614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

614 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanem-
178 bu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in
[643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re-
[643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British
Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It
was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the
[563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads
of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which
indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However,
the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatso-
ever. People come to pay them respect (nogana) as a result of
their position, but this is all that remains attached to the po-
sition.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175
565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized
four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo),
aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya).
One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken
together, determine the social importance of any category of
individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-
birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determin-
ing the rank of a social class, or of a single individual with-
in a class.

121
61 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social
66 relationship, and which derives from the political structure
565

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121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri • 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- 197 [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

and religious activity.

2. Wards and Neighborhoods.

632 [634] Since the town of Geidam is the administrative center of Geidam District, the Ajia of Geidam is the central political figure in the town. A town itself, however, is administered by a Lowan. Formerly, Geidam had one Lowan; however, as the town grew in size, it was subdivided into wards (nguro). Geidam has three wards, and each has its own Lowan. Each of the wards has its own character, and although many activities have reference to the town of Geidam as a whole, other activities are limited to a ward, or centered within a particular ward. [563] Two of the wards are almost entirely Kanuri and have Kanuri Lowans; the third is predominantly Hausa and has a Hausa Lowan.

The "U" of the town surrounding the dandal represents the center of the old town and is solidly Kanuri. This is the ward of Lowan Ashek, a kabuna of the Ajia. Political and administrative activities of a higher order center in Lowan Ashek's ward. The overwhelming majority of the Ajia's kabuna (47 of the 54 kabuna) live there. A small section of the river area falls under his jurisdiction as well since his ward stretches [732] westward to include the river-edge. At the northeastern tip of Lowan Ashek's ward is the section where the blind live.

The second Kanuri ward is under Lowan Kolo Kolo, who also is a kabuna of the Ajia. His ward is largely but not entirely Kanuri. Under his jurisdiction is the market and most of the

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632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serakin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dagora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

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632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[285]
[463]

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632 621 they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area. 632 463 The people of Koldi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Craftsmen who make the fine sitting mat (boji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the draftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
621 [563] and sagdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[574] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

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44 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in
438 the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued.
[442] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[543] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

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44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retailing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[563] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[462] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods, of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and the entire range of household goods noted above. Included within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins, etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents perhaps the single most important imported item, and items like enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most sell typically local Kanuri items. The tabarma sells imported

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44 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown,
438 does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in
439 this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamel-
ware, and everything sold by the taborma are all imported into
Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reach-
ing these retailers in the market-place. Saborma from other
small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell
them in their own towns, and saborma from Geidam go out to the
small towns and villages with their goods.

44 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can
438 also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups
439 within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found liv-
563 ing in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are
found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day
to sell particular items with which they are associated and
to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the
Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns
solely to exchange their goods for those made by the towns-
people; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell
cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes;
Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and bas-
ket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted
to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts,
[415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the
Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of
the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

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44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
439 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
• 563 ly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the
[415] Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439 process through which Western goods, imported by the European
177 trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
177 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The
952 companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balɔsma in Kanuri terms.
[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[571] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

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44 439 177 452 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the surrounding villages that are not large enough to support canteens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and sold in this fashion, the balosma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- 44 439 177 new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, saborma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shopkeepers directly from the trading companies who import them [563] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to taborma. Taborma, who are Kanuri, further break

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44 439 276 [592] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
[499] it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [562] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

651 trusted, to large areas. A number of less important kabuna col-
634 lect the jangali, under the responsibility of the chief kabuna in their area. The wakil, Wakil Ali, tours the entire district. Occasionally Yerima himself tours key sections, accompanied by a special wakil (formerly Wakil Guloma had this assignment, but [112] he has been replaced). A second tactical approach is to keep a certain number of horsemen in reserve. When an unusually large number of cattle are reported in any one area, horsemen are rushed into that area, assuring that all the cattle will be reported and that the kabuna there will not be swamped in their work. A third approach which Yerima used successfully in Magumeri District is to divide the entire district into strips several miles in width. Several kabuna comb a strip moving from east to west looking for Fulani with cattle, while other kabuna are simultaneously combing similar strips to the north and the south. When a group of kabuna have gone through their own strip, they exchange strips with another group and return in the opposite direction.

563 In Geidam today the Fulani are organized under Ardos and
651 Mais. A Fulani lineage is under an Ardo, appointed by the Ajia, Yerima Mustapha. When an Ardo dies, his people bring the man that they would like to succeed the dead Ardo, usually his son, to Yerima who appoints him Ardo. The Mai governs over all Fulani in a large area; he has many Ardos under him. In Geidam District there are four Fulani Mais who fall within the territories of particular Lowans. These are Mai Musa, Mai Kusur, Mai

563 651 Maganuwa, and Mai Mar. Several other Mais roam in the brush areas without being attached to particular lowanships. A new man may come to Yerima with a group of Fulani followers and ask to be made an Ardo. If he is appointed Ardo, he is then asked to which Mai he wishes his group to be affiliated. A kabuna sent by Yerima to collect jangali from a particular area records the number of cows reported by the Ardo or Mai for his group of followers in that area. Then the kabuna hunts down the cows [687] and their individual owners. If the kabuna finds that an Ardo actually has more cows than he originally reported, the Ardo is fined five shillings for every additional cow found. Each Fulani Mai receives a percentage of the total jangali collected from his group. The percentage that he receives (wujira) is in the neighborhood of six pence for each pound of jangali collected. The Mai then distributes money to his Ardos, according to the amount of jangali that they brought in.

651 634 When Yerima left Magumeri District in 1953 there were 28,000 cows on which village jangali was paid, and 59,700 cows on which nomad jangali was paid. In 1956, under the new Ajia, Digma, the number of cows on which nomad jangali was paid had dropped to 23,000. The drop in the reported number of cows may be because Fulani have left Magumeri District, but it is more likely that Digma is unable to have them tracked down so that the jangali tax is paid. This is because Digma has insufficient kabuna to do the job adequately. When Yerima first arrived in Geidam in 1953 there were 33,000 cows reported for nomad jangali. By 1956, there were 39,000 cows reported, an

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651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangali		3,000
haraji		41,000
	total taxes	£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
156 in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima
[648] brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

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651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
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651 cattle is to deal directly with the Ardos and Mais, bribing
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563 them with gifts to come into the district. This is highly im-
662 proper, as the Fulani of a district are considered a part of that district. Movement of Fulani from one district to another merely alters the source of jangali, but does nothing to increase the total amount which flows into the central NA treasury. Indeed, one source of concern to Yerima is that the Fulani Ardos of Geidam District will hear that the Ajia of Magumeri District, which is directly south of Geidam and shares with it a long unprotected border, has an inadequate number of horsemen, and will move south into Magumeri District out of reach of Yerima's kabuna, to avoid paying jangali. Should such a movement out of his district occur, Yerima would notify the Waziri in Maiduguri, who would in turn force Digma to patrol his side of the border to prevent the Fulani from moving unnoticed into his district. It is clear, however, that Yerima is not above offering inducements to Fulani Ardos to move into his territory and increase his tax lists.

651 Yerima's overall scheme depends on the stationing of im-
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563 portant kabuna who are in charge of jangali collection in their
66 areas. These are as follows:

Grema Jisami - responsible for all the territory north of the Yobe River.
Kolo Kime - responsible for the area around Gumsa, and all the Fulani under Mai Musa.
Aba Chiari - responsible for the area around Kusur, and all the Fulani under Mai Kusur.
Kongodi - responsible for the Maganuwa area, and the Fulani under Mai Maganuwa.
Kazella Dokalia - responsible for the Zurukuduk area, but with no single Fulani Mai in his area.

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651 634 • 563 66 Mai Mar, the fourth important Fulani Mai does not have assigned to him a kabuna in charge of jangəli collection from his people. All other kabuna remain located in Geidam town, and are sent out to particular areas on demand. The primary method used by Yerima is to send out horses to areas in which cattle are reported. One aspect of Aba Chiari's job is to let Yerima know if Fulani are crossing over into Magumeri District, as his area is along the Geidam-Magumeri border.

Yerima is willing to reach a compromise in assigning jangəli payment to a particular Ardo or Mai which is below the full amount according to the actual count of cattle belonging to his group. If the Ardo is willing to accept Yerima's assessment, then both sides benefit: Yerima benefits because his kabuna have less work to do and can turn their attention elsewhere where it may be needed, the Ardo benefits because the total jangəli is less for his group than it would be if every cow were counted. It is through such methods that the Fulani Ardos are induced to remain in Geidam or to come to Geidam should they find themselves in the district of an Ajia who is erratic or uncompromising. Should the Ardo feel that he can get away with paying less jangəli than the amount assigned to him by Yerima, on the basis of information given him by his chief kabuna, he might try to hide cattle or to sneak away. Then Yerima would descend on his people with many kabuna and every single head of cattle would be counted and taxed. The threat of Yerima's many kabuna makes this an unwise course of action,

651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
• 563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[64] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubə ro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

*177 191 speakers of these languages as of English. It has been noted
[563] that both Shuwa and Fulani pastoralists are found in consider-
*[634] able numbers in Borno Province. The members of the group of NA Malams seem to be outstanding in their knowledge of other languages. Not only do they all speak Hausa and English, but three in addition speak Shuwa Arabic, two speak Fulani, and one speaks Mandara.

*177 212 Turning to reading ability (Table XVII), it can be seen that 15 of the sample (34 per cent) are able to read in English script, while 24 of the sample (54.5 per cent) are capable of reading in Arabic script. Writing the Kanuri language in Arabic script preceded the entry of the British into the area by several centuries; the British introduced writing in Latin (English) script and have taught this form of writing in the schools. It is clear that many more individuals are capable of writing in Arabic script today than in English script. It is also apparent that almost half of the sample are illiterate in any script.

*[565] Of those who can write well in English script, 10 of the
*[634] 11 fall into two groups: the Aristocracy and the NA Malams. Most of the individuals in the six other groups are unable to write in English script. The pattern of those who are capable
*[634] of writing in Arabic script is quite different. Once again the NA Malams are an outstanding group. Not only can they all write
[792] in English script, but all can also write in Arabic script. Of course the Koranic Malams can also all write in Arabic script.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256]

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439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1923 on-
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436 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
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452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies
441 were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europe-
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563 ans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of
[167] Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

121 and complexity of stratification.[1] Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt [829] here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

829 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as 582 563 191 can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely endogamous,[2] although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or women which included Non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. variety). Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi dea (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor.(1)

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177 The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders. [162] Although the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres. 162 Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward; • 563 slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Geidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

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(1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

162 capital, has, besides all these, a large Arab-speaking population from
• 563 the Near East and the Sudan as well as the European Reservation for commercial and government personnel.

563 In this situation of constant confrontation and to some ex-
829 tent interaction with other ethnic groups, evaluation of status by ethnic membership takes place. The Kanuri vary widely in their disposition to rank own-group as having the highest status among all the other peoples that they are in contact with or about whom they have any information. Almost universally Europeans are accorded high status (sometimes higher than own-group) as an ethnic group. This stems from their superior political and economic positions as administrators and traders. Thus, informants, unless they are well travelled or sophisticated city dwellers, are shocked and surprised to hear that there are prisons in England which house murderers, thieves and scoundrels, or that there are people in England who can be classed as labourers. In their eyes and experience, Englishmen have never been low status persons. Indeed one of the common expressions among the peasants is "Nasara Mai" (Europeans are kings). One informant, during a discussion of religious edicts on morality and the relation of these to the practicalities of everyday life, interjected a surprising comment on the relation of morality to life. He claimed that the only true Muslims in the world were Englishmen, since they were the only people who ever told the truth.

The Arabas (i.e. Arabic speakers, with the exception of the Shuwa nomads) like the Europeans, have very little but formal social con-
[826] tacts with the Kanuri and are highly rated as an ethnic group. The Arab facial features and skin colour are the models for what is the most attractive and pleasing (therefore the ideal Kanuri) physical types. The

• 563 829 place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

[198] [171] Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somewhat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Magumeri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name. [551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

*563 829 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana or Owoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status people - kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a [464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri [273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri [461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still regarded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is probable that the existence of urban classes and a mobility among the Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Owoza and the Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kanuri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

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most of them (whom the Kanuri contact) are Christians. Informants remarked that Ibo Christianity, like all the rest of their European skills, is newly acquired.(1) The widespread attitude towards Ibos is reflected in the oft repeated stereotype about their alleged cannibalistic practices (Niamali kam shrin - Ibos eat people) which indicates the Kanuri ambivalence towards this group. They are despised but feared at the same time.(2) This is due primarily to the much greater degree of westernization of the Ibo generally as compared to the Kanuri. Iboland in the eastern region of Nigeria is overpopulated and yet has a long history of mission education. Because of the need for western trained personnel over all of Nigeria, there has been an emigration of Ibo mechanics, clerks, postmasters, traders, truckers, builders, lawyers and even a doctor or two to all parts of the country. Thus a despised pagan group is seen to have more income, higher status jobs, more facility with western type liti-

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(1) One western educated Kanuri told the writer that the high numbers of educated Ibos proved that they (the Ibos) know how to bribe Europeans into giving them qualifying certificates and higher degrees.

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(2) The notion of "eating" also includes the ideal of being cheated, which the Kanuri feel is always a strong possibility in their dealings with Ibos. The stories of Ibo cannibalism are rife all over northern Nigeria — with strong support from credulent Europeans who share the general belief. The empirical validity of these stories is unknown to the writer — however, they seem to have very little basis in fact in the contemporary society, and are even somewhat doubtful for the aboriginal culture of the Ibo. There is no mention of cannibalism in Forde, D. & Jones, G. I., The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking People of South-Eastern Nigeria, (1950). The only reference to the subject in Meek, C.K., Law and Authority in Nigeria (1937) p. 67, is to a fright given to initiates by one of the priests that their testicles may be eaten during the course of the initiation ceremony. Finally, Talbot, P.A., In the Shadow of the Bush (1912), gives one reference to a conversation in the Calabar region (p.246) in which the people told him that cannibalistic rituals were practised "up until quite recently". He mentions cannibalism again (p. 260) giving his source of information to be his carrier boys, who were strangers to the particular group he describes as having "the filed teeth and the shrunken appearance usually associated with cannibal rites". Although this is by no means a complete survey of the literature it suggests a lack of empirical validity in the last few decades at least, for the practice of Ibo cannibalism.

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gation, and a national political organization seeking reforms and power in the local scene.(1) Historically their position as a pagan group puts them in the low status position of kurdi (infidels) by Kanuri standards, but the acquisition of European culture and their ability to make acculturated skills work for the benefit provoke covert feelings of admiration, jealousy, and fear on the part of the indigenous population of Bornu.

That there is some ambivalence in the Kanuri attitudes towards ethnic groups they rank as high (or higher) than themselves is easily discovered in conversation with persons who have more contact with Arabs and/or Europeans. Whether or not this means that the ambivalence increases with the amount of interpersonal contact it is difficult to say with present knowledge, although this could be considered as one hypothesis which explains the facts, until further tests are carried out. Peasants do not think comparatively about whether or not they are in some respects as good, better, or worse than Arabs and/or Europeans. They accord these groups high status among the "big" people of their world, whose particular place in the scheme of things is rather vague and far away from their own immediate experience but, nonetheless, rich and powerful. However, for those in close contact with Arabs and Europeans, aggressive, resentful remarks about the behaviour of these groups are common. Arabs are spoken of as dishonest traders who cheat [441] good Kanuri of their rightful profits. Since the Arabs maintain a large proportion of the available credit from the European trading companies, they do objectively limit the expansion of Kanuri entrepreneurial activity.(2)

(1) Coleman, J.S. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (1958), Chap. 16
(2) See below, pp. 322-324.

• 563 Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with
829 Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hos-
[554] pitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arziyi, see below pp.225 -228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the
[555] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

125 Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven
563 Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from
829 the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank (1)

(1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

125 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the fol-
•563 lowing instructions, which were given in Kanuri.[1]
829

(1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?

(2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a fero (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.

(3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.

(4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

563 It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite
829 similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from
[128] field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tubo and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

(1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Roman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[text continues on p.195]

3: Cohen E-4, 5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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TABLE V

Tribal Choices (Social Distance) of Urban Kanuri Schoolboys (aged 13-19)

Ordinal *	Choice Cardinal	Tribe	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Remarks
I (1-3)	1	Arab	3.24	1.73	Rich traders, people of the Koran. Considered to be good-looking. Own-tribe.
	2	Kanuri	3.49	2.01	
II (4-6)	3	Europeans	3.89	2.17	The highest political authority
	4	Shuwa	4.21	1.95	Beautiful women, Arabic-speaking, Muslims, acculturate easily.
	5	Hausa	4.45	1.95	A Muslim Emirate, much historical contact
III (7-9)	6	Fulani	6.57	2.24	Muslims, nomads, sometimes good, sometimes bad relations.
	7	Yoruba	8.60	2.44	Part Muslim, not much contact with this group.
IV (10-12)	8	Babur	9.66	2.65	Part Muslim, some contact, increasing today.
	9	Bolewa	9.94	2.63	Part Muslim, some contacts
	10	Kanembu	10.03	2.96	Muslim, but raided the Kanuri in the past. Some acculturation.
	11	Mandara	10.85	2.58	Pagan, very little contact
	12	Tubo	11.70	3.00	Muslim, raided the Kanuri until quite recently
	13	Magari	11.90	2.46	Pagan, very little contact socially
	14	Ibo	12.30	2.88	Christian-Pagan, contact as a separate ethnic group in cities.
V (13-15)	15	Tuareg	13.75	2.07	Muslim, much feared for their raiding
	16	Tiv	14.08	2.16	Pagans, known to be naked, very little contact.
VI (16-18)	17	Banana	15.69	1.75	Both groups are pagan, many of whom live as a minority group
	18	Owosa	16.34	1.84	among the Kanuri as labourers and brewers of beer

* The Ordinal choices in Roman numerals I-VI are calculated from catagories of mean choices; e.g. I-1 to 3, II - 4 to 6, III 7 to 9, etc.

563 829 who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwosa peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yeruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwosa and Banana.

Occupation

554 The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the 554 status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, 567 for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumeri a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

555 793 Koranic mallems are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialised powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage. The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

000 555 871 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognised, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, 571 [212] medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

871 563 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, September 1955.

342 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large
476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types
342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la-
[369] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contract-
[563] ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
[427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages
[369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea-
[425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving
423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the
632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading
439 directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical
• 563 development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms.(1) This system has been attacked by local Bornu politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine trad-
[452] ers, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

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(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
• 563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

175 enforcing compliance with the "fundamental laws of humanity" (which
648 ruled out the slave trade). The European and the African were to co-
642 [563] operate in administering the country but live separate lives socially,
while western ideas and technology were to be introduced slowly when and if they would be acceptable, and only when capable of being financed on local revenues.

175 Out of this organization there grew a readily identifiable
648 English sub-culture whose uniqueness was a product of its particular
563 English upper class background and its adjustment to the common stimulus of Northern Nigeria. Their standards of administrative judgment came from Lugard and their common origins in English society; their hopes and fears, frustrations and satisfactions, grew out of the common work situation to be found in the British administration of the northern Emirates.

Because of the dearth of trained local personnel for carrying on the day to day office work and record-keeping of administration, the southern Nigerian, predominantly the Ibo, was introduced to Bornu. They soon came as skilled and semi-skilled labourers, carpenters, builders, bricklayers, mechanics and traders, and so in Bornu a minority group of southerners, mostly Christian, and more acculturated to Western ways became an established, although separate, part of the society.

175 After the inception of colonial rule the interaction be-
648 tween the British administration and the native political organization soon settled into a fairly steady pattern in which the British pushed continually for conformity to their own values in political organization, education, taxation, trade, etc. The Bornu officials and others who contacted the British, in their response, maintained as much of Kanuri culture as they could while at the same time learning what to

considered in some detail.

• 563 The data on ethnic membership indicates that social contacts through physical proximity per se between people of different ethnic origins does not necessarily decrease the social distance between them. The Kanuri feel greater social distance towards pagan groups with whom they interact, than those with whom they have very little interpersonal relations. On the other hand, although they have few interpersonal contacts with Arabs and Europeans, these groups are ranked as high as their own, and in some cases even higher.

463 Occupations range widely in terms of the status they accord
554 to individual members of the society. In the low status range are such jobs as butcher, blacksmith, petty broker, drummer-entertainer, and money-lender. On the other hand civil service jobs, including the traditional political offices which have been supported by colonial rule in the contemporary society, are ranked as high status positions. In the middle range are the less highly valued European-introduced occupations requiring manual labour. Here too are the lesser valued traditional political offices like Village and Hamlet Head, while traditional crafts fall below these and above the low status range. The emphasis on non-self-employment among high status occupations indicates that for Bornu just as in many underdeveloped areas of the world, western education means most desirably to those who obtain it, a civil service career, rather than an entreprenseurial or self-employed occupational future.

554 Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. The other dimensions of rank modify this biologically given status, and thus birth, although important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of an individual's status in the social structure at any particular point in time.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife. 581 562

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times. 58 159

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bride-wealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [587]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *Iuwali,* (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household) and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bəzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ə is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[8] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
888 though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men
[826] and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[8] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

888 on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women.
565 If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age,
589 and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in
[434] society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a uni-
[788] versal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to
775 achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many
621 religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who
621 teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 829 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

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/For client-patron relationships (tada njima), see category 571./

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose '<u>Mais</u>' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [565] <u>Shehu</u> (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, along with wealth and political office. 565 178 Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
• 565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178 A number of material changes have been introduced which
494 have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[653] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] [651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
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565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
178 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
565 centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
177 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were
565 given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
644 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
565 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
631 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
423 ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments
[651] and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
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175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
• 565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
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[567] selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[554] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbitration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicating that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
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671 779 692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

871 779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
876 779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

369 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists
632 of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at
121 the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less
[622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village.
[463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors.
[622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger,
[565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are
[595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and
[592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and
342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sagdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

632 [366] The towns are market centers, and frequently also administrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nguro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
• 565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
556 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size
342 of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls ma[illegible]sagdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-wall[illegible] thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
565 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.
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361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are similar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern, [363] [492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large [563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided [463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
361 the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's [644] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

ooo Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

586 587 with ease. Since most men marry a number of times in the course of a normal life, they are likely to marry women who have been married previously and whose earlier marriage (or marriages) has ended in divorce. An important distinction is made between a marriage with a girl who has never been married before, and marriages with women who have been married previously.

585 302 a) Marriage with a virgin. The adult Kanuri woman wears her hair in a striking coiffure which resembles a Trojan helmet. Adolescent girls who have not yet married wear their hair in totally different fashion. Their hair-do is divided into three parts, and they are referred to as kalə yaskə, a term for their particular developmental stage which derives from the hair-do that characterizes the stage. Since very high priority is placed on virginity for a girl before marriage, a first marriage with a kalə yaskə is equivalent to marriage with a virgin.

584 Marriages are frequently arranged, but consent of both boy and girl plays a part, even in marriages in which the boy is marrying for the first time and the girl is a kalə yaskə. A boy may come to his father to say that he likes a particular girl. It frequently happens then that the boy's father will go to the house of the father of the girl, bringing presents with him, to arrange the marriage. The father of the boy may also select a particular girl as wife for his son, ask the boy if he likes the girl, then make the arrangements with the father of the girl. A talaka may marry the daughter of a very good family, if he can raise the money needed for her bride-price. The sole [565]

584 obstacle to such a marriage is the bride-price, which will be
565 high for a daughter of a good family. The father of a boy of good family, conversely, may arrange to have his son marry the daughter of a talaka if he likes the girl, particularly if she is very pretty. A talaka will not usually arrange for the marriage of his son with the daughter of a very rich man (a wealthy trader, for example), because the girl will eventually inherit wealth and her husband will have no claim to it, nor will the
584 boy's father ever see any of it. However, a talaka father may
565 arrange for his son to marry the daughter of a kantuoma (aris-
557 tocrat) family in order for his son to benefit from his future father-in-law's influence in obtaining power, though the boy's own father will not himself directly benefit from the marriage.

581 The qualities desired in a kalə yaskə spouse are as follows: a pretty girl is highly desirable in marriage; a girl with a nasty temper, one who curses people or has other undesirable personality characteristics (such as shamelessness--nungu ba) will not find a husband so easily. A pretty girl is better than a wealthy one, but better still is industriousness and willingness to work hard. Being able to cook well is also more important than beauty. If the father of a boy has two girls to choose from as brides for his son, one pretty and the other industrious and skillful, he will prefer the industrious
584 one for his son. If a girl does not like the boy suggested for her by her father, if she thinks him ugly, the marriage will not take place. The father of the girl will ask her if she likes the

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
• 565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It follows, too, that under those circumstances the household is
[595] small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

592 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extend-
• 565 ed discussion will be reserved for a later point.
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351 To this point the compound has been described as an area
392 enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanə fatobe). The compound is divided into fərak (literally meaning wide or open area) and zəgəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərak, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty
567 (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population
[565] do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

592 567 particularly acknowledges the relationship between them, unless the slave should be in the direct presence of the man who he knows is his master. However, the relationship between master and slave determines the behavior of both at all times, when 592 567 595 the slave is part of his master's household. A female slave may be chosen as a concubine (chir) by her master. She then becomes part of his household. Though a man may have no more than four wives, he may have any number of concubines. A chir enters into a special class of concubines when she becomes a <u>murshe</u>. She is then given a house of her own, and has a distinct legal status, slightly different from that of a wife, but with its own strictly defined rights and obligations. Like a wife, a murshe must have her own house. A husband spends one night with a murshe, and two with a wife, in regular rotation. However, here the husband has an option--he may spend no more than one night with each murshe, but if angry at a particular one, he may pass her by. The murshe prepares the master's food on the day when it is her turn to sleep with him, just as a wife would do. She also shares in all the economic tasks which fall to the woman in a household.

592 567 565 The household of aristocracy, therefore, may include slaves, both male and female. Male slaves (<u>kalya</u>) may be young boys and youths who live in the forok area of the compound, or they may be married men who live with their own nuclear families in areas of the compound alotted to them, and are included, along with their families, as part of the master's household. Female

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's chibuna). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 • 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

121 61 66 565 of a society. In societies where the state as an institution does not exist, political structure is either coterminous with kinship structure, or there is close co-ordination between the two. In the case of the Kanuri, the separate and distinct administrative organization which serves as the framework of the political structure,[1] implies a lessening of the role of kin groups to the point where they have disappeared among the Kanuri. Aside from relationships within the nuclear family, and to a lesser extent kinship relations generally, power derives its authority, among the Kanuri, from one's position in the political system, and the ability of one man to exert power over another is determined by the roles which the two men play in the political system.

121 536 565 Wealth as a variable used to determine the social importance of a single individual or of a category of individuals is analogous to power. Relative wealth defines a relationship between two individuals or two classes of individuals, and just as power derives from one's role in the political system, wealth derives from one's role in the economic system. In most primitive societies, the economic system is submerged within kinship and within the operation of kin groups. In some, the market has begun to emerge as a separate economic institution and increasingly social relationships are defined in terms of the market.

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1. the distinctions made here as to types of political systems are taken from the Introduction to African Political Systems, edited by Meyer Forres and E. E. Evans-Fritchard, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

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556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
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437 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
[425] is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through eco-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
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565 head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>bərzəm</u> or <u>dareja</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

175 565 554 granting of titles by the Shehu (and before him by the Mais), and the regular practice of slavery.

A title (kagala) which the Shehu bestowed on a man was both a recognition, and a source of his social position, for the title embodied power, wealth and prestige. Power lay in the political office which accompanied the title; wealth lay in the access to land, labor and taxes which followed from title and office; prestige lay in the recognition by all of the symbolic meaning of the title. Aristocracy and slaves were given titles, but talaka, commoners, never were granted titles in former times.

565 554 644 [643] One set of titles is held by royalty. The title of Shehu itself is conferred by a council (modulas) according to strict rules of succession, after a Shehu dies. Other titles belong to members of the Shehu's family. These are unlike most titles in that they are titles ascribed by virtue of royal kinship and are not conferred to the individual by the Shehu. They include:

Maina - a prince, the son of a Shehu; also brothers of the present Shehu whose father was himself Shehu.

Mairam- (also called Nana) - the daughter of a Shehu.

Maidugu - the grandchild of a Shehu.

Some royal titles are granted by the Shehu to royalty. These are:

Maira - mother of the Shehu. If the Shehu's own mother is dead, another woman is given the title Maira, and functions as the Shehu's 'mother'. The title can be given to someone not of the Shehu's own family, should he wish to do so.

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Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Karjiroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

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Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.

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The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaigama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

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The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

175 554 565 are individual titles which can be held by only one man at a time. There can be only one Kaigama, one Mastrema, and one Yerima at any given time. A man's son did not invariably inherit his father's title at his father's death. The title was conferred by the Shehu, customarily to the son of the previous title holder. If there were several sons, the one whom the Shehu judged most worthy was given the title; and if a title-holder had no sons, or no sons worthy of holding a title, the title might be given to anyone, though it was almost always given to someone of the household of the title-holder. There are several interesting cases of high titles given to talaka who were members of a household (the present holder of the title Talba is a slave who was given the title because there were no sons of the previous Talba; a horse boy inherited the title of Kaigama in the past; the Malam to the family, and a member of the household, inherited the title of Yirima). A talaka who was considered worthy, and was a member of a household whose head held a title might inherit that title; a common talaka without appropriate household affiliations could never hope to receive a title in former times.

The title was the mark of nobility in Kanuri society, and the embodiment of the several dimensions which, when taken to-
[631] gether determined social importance. The title was linked to the system of feudal chimas who paid allegiance to the Shehu
[642] and effectively governed the land. The chimas had power, subject only to review by the Shehu himself, over the people in

175 554 565 [642] [556] [651] 175 554 565 567 their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But, interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace. 554 565 592 Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which determine social position are shared by an entire household, and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

2. Slaves.

565 Royalty, by virtue of their close kinship with the Shehu,
354 fall into a distinct category in Kanuri society. For some, the kinship terminology takes the form of a title (Maina = prince), others are granted royal titles by the Shehu (Gumsu). Nobility represent a second category, composed of those titled freemen who trace no relationship to the Shehu. Here the titles are all conferred by the Shehu to a member of a household, who becomes the head of that household upon receiving the title.
567 Since the Kanuri recognize a category of slaves, they should be
565 distinguished as a separate segment of the population. However, they do not form the bottom-most stratum of Kanuri society, as might be supposed. On the contrary, just as freemen are stratified into nobility and commoners, so too can slaves be considered as a vertical segment of Kanuri society, falling into numerous stratified layers within the category called "slave."

567 The principles governing slavery in Kanuri society must now be considered so that the above view of the position of the slave can be properly understood. A Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, so that slaves can be taken only from pagan
175 peoples. In former times slaves were captured by raiding parties
567 who drove into pagan territory, sacked and burned villages, and
721 brought back captives who became slaves of Kanuri masters, either of the Shehu himself, or of officers of the army. Slaves were most frequently taken by the Kanuri from among the Marghi, to the south; from the tribes of the Gwoza hills; from the neigh-

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

• 565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
178 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-
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698 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[693] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Ajia.

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political pow-
178 556 565 441 er. Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times. [121] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

[GEIDAM]

425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head
[465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment
241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some
565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
464 may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
[175] proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm
241 427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
634 Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to
[423]

him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

627 and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dis-
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671 pute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the
[626] case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al-
[693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

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651 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political official are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and
[565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

[GEIDAM]

634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
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554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
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565 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
871 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 871 555 177 546 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 78 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

[GEIDAM]

796 Ngumori Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

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796 second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-
431 tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this
[565] time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away
[777] kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of
[602] the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili
796 with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the
[789] sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water stor-
[793] age pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.
[515] On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in
particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam
reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those
[788] present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-
[535] jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in
[857] a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill
about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto
other little boys.

[782] The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

128 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 463 565 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

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Table VI

Age at First Marriage

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	...35
Aristocracy							1		1		1		2								
Koranic Malams							1					1		1							
Canteen Traders							1		1				1	1			2				
NA Malams						2		1	1			1					1				
Kabuna				1		1	1					1		1							1
Craftsmen				1	2				1										1	1	
Talaka						3	1		1		1	1		1							
Low-status	1								1					1							
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1	1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom [193] four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaskə or a Zogor

	a. Present wives		b. First wife		c. All previous wives	
	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	-	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

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582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
• 565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than [792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə [163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

593 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two
562 individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound
565 but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower cate-
554 gories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives se-
463 cluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75
586 (mean is 4.98). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-
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Table X

X a

Total Number of Wives per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy		1		1			1		2												
Koranic Malams			1		2																
Canteen Traders					1	1	2		1	1											
NA Malams			3	1				1								1					
Kabuna					2	1		1		1	1										
Craftsmen		1				2		1	1									1			
Talaka		2			1			1	1					1			1				1
Low-status	1			1					1					1							
Totals:	1	4	4	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1

median = 5.5
mean = 6.4

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X b

Number of Divorces per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy	1		1		1		1	1													
Koranic Malams		1	2																		
Canteen Traders		1	2		1		2														
NA Malams	2	1	1			1								1							
Kabuna			2	1			1		1	1											
Craftsmen	1				2	1		1								1					
Talaka	1	1		1			1	1					1			1				1	
Low-status	1		1					1					1								
Totals:	6	4	9	2	4	2	5	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

median = 3.75
mean = 4.88

586 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had
565 more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the
554 lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with
463 zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalo yaskas have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa

Number of Living Children

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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

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Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning	597 565
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning	554
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning	463
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning	
Kabuna	-		
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11	
	8		

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

163 163 165 [842] [164] 164 586 [842]

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
163 [792] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invari-
ably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are
high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the
great love for children and desire to have children. How-
ever, those who have borne a child have indicated their abil-
ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
able to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen
that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the
child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.

have an adequate home at the time.

634 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima
351 Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table
592 XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zagoso of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 The principles of household affiliation have been de-
565 scribed in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual
554 composition of forty-three households is presented. In each
463 row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

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Table XIIa

Household Composition

	wives	children	tata njima	relatives	wife's relatives	zogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Aristocracy (minus Yerima)	2	1	1	-	WiYoSi	ElBrDa	1	-	4	8
	1	1	2	Facou	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 friend's children	3	7
Koranic Malams	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7
	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	student	2	7
Canteen Traders	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	-	0	5
	2	0	-	YoBr + Wi	-	-	-	-	6	9
	3	1	2	YoBr+Wi+Da	-	-	2	-	4	9
	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
	2	0	5	-	-	-	-	friend+Wi	7	10
	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	malam+Wi: 5 students	11	19
NA Malams	1 (1 chir)	1	7	YoBr;YoSi	-	1	-	-	10	14
	2	2	-	YoBr	-	-	-	Fa's chibuna + Wi	3	8
	1	1	-	2 YoBr	WiYoSi	-	-	-	3	6
	2	2	2	ElBrSo	(ElWiYoBr (ElWiYoSi	1	-	-	6	11
	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
	1	-	1	FaBrSo	-	cousin	-	-	3	5

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Table XIIa (continued)

	wives	children	tata n.lima	relatives	wife's relatives	zogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Kabuna	2	0	1	-	-	YoWiYoSi	-	YoWi's chibuna	3	6
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	0	0	-	-	-	YoSi	-	-	1	2
	2	3	1	ElBrSo	-	-	-	-	2	8
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	1	0	2	Mo	-	-	-	-	2	5
Craftsmen	1	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	2	0	-	MoBrSo	-	-	-	-	1	4
	2	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
Talaka	1	0	-	-	-	-	ElBrSo	-	1	3
	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	0	0	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	Wi's gr.so	-	-	-	1	3
Low-status	0	0	-	(lives in ElBr's house)					-	4
	1	0	-	-	WiElBrDa	-	-	-	1	3
	1	0	-	2 YoSi cousin	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3

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Table XIIb

Summary of Household Composition Table (XIIa)

Totals for 43 households:

38 Tata njima

21 relatives of household head: 3 Mo; 6 YoBr (2 with wives, 1 YoBrDa); 3 YoSi; 2 ElBrSo; 4 cousins

6 relatives of wife of household head: 3 WiYoSi; 1 WiYoBr; 1 WiElBrDa; 1 Wi's grandson.

7 zogors: 4 relatives; 3 not family.

6 chibuna

16 others: comprising - Wi's chibuna; Fa's chibuna + Wife; malam + Wi and 5 students; friend + Wi; 3 friends' children; student of Koranic malam.

Mean Number of Tata Njima and mean number of Non-nuclear family in Household

	Tata Njima	Yal Members	Mean size of Total Household
Aristocracy (- Yerima)	1.8	3.5	7.0
Koranic Malams	0	.67	6.67
Canteen Traders	1.5	4.67	10.2
NA Malams	1.8	4.3	8.2
Kabuna	.67	1.3	4.5
Craftsmen	1.0	1.2	3.5
Talaka	.13	.5	2.75
Low-status	0	1.0	3.75

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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592 of Yerima Mustapha is not included.)

565 554 463 Household composition has been broken down into the following categories: wives and children (which have already been discussed), tata njima, relatives of the household head, relatives of the wives of the household head, zogors, chibuna named after the household head, and miscellaneous others. The term yal refers to members of the household who are not part of the nuclear families of the household head. The final column gives the total size for each of the forty-three households in the table. It may be seen that household size ranges from two to nineteen members.

Table XIIb presents a summary of the information in Table XIIa. There are 38 tata njima attached to the present 43 households, but in looking at the mean number of tata njima in the various categories, it is apparent that they are found largely in four categories: those of the aristocracy, the canteen traders, the NA Malams and the craftsmen. Tata njima included in Table XIIa are only those actually living in the compound of the household head. The canteen traders in particular have a number of tata njima who are married and live in their own compounds but return to their "master's" house to eat their meals. These have not been included here. Relatives of the household head are primarily younger siblings (6 YoBr; 3 YoSi) and some even have their wives and children with them. There are three cases of mothers living with mar-
592 ried sons, but no fathers. In no case of the present 44

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592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson.
592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat-
586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away
597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are
565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in
463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named
[553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one
592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that
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592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that
592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
• 565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
554 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table
463 XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of
[162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

[GEIDAM]

G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

• 565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momoⁿ Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

567 status of slave therefore does not really exist as an important determinant in defining the place of these people within the Geidam community structure.

565 In terms of the traditional stratification system, most of the people of Geidam are talaka, neither aristocracy nor slaves.

2. Urban Social Structure.

463 The second variable, urban social structure, is much more 369 565 important in defining social stratification in Geidam. Most Geidamites are specialists of one sort or another. In contrast to the village farming population, most of the people of Geidam make a living by practicing some special skill. They are middlemen in trade, craftsmen, religious specialists and bureaucrats in the political system. It is primarily this differentiation which defines the community as an urban community.

463 One might divide the various specialties found in the 563 community of Geidam in a number of ways. Specialties requiring manual skills might be contrasted with those requiring intellectual abilities; specialties requiring long periods of training might be grouped and compared with those requiring only a little specialized training. The approach adopted here in dividing the various specialists in the Geidam community into groups which might be compared is to look at the sphere of culture with which each of these groups of specialists is concerned. Thus there are several groups of specialists in

463 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere
• 565 of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. The Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

56 The third variable which must be considered in looking
177 at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of con-
[559] tact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

[GEIDAM]

56 177 [554] prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

The direct influence of the British colonial administration has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

177 567 565 648

64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Geidam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

634 177 178 565 [648]

[GEIDAM]

634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
[648] ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
665 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
648 sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

[GEIDAM]

177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[672] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
672 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
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177 prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri
178 culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict
554 with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have
• 565 brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain
groups in the community structure, particularly among the
talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one an-
other in the community of Geidam represents the social struc-
56 ture of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a
178 result of the interaction of the three variables discussed
369 here: the traditional system of social stratification, the
177 urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of
the Industrial West.

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[441] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

6. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

124 gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited
565 here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet per-
463 form some non-skilled activity in addition to farming.
Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

[559] 8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

124 The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and categories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions
125 of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing
124 with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115 1.	Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792] 2.	Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zamabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441] 3.	Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634] 4.	NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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5. Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. Talaka: (8)	Adamu-	a tabərma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Fərashəma-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

[GEIDAN]

*177 when traveling. One item discussed in the text, occupations
128 in which individuals wish to be engaged (Table XXXII), could not be included in the acculturation profiles as the answers to that question did not permit expression as simple percentages.

121 Several points emerge clearly from a consideration of the
*177 acculturation profiles. First of all, it is apparent that some groups are generally more acculturated than other groups--most of their responses fall within the acculturated column. Others are generally unacculturated and their responses cluster in the unacculturated column. Secondly, in no group do we find that all responses, in every behavioral area, are acculturated or unacculturated. Each group has behavioral areas in which it appears most acculturated, others in which it is close to the entire sample, and still others in which it appears unacculturated. Finally, from a comparison of the eight acculturation profiles, one can derive a measure of the relative stability of
[128] each group. A stable group is determined by the consistency of responses. A group would be said to be stable when (a) the items within any one behavioral area are consistently in one direction, and (b) the size of the differences between acculturated and unacculturated responses is not very great.

*177 1. Aristocracy. The acculturation profile of the Aris-
• 565 tocracy is presented in Table XL. The Aristocracy are obviously an acculturated group on the whole, as almost all of their responses fall on the acculturated side of the baseline. In

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*177 only one area do they clearly reveal themselves as conservative,
• 565 and that is in the area of treatment of specific diseases (items 24-29). Inconsistencies are revealed within this behavioral area as the responses of the group are acculturated for four items (22, 23, 27, 29) and unacculturated for four others. Most striking is the response of this group to the question of the treatment of smallpox (28), which was discussed earlier. At several other points the Aristocracy appear unacculturated, but the degree is very slight in the case of items 2 and 43. Item 42 may be slightly more significant.

On the whole, the pattern of acculturation of the Aristocracy is that of a relatively stable group. In their one area of marked unacculturation, the explanation would seem to lie in the political implications of the treatment for smallpox. The resistance which the Aristocracy has for Western treatment of smallpox seems to extend to other diseases as well, though in not so severe a form. Yet they are not totally unacculturated in this behavioral area, and thus give inconsistent responses.

*477 2. Koranic Malams. A note of caution must be introduced
792 in discussing this group. Only three individuals are represented here, and conclusions based on this group are less sure than in other cases. Their acculturation profile is presented in Table XLI. Generally, they are a very unacculturated group. Their conservative responses in certain behavioral areas, those of religious behavior, education, and treatment of disease, are predictable considering the areas with which a Koranic Malam is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 344]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

BEIDAN

Table XI

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE ARISTOCRATS

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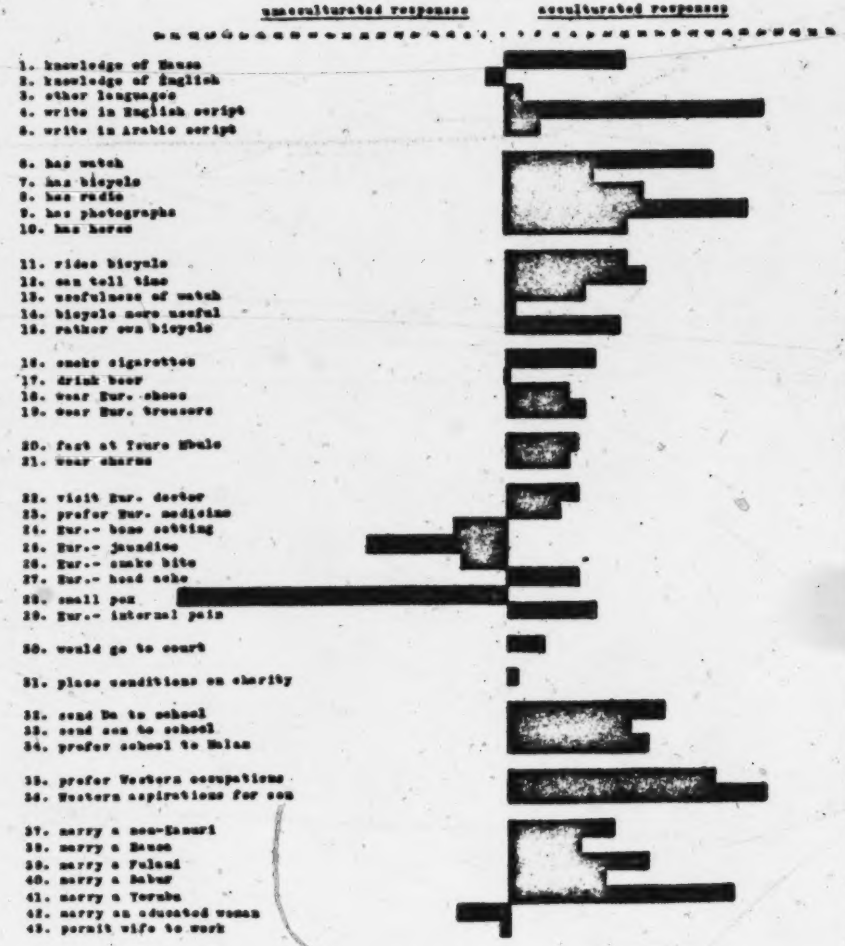

*177 missive about allowing their wives to work (43).
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Not only do the Craftsmen present the fewest number of acculturated responses (6 in all), but in items where they do show themselves to be acculturated the response is not marked. One might therefore say that they are the most stably unacculturated group of all.

*177 7. Talaka. The most striking feature about the Talaka
565 profile is the way in which it remains close to the baseline. The most extreme response is that concerning possession of a horse (10) which is not diagnostic of degree of acculturation. No other response exceeds a value of 32. This is true of no other profile. Excluding the three items that are not indicative of degree of acculturation, 20 items fall on the unacculturated side, and 19 fall on the acculturated side (one is at the mid-point). But for no less than 12 items the response is within a value of 4 from the mid-point--in other words the degree of deviation from the mid-point is of no significance for those items.

The group of Talaka cannot be characterized as generally acculturated or generally unacculturated. They are like the Canteen Operators in this respect, but unlike the canteen operators they are not an inconsistent group. Their responses do not swing wildly from acculturated to unacculturated and within each behavioral area they tend to be consistent. They are unacculturated with respect to language and to the possession of material goods. They are slightly acculturated in their attitudes towards these items, though at no point do they show ex-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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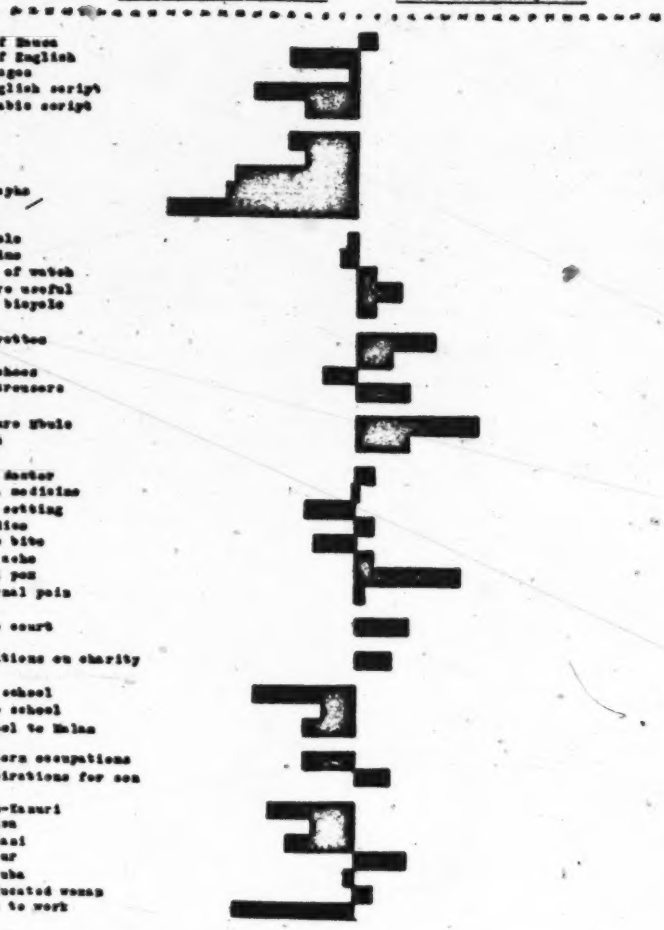
Table XLVI

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE TALAKA



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1. knowledge of Hausa
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Tsare Kbule
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Hausa

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Hausa
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Babur
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

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*177 tremes of response. They are acculturated in the area of re-
• 365 ligious behavior. In the area of medicine, they stay close to the baseline for the entire group, though they do show a preference for Western treatment of smallpox. They are consistently conservative with respect to education, and are generally conservative in their attitudes towards marriage. The Talaka are a stable group that is neither very acculturated nor very conservative.

*177 8. Low-status Individuals. The group of Low-status in-
554 dividuals is small and is therefore less reliable than other groups. On the whole they appear to be a generally unacculturated group. The extremity of their responses give them the appearance of an unstable group, though this might have been brought about by their few numbers. Within individual behavioral areas they appear fairly consistent. They appear acculturated in certain items of Western material goods: smoking cigarettes (Item 16), wearing shoes (Item 18). With respect to the treatment of diseases they show a preference for European treatment of 5 of the 6 diseases, though here they seem most inconsistent since they are distinctly unacculturated in their hesitancy to visit a European doctor (Item 22). They also appear quite acculturated in their willingness to allow their wives to work.

Much of their inconsistency and consequently their apparent instability can be explained in terms of their low status in Kanuri society. It is surely this which accounts for their readiness to allow their wives to go out and work as a school-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 356]

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons[1] of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic readjustment was made. [565] The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state while others were abandoned or made smaller. [491] Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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[567]

In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south.[2] This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 565 In some cases, more often among the upper classes, if a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela- [577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper [834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass 576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem- [565] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class [264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

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ship developing in the husband-wife relationship depending upon
[565] the stability of the union. Such friendships are aided and abetted
[586] by cousin marriage as well as by upper class position where the divorce rate does not seem to be as high.

572 Finally, an examination of the nature of friendship in
156 general excluding the grandparent-grandchild, and mother-child relations reveals some unique features which arise from its setting in the total social organization. The question can be raised as to why it is that friendship is not formalised or structured to the same extent as the other behaviours associated with the kinship system. Certainly, an immediate answer lies in the universal nature of this kind of interpersonal relationship, i.e., its affectivity and expressive content, and the concomitant emotional satisfactions which people obtain from such associations. These tend to create a large area for personality characteristics to determine exactly who among the available persons, for example age-mates in the kindred, ego will move toward in expanding and contracting his friendships. As in our society, social factors such as socio-economic status, occupation, residence patterns, ethnic background, and norms of upward mobility all enter into such choices as well. But there is more to Kanuri friendship relations than a mere addition or interaction of these idiosyncratic features of personality attraction and repulsion on the one hand and sociological variables on the other.

572 Informants were forever telling the anthropologist that someone he mentioned was a friend of theirs, although no affective or emotional or for that matter any very real social relationship existed between them. They meant, of course, that they liked

614 origin story, often associating the founder with the Prophet. For example, the following story was related by an informant about the origins of the tbra clan:

> One day a barber was shaving the Prophet's head. The man made a mistake and cut the Prophet's scalp. Blood came out and the barber drank it. Everyone who comes from that barber is tbra. They are not connected with chiefs, they are common people but they are close to the Prophet -- they are sherib, fire will not burn them.

Some informants felt that in the old days there may have been a tendency for clan endogamy, not as a sanctioned custom, but as a matter of mere frequency. No one ever heard of any exogamous rules, or ever connected the clans to any natural species of flora and fauna.

613 614 565 Among some of the high status groups and some of the very high status families of Bornu, not only clan membership is known but also a series of maximal lineages within the clan to which the name of an original founder (not mythical as in the case of the clan) is attached. Most Kanuri have heard of the Sefuwa lineage of the Magumi clan. This was the royal lineage of pre-nineteenth century Bornu. No rules of marriage were elicited for this grouping.

614 829 Questions about clan to younger Kanuri and even older ones in some cases often brought out (after tribal affiliation) residential associations. Thus, a peasant informant would relate how his daughter had been married to a man whose clan was Kanuri. Continued questioning on the same point would bring out the reply that the son-in-law's sub-clan was Maiduguri; in other words, the name of his town.

613 614 121 On the basis of this data, it is concluded that Kanuri clans and maximal lineages have very little, if any, functioning significance in the contemporary society.

581 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and
429 authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the
582 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with
565 traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate.(conceived out
[848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest.. Marriages with parents or their siblings, own full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

836 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older,
589 a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

As a man and woman grow older they demand 582
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more
likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who
is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although [589]
not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and
restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper
class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does
the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an
extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little
freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early
divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the tem- [585]
porary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless
their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few [595]
exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable
and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and [589]
thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/
or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These
factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest 600

581 than high ranking men, if they had to choose between these two attributes
581 in a husband. This type of distinction was more easily elicited from
369 urban persons or upper class informants than from rural peasants, who only
565 discuss such a question in a fantasy-like conversation which many are not willing to do. Lower class informants in the rural areas often refused to consider questions about whether they would like to marry wealth or rank answering only "andi tala" (we are peasants or commoners).

581 Crosscutting the foregoing classification of marriage with virgins or non-virgins are several subclassifications which describe in a somewhat sharper fashion the nature of the relationships involved in the contraction of the marriage.

581 According to custom any variety of marriage may be a nyia
593 kulle, a marriage of seclusion or partial seclusion. In practice, this
565 kind of marriage is almost totally restricted to the upper classes and usually implies only a partial seclusion. The woman may go out to visit under cover of darkness and escorted, or may even go out of the compound during the day, again escorted, for some very special reason such as a rite de passage ceremony which she is obligated to attend. One very high ranking District Head claimed that his senior wife, who had been married to him for many years, had never been out of his compound except when he changed Districts, and once when he had arranged an escorted trip to Mecca for her.

Women of this kind are exempt from any of the ordinary wifely duties which take them beyond the compound walls, such as getting water at a public well, or helping on the farm, etc. It is no wonder then that such marriages are almost totally restricted to the households of the higher ranks of society. No man wishes his wife to be seen excessively in public. However it is only the rich and powerful who can afford

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the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of loneliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practise preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe.). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.(1)

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For the most part the older men who had practised preferential marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal extended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.

(1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

582 557 For example, in 1930 the District Head of Mobber, who was in grave danger of being dismissed from his position by the British, contracted a marriage with a daughter of the Waziri of Bornu.(1) This was his own way, the Kanuri way, of attempting to strengthen his waning political position in the State. He felt that a marriage link between himself and the household of the Waziri would make it more difficult for the higher powers to dispose of him, and would enlist the aid of the Waziri, the second most powerful man in the Kanuri political organization, on his [648] behalf. The British administration, however, did not take into account the feelings of fathers-in-law for sons-in-law(2) when judging political performance, and so the manoeuvre was in the end to no avail.

The nyia kam rukatabe can also refer to a marriage which is initiated purely for the sake of marrying a woman or a girl, whose attachment to ego will obviously profit him economically. She is often wealthy herself, or is a wealthy heiress. Thus a high ranking person was observed to spend a great deal of money (this might almost be termed an "investment") for a virgin girl who was the only heir of a rich old man of lower social rank to himself. Informants described this as a true nyia kam rukatabe (marriage with a rich man's girl).

582 587 557 565 By their very nature marriages of this variety are more commonly of the virgin type. However, young girls who divorce and return to the households of their luwali, as tradition prescribes, very often can be utilized for such marriages in their second or possibly even third unions. . Since high ranking women are more often in seclusion there is a greater probability that successive dispensations after div-

(1) See above; chap. III.
(2) The official records do not give the actual biological linkage of the girl to the Waziri, and it is therefore impossible to tell what kind of a ward she was in the Waziri's household.

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587 orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to
557 return to the partial seclusion of their luwali's compound, especially
565 during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

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793 Nyia sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage is similar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the
582 donor. In such cases much, if not all, of the gift giving by the male
793 to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in
583 connection with the formalizing ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and

(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nyia mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

3. Length of Marriage

593 The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leaven gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

593 592 602 With the longer term of residence in the husband's compound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

593 [565] [595] This variety of long term marriage is more common among the upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

593 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a
565 higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realizes that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

593 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the
156 husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and
557 return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

593 wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities.
557 Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their
[558] husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female domin-
[521] ated household. Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking
[837] of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power
[183] available to him to assert his rights. Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function
593 properly. This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accord-
565 ance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they
183 are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

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565 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely
183 difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

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562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

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836 Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and be-
562 cause there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are avail-
[595] able sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [709] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

58 sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory subordination by the mallam to the luwali.

Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible or feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior/subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many men are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 183 In the marriage relationship itself, there is a conflict between the subordination that most Kanuri men expect of their wives and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are few divorces.

[565] [586]

844 after birth. The birth takes place in a sitting position over a warmed wooden bowl. When the infant arrives it is washed and then continually warmed by the female attendants who heat their hands over
[853] a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child. Almost immediately attempts are made to have the infant feed at the mother's breast. The placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony.

[782] Men are barred from any direct participation in the actual birth process, but usually pray heavily and/or employ a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest) to pray for the successful outcome of the
846 birth. During the forty-day confinement period there should be no sexual intercourse between spouses. Informants stated that strict
[565] adherence to the forty-day confinement rule as well as the sexual taboo may vary among the poorer classes where the woman's economic services are more in demand. However, the first eight days after birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement and sexual abstinence.

846 During the first eight days of life the infant is known
858 as fatu (the little kitten) or kusoto gana (the little stranger) and is referred to when necessary in these terms. This is a strong tabu time for the parents, and they must be sure to maintain all cultural prescriptions to ensure the safety of the infant. Hardly any mention is made in public of the new arrival. Even its sex is unknown except by a few close female friends of the mother who are expected
[766] to keep the secret. If it dies during this period, the infant does not receive a proper burial, but is unceremoniously interred in the women's section of the compound.

000 On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 601 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bawa (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a [565] good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her bawa (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at [601] their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ba'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it. [842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

597 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," 603 I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 571 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdoma, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived completely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
[434] and small sundries. All her life and increasingly so with old age, the peasant woman raises a little extra cash for herself by doing petty trading or obtaining some raw foodstuffs either from her own garden in the compound, or buying it with her own money and preparing it for sale in either the large weekly markets or a small daily market stall. With old age she merely extends this activity into a full-time occupation.

888 Women from high ranking households remain in the compounds
565 of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high ranking man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
565 turns to a household of her consanguinal relatives. Many of these
454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries, and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermediaries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
565 into old age.
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888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
183 for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the
[596] structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

793 228, arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beggar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized, high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
[441] primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
554 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanaako) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams; he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only a man with no proper shame could do such work.

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(1) Composite statement from informants.

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

• 565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [648] [271] Consequehtly, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. [369] There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in the large urban centre. 565 463 602 At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 463 602 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry season activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as knanzako (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galabu

121 notion of class becomes a somewhat knotty one for the researcher. This is because it lacks the precision of his analytically derived status dimensions and yet it demands discussion, for the very good empirical reason that the people themselves recognize class distinctions. The theoretical answer lies in the nature of the concept of class as distinct from status. Class is a more inclusive category which cuts up an entire society into only a few segments. In so doing it incorporates many of the status dimensions by correlating them into ranges so that all the high statuses of dimensions a, b, c, d, . . . n, are unified into a large segment of the population, while the same thing may occur at other ranges along the status dimensions, giving the society one, two or more classes. When these segments are present, the outward signs such as differentiation in language, dress, manners and other social and cultural characteristics of class membership, become another status dimension to that recognizable membership in any class confers varying status upon the individual. Because of the noticeable sub-cultural differences between class segments, recognizability and imitation often blur the distinction and widen the scope for social mobility. Nevertheless, in order to actually obtain continuous high status in the society, the person must be seen and judged as having high rankings along the dimensions already discussed above. In the following discussion, this theoretical framework can be seen as the process underlying Kanuri class distinctions.

556 In the every day life of Bornu, the life spans of different
565 individuals in the population are lived out within differing ranges of
829 experience (which may change through time). This rather abstract statement can easily be explained by an illustration drawn from the judgements made by a young peasant in Magumeri on the subject of wealth. He reported that there were very few wealthy people in Magumeri village itself,

556 565 829 but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Magumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked [434] why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops. [442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages" [465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked, "What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mentioned the District Head of Magumeri who earns officially seven hundred pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he said "atè a'l gèdigèdi" (that is something different) because "sandi kam gèdi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristocrat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kam birni (a city man) but "arma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his concept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range, and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to describe them. Yet he certainly recognized that they were of the same ethnic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

556 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life. (1)
565 The differing life experiences of large segments of the population
829 bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be
369 a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic
[166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban
[103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background. (2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var-
[241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

565 one of the other
369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e.
[178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri munko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory func-
[828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

565 shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

The political office holder from the rank of Lawan (Village Area Head) up the hierarchy are considered "different" in contrast to the tala. Their judgements about occupations, birth status, wealth, etc., move through a different range than those of the lower class. Thus a good house would mean a well-built mud dwelling to a tala, while a kantuoma (an aristocrat, a man of power) would think of a good house as a burnt brick building with electricity. The connection of the kantuoma with the political hierarchy and the utilization of their power, authority and generally higher income make them seem far apart, as a group, from the tala. They dress always in robes, never work shirts, always go abroad from their homes on horseback or in a vehicle, with some retainers, and consider themselves superior to the tala who they administer.

Traditionally these two large segments, the rulers and the commoners they exert power over, formed the two large class segments of Bornu society. Informants relate how in the old days tala wore only dark indigo dyed blue clothes, while the ruling classes wore light coloured gowns. Today this distinction is much less adhered to, especially in urban areas. Nevertheless, out in the rural District Courts, it is still common to see lower class plaintiff, accused, and the witnesses all wearing navy blue gowns while the court officials appear in [441] light blue, green, white and other pale colours. Wealthy traders in the city are allied with the ruling class often serving as their financial backers and sometimes, it is rumoured, buying themselves political jobs. There is no definite sense of separateness on the part of the small wealthy non-ruling group in the city from the social organization as a whole. Their loyalty and respect to the traditional office holders

is not perceived by them as being in conflict with their lack of direct power and authority in the state.

The result of thic coordination of lower statuses into a peasant-commoner class and high statuses into a ruling upper class is the differentiation of Kanuri society into two broad sub-division, that of the upper and the lower classes. Language, wealth, power and authority, occupations, manners and etiquette all differ within these two large divisions. The differences are not, however, either/or distinctions. They can be seen as a large number of recognizable signs which tend to place the person higher or lower on a scale of class attributes. It is at this point that class, or rather its cultural characteristics, become not just a segmentation of society into large units, but a dimension of status. This process occurs through the simulation of class attributes, generally in an upward direction. For in Bornu, the appearance of upper class membership enhances an individual in his own eyes and those of his fellows.(1) Thus the acquisition of items of upper class culture, such as large flowing light-coloured robes, or a fine horse, or many supporters and subordinates, or more elegant manners and speech, give a man higher status. But it is the dimensions of social stratification discussed above, rather than these cultural expressions, which are the underlying conditions for status. Thus if a person does not have a high status occupation, or is not of a sedentary Muslim tribe, or possess real wealth that he uses properly, or behave in all the other ways necessary for him to obtain high status, then the acquisition of some items of upper class culture merely constitute some blurring and

[114] [171] (1) Nadel, S.F. A Black Byzantium (1947) and The Concept of Social Elites, UNESCO Bull. of Social Science, Number 8 (1956) has made this same point for Nupe, and on a theoretical level as a characteristic of elites in general, i.e. that they are copied by the rest of the population.

565 [171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

114 562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

554 562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

173 554 562 571 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

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makes what power he has work well for him, avoids illness, poverty and derision, or does anything that can be measured in terms of achievement, then the degree of his success is the proof as to how much arziyi (good fortune, personal degree of success) he has in his hal (his nature, his being, his essence). Like Calvinistic pre-determination, arziyi is hoped for before the fact, and indicated or substantiated after the fact, of success.

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In answering questions about arziyi, informants of all classes and ranks are generally agreed that no matter how much success a peasant has with his farm, his wife, at cards, or at his craft work, he can never possibly come close to having as much arziyi as even a bad District Head or Village Area Head. When finer discriminations are asked for, however, disagreements sometime arise. Thus informants when questioned as to who has more arziyi, a trader in the city who recently bought a big truck and has a large compound of wives and followers, or a somewhat effete District Head, they answered according to how they ranked wealth alone as compared to political power. Since both of these dimensions of status are usually congruent when ranked high, the discrimination is often a difficult one. Nevertheless there is, at any one level in the society, a large measure of agreement about the amount of arziyi of the various social roles in the society at any one time. People from different levels of the society give somewhat differing pictures of the distribution of arziyi throughout the society. This results from their different vantage points and therefore differing opportunities for perceiving the social structure. Thus although many lower class people find it difficult to decide whether or not the effete District Head has more arziyi than the rich city trader, those close to the chief, including himself, feel that the rich trader has more.

If the extended household head can maintain the
621 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
571 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
554 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bèlama), depending upon the location
622 of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bèlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Gsidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bèlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

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647 hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British
661 officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the Brit-
631 ish officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

634 In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in
647 the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained
571 social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat
[565] with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to mulct the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

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231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accomodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

342 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large
476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types
342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la-
[369] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contract-
[563] ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
[427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages
[369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea-
[425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving
423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the
632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

602
571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bèrzum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the subordinates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
[426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories, virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

581 only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a re-
593
[565] lationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two head-
ings.

581 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife
557 by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization
and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some
cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create
[582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions
take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely
emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in
still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt
[583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe)
in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual
understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the
luwali.

581 Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and dis-
[584] covery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the
man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a house-
hold head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage
arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large
population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible
for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creat-
ing superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of
marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they
grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defin-
ing relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing
to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 183 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces. [565] [586]

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

560 at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept arziyi. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the a-
dult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 barzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more
important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This
is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to
the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization,
which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers
setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
• 565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to
the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often
in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or co-
hesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the
opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizon-
156 tally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfort-
571 able with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State. (1)
56 This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked"
571 by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating.
178 However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the
571 system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this
369 argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565. 554 [369]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

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/For client-patron relationships (tada njima), see category 571./

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

In later generations

175 they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial
361 organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his
634 slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked
617 by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of
675 his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craft-
565 work directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or
[192] the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

175 There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the
651 Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on some-
[192] thing, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two
[193] main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

175 One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To
178 understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept
554 of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble ti-
66 tles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The ti-
[551] tles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife. 581 562

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times. 58 159

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bride-wealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [887]

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of
[172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and
175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid
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[448] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with
[487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the
[411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century
[379] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh
[183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 The institution of slavery had always been a part of this
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[439]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sahara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

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Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa territory. In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

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The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

177 563 101 [567] ture. Many slave families among the Kanuri today were originally Mandara. The Mandara live to the immediate east of the mountainous area inhabited by the Gwoza pagans, and Mandara is the lingua franca for the Gwoza hills.

The Marghi of Damboa District, just west of the Gwoza hills, are perhaps the clearest case of a group which, though still identifiable as a distinct people culturally, is fast [567] losing that identity and adopting Kanuri culture. The Marghi, up to recent times, served as a source of slaves for the Kanuri. Famous Kanuri title holders were Marghi slaves, called by the surname 'Marghi'. In Bornu Province they have become entirely integrated within the larger Kanuri society, within the present Kanuri-dominated political system, and within the urban-oriented economy of the area which looks towards the Kanuri capital, Maiduguri. Although older people among the Marghi still speak their own language, it is very common to find younger generation Marghi who have never learned Marghi and speak only Kanuri.

The Babur people live in the hilly upland area directly south of the Kanuri, centering around the town of Biu. They remain a part-Moslem, part-pagan people. The Bura and the Tera are sub-groups of the Babur. The upper classes of the Babur are entirely Moslem, and speak Kanuri. Many Babur have moved to Kanuri towns, particularly to Maiduguri. Often, after being accepted by the Kanuri community, they seek to deny affiliation with the Babur and call themselves Kanuri.

The Bolewa, southwest of the heart of Kanuri territory,

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
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• [567] selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[554] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[627] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
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779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. 779 595 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse. [554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. 779 58 Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the [595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

592 565 369 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extended discussion will be reserved for a later point.

351 392 To this point the compound has been described as an area enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanɩ̃ fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zəgəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 567 [565] Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

592 567 particularly acknowledges the relationship between them, unless the slave should be in the direct presence of the man who he knows is his master. However, the relationship between master and slave determines the behavior of both at all times, when

592 567 595 the slave is part of his master's household. A female slave may be chosen as a concubine (chir) by her master. She then becomes part of his household. Though a man may have no more than four wives, he may have any number of concubines. A chir enters into a special class of concubines when she becomes a <u>murshe</u>. She is then given a house of her own, and has a distinct legal status, slightly different from that of a wife, but with its own strictly defined rights and obligations. Like a wife, a murshe must have her own house. A husband spends one night with a murshe, and two with a wife, in regular rotation. However, here the husband has an option--he may spend no more than one night with each murshe, but if angry at a particular one, he may pass her by. The murshe prepares the master's food on the day when it is her turn to sleep with him, just as a wife would do. She also shares in all the economic tasks which fall to the woman in a household.

592 567 565 The household of aristocracy, therefore, may include slaves, both male and female. Male slaves (<u>kalya</u>) may be young boys and youths who live in the forok area of the compound, or they may be married men who live with their own nuclear families in areas of the compound alotted to them, and are included, along with their families, as part of the master's household. Female

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's chibuna). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 pected to provide for the larger needs of members of his house-
571 hold--to provide education for the gifted, or to give a donkey or horse to a particular household member so that he may more effectively perform his tasks. The obligations of one set of the pair, the master of the house for example, becomes the expectation of his counterpart, the tata njima. Conversely the master expects that the tata njima will fulfill his obligations
[567] to the household. In the case of slaves, obligations are more binding on both sides than in the case of tata njima. A master who recognizes his obligations to a slave is ultimately bound to provide for him. A tata njima who fulfills the expectations of his master can expect to be given greater responsibilities, in accordance with his master's position. However, a tata njima who does not fulfill his master's expectations (i.e., does not properly perform his obligations), can expect to have responsibilities taken from him, and less desirable tasks thrust upon
592 him. Should he radically violate his master's trust he may be
571 expelled from the household, and the relationship between tata
464 njima and master of the house is abruptly ended. This is far
[626] more serious than merely being unemployed. An adolescent who finds himself in such a position attempts to become attached to another household, that of a less important man, in which he occupies a more lowly position. It is imperative that he be attached to some household, particularly if he is a young man with not enough savings set aside to provide for a decent luwaliram. Should he be unsuccessful in finding another household for him-

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

554 565 644 Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Kərliroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

175 423 631 565 554 644 Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.

175 565 554 567 The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaigama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

175 554 565 The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

175 554 565 [642] [556] [651] 175 554 565 567

their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But, interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.

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Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which determine social position are shared by an entire household, and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

2. Slaves.

565 Royalty, by virtue of their close kinship with the Shehu,
554 fall into a distinct category in Kanuri society. For some, the kinship terminology takes the form of a title (Maina = prince), others are granted royal titles by the Shehu (Gumsu). Nobility represent a second category, composed of those titled freemen who trace no relationship to the Shehu. Here the titles are all conferred by the Shehu to a member of a household, who becomes the head of that household upon receiving the title.
• 567 Since the Kanuri recognize a category of slaves, they should be
565 distinguished as a separate segment of the population. However, they do not form the bottom-most stratum of Kanuri society, as might be supposed. On the contrary, just as freemen are stratified into nobility and commoners, so too can slaves be considered as a vertical segment of Kanuri society, falling into numerous stratified layers within the category called "slave."

567 The principles governing slavery in Kanuri society must now be considered so that the above view of the position of the slave can be properly understood. A Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, so that slaves can be taken only from pagan
175 peoples. In former times slaves were captured by raiding parties
567 who drove into pagan territory, sacked and burned villages, and
721 brought back captives who became slaves of Kanuri masters, either of the Shehu himself, or of officers of the army. Slaves were most frequently taken by the Kanuri from among the Marghi, to the south; from the tribes of the Gwoza hills; from the neigh-

175 borhood of the Shari river, south and east of Bornu; and the
• 567 lands east of the Shari. Of course, only pagan areas were
[72] raided.

Pagan peoples, on being captured in slave raids, remained with their Kanuri masters. As noted above, captured slaves belonged to either the Shehu (or the Mai in olden times), or to officers of the army, who invariably were titled nobles, and kabuna of the Shehu. However, Kabuna of the Shehu might be freemen or might themselves be slaves of the Shehu. In either case they could own slaves, so that it was possible for a slave to have slaves himself. In fact, a slave of the Shehu might own a slave, who in turn had a slave. In a legal sense, the owner of the first slave owned all the others, so that the Shehu owned all slaves of his slaves.

Although a Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, it is proper for a Moslem to own another Moslem as slave. Pagan slaves taken by Kanuri masters learned Kanuri culture, and their children grew up speaking only the Kanuri language and considered themselves Kanuri. They also became Moslems, but continued to remain slaves. This is in order, since one may not capture another Moslem, but one is not obliged to free a slave who converts to Islam. The slave of course has no jili since his ancestors were originally pagan (kərdi).

567 The hierarchy with respect to slaves is determined by sev-
554 eral factors. The first is whether the individual, and his descendants, are slaves of the Shehu or the slaves of a noble

175 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the
• 567 Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a
554 slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas, ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna,
175 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely
567 different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of
644 the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding
839 for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of
[304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six, who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's
175 household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:
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644 Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the
839 four greatest chimas. On his death his title
554 goes to the adim presently holding the title of:

Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim, and another of the four greatest chimas. He is succeeded by the holder of the title:

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Shetima Abu Karim - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Agadi. All other adim are called abagana. Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Borsari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Maiduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title Digma is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

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Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled freeman, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the susana, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one

175 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi
567 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
554 new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
[304]
175 was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
567 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
554 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The
592 susana of an important noble shares some of that importance by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
928 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
567 themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his mas-
576 ter, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to
178 Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

567 576 178 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi" to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and [673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 178 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves, [304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive [291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear [554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function [369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political pow-
178 er. Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new
556 avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading
565 class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy in-
441 dividuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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177 178 625 648 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present 177 178 625 648 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the information was revealed (in private, of course) that the new Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago, 567 571 at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property including a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

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177 178 625 648 567 571 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 662 178 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a [501] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

[GEIDAM]

G. Social Stratification in Geidam.

56 178 177 369 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are: the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the social structure of an urban community; and the influences on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aristocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. However, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momoɗ Yerima's nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy. Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

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• 567 munity. Yerima has a great many slaves in Geidam who serve as kabuna and as members of his household. Yerima's slaves, therefore, are important in Geidam. Kaigama, the previous Ajia, also had many slaves and though many went with him when he was transferred to another district, others stayed behind and continued living in Geidam. The fact that they are slaves is not important because since Kaigama is no longer present in Geidam, the master-slave relationship through which they derive the status of slave has become latent. Should Kaigama ever return to Geidam, or should his slaves ever go to Damboa where Kaigama now is, their status as slave might again become active. The case of Lowan Ashek is a good illustration of this. It is less significant that he is a slave of Kaigama, the former Ajia, than that he is a kabuna of Yerima's and swears allegiance to Yerima. This situation may also be seen in the behavior of Alkali Baba Kura to his slaves. In the nineteenth century Geidam was part of the fief granted to the chief Imam, and administered by one of his slaves as a kaiyari. Alkali Baba Kura is a direct descendant of the chief Imam so that many people in Geidam are in fact his slaves, slaves of his grandfather whom he in turn inherited. However, Alkali Baba Kura does not recognize these people as slaves and refuses to accept either his obligations as a master or their obligations to him as his slaves. He has no chirs, though he could have many if he chose to realize the potential relationship which exists between him and many people in Geidam. The

567 status of slave therefore does not really exist as an important determinant in defining the place of these people within the Geidam community structure.

565 In terms of the traditional stratification system, most of the people of Geidam are talaka, neither aristocracy nor slaves.

2. Urban Social Structure.

463 369 565 The second variable, urban social structure, is much more important in defining social stratification in Geidam. Most Geidamites are specialists of one sort or another. In contrast to the village farming population, most of the people of Geidam make a living by practicing some special skill. They are middlemen in trade, craftsmen, religious specialists and bureaucrats in the political system. It is primarily this differentiation which defines the community as an urban community.

463 563 One might divide the various specialties found in the community of Geidam in a number of ways. Specialties requiring manual skills might be contrasted with those requiring intellectual abilities; specialties requiring long periods of training might be grouped and compared with those requiring only a little specialized training. The approach adopted here in dividing the various specialists in the Geidam community into groups which might be compared is to look at the sphere of culture with which each of these groups of specialists is concerned. Thus there are several groups of specialists in

56 177 [554] prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

The direct influence of the British colonial administration has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

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64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Geidam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

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439 There is some information on a copper trade which the Kanuri middlemen carried on between Darfur in the east and the Nupe area of the Niger river in the west.(1) Contacts with southern people although most often channelled through Kano were sometimes made directly in the trade carried
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• 567 on for the much desired kola-nut. Finally, slavery was a specialized trade from which political figures had a ready source of income. The slaves were often sold locally through middlemen although there was an eager market for them across the desert in Tripoli, Tunis and Cairo.

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436 Currency seems to have come rather late to Bornu as compared with some of the other Sudanese countries. Certainly the nobles and large traders knew of its use in the early 19th century, but the Kanuri peasant had not taken up the customs of currency use that were prevalent amongst his contemporaries in other places such as Kano and Zinder at the time. In the 1820's Clapperton noticed that it was not until he arrived at Katagum, on the way to Kano from Bornu, that cowrie shells were being used as currency. Although he did notice that rolls of cloth from native weavers could be used as currency in some of the Bornu markets.(2) By 1850 the rolls or strips of cloth (gaba'a) were being slowly replaced in Bornu by the cowrie shell.(3) Amongst the traders and the upper classes, both Maria Theresa and Spanish dollars were available for use as money and were even seen in limited use in the Kuka market in the 1850's. However Barth's most revealing passage in this respect tells of his difficulty in buying food from the rural peasants who came to market and refused to have anything to
[437] do with the currency. In order to buy grain, it was necessary for Barth to change his M. T. dollars to cowries, then buy one or more kulu'u (men's robes) and then barter this item of clothing for the required cereal. That

(1) See Arkell, A.J. 1952
(2) Denham,D. and Clapperton H; op. cit. Clapperton's Journal, p.21.
(3) Barth, H; op. cit. Vol. II, p.311.

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons[1] of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialized needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganization which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south.[2] This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 sa (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

[184] Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers; pepper sellers and kola-nut wholesalers. Joking relations also hold between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tàra; Kuburi and Tàra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bèdde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

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571 602 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. 582 This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. 584 If the young girl [304] is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

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> When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

587 In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the • 567 informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced wom- [593] an who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kbrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
[602] would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
[606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

[178] (1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

587 562 is still solemnized at a sada'a ceremony as at all weddings. With her growing freedom in life a woman exerts a progressively stronger independence in her marriage choices. It was observed (but not measured) that the rate at which this occurs in the life span of women is increasingly rapid as one descends the socio-economic scale, and increases as well with the number of divorces per woman.

567 595 To complete the discussion of types of sexual unions, it might be well to digress slightly at this point to include a brief description of concubinage. A concubine (chir) is a female slave who obtains this status as a result of her birth as a daughter to a male slave (karliya); once having been ascribed the role of chir by her birth she is groomed for a life concubinage. She is considered part of the household property, the inheritable property of the agnatic lineage of her father's owner. She may be given away as a gift to someone (without a wedding) or she can be kept in the family of her father's master. Formerly she could be sold. Once she is sexually mature she is available sexually only to her master unless her master gives her permission to marry someone, for example, another of his slaves. Any children she has as a result of union with a free man, i.e. her master, are themselves free, for slave status is determined by that of the father. This means that the slave population in Bornu is reproducing itself only through the efforts of functioning male slaves who are producing children.

A concubine is primarily a sexual partner to her master and a mark of his high status. She is also a servant to her owner's wife who may use her to do household work, carry water, etc. In several cases slave owners told of using both male and female slaves for farm labour. There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with concubines as there

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that
428 one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in
178 seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
881 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

563 829 who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwoza peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yeruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwoza and Banana.

Occupation

554 The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the 554 status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, 567 for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumari a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

555 793 Koranic gallama are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialized powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage. The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is rejected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving more or less *purdah,* or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate. Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 577 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

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Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to 577
their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Al- 571
though men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and 593
respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality [828]
to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and [861]
his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior 571
called *nungu,* or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, 576
especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very 571
friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. 576
His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and 593
never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of 571
father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as 576
older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young 593
nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are 602
greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri [591]
girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, 571
the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* 576
or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

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571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. 571 576 578 602 [182] Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which [illegible] behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for [illegible]-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As we shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

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Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

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592 use it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather
593 than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for
592 more than one generation.
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> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, "... continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances. An-
554 other informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of
592 people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

592 About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two un-
571 married adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

000 The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bər-*

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The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the bər-zum[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ə is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

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takes place. Here an individual learns the modes of behavior towards others that he requires for an adequate and successful social life in Kanuri society. The kinship system, the family, and the household produce individuals who can live in other households; and using the basic modes of behavior from household life they can participate in the widely ramified political and economic organization of their society. Thus kinship, family, and household—but most importantly the household and the superior-subordinate relations within it—provide a basis and a locus for maintaining the society and its values in their present form.

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869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

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882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
871 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885
192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 462 the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society. [434]

Households as Consumers

592 511 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

[184] [264] [369] 264 [262]

592 261 571 576 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

000 Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian. [436]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
22 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from
434 village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
57 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
[123] client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

463 592 571 159 253 554 199 their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. [428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the [241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] [964] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also [434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 592 571 253 159 434 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have [221] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has [572] unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando,* a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

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level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

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man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alterna- 591
tives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or pa- 592
tron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus [593]
if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between house- 621
holds, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. 592
The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles [361]
southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa [162]
250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Sur- [103]
rounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworon-* [276]
go which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and [302]
cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named
Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. 621
He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled 592
with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a 159
younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons 571
left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima,* and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
[578] are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
[627] outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
[692] in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in
[103] all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
[651] either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken
by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
622 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
159 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
62 that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
[627] tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not ac-
[692] cepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such
discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
[592] named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few
[571] unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these com-
[651] pounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he
recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always
[692] consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link
[592] the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

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622 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village
[633] area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

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tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced. 632 [62] [622]

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan. [651] [692]

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge. 632 622 621 592 571

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate. 632 571 621 [642]

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government. [692] [166]

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
• 571 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
626 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the
[692] action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
632 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu,
182 especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

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There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

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Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

632 689 578 692 159 [571]

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

632 685 689 578 692 159

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waziri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by 634 662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of 592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound [342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in [361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to 634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol- 592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men 571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants 571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci- 634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully 571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis- 578 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize 634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci- 571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan 578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil- 632

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head. 634 632 571 578

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization. 634 571 692 578 661

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area. 632 634 578 661

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap- 000

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if 647
he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district 634
school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his direc- 571
tive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district [554]
head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before enter- [576]
ing his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and 634
result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of 647
the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is re- 645
sponsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs [651]
from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Au- [652]
thority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial 631
Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the 634
largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the dis- 642
trict head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in [648]
line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have al- 634
ready noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his 571
followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu- 592

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, tele-
571 phones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional pat-
576 terns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the
[179] conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in
[663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

642
634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the
121 trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business en-
182 terprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same house-
592 hold. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks
829 in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live
44 there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to
• 571 behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *bərzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of
121 Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle
178 the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to
[648] create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding
[177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

There is still another way to become part of a large house-
592 hold. This is the most informal of the various sets of rela-
369 tionships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is ex-
369 tremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
874 some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
463
571 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector, and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the kəmanzə fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with shelter and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce, both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

592 pected to provide for the larger needs of members of his house-
571 hold--to provide education for the gifted, or to give a donkey or horse to a particular household member so that he may more effectively perform his tasks. The obligations of one set of the pair, the master of the house for example, becomes the expectation of his counterpart, the tata njima. Conversely the master expects that the tata njima will fulfill his obligations
[567] to the household. In the case of slaves, obligations are more binding on both sides than in the case of tata njima. A master who recognizes his obligations to a slave is ultimately bound to provide for him. A tata njima who fulfills the expectations of his master can expect to be given greater responsibilities, in accordance with his master's position. However, a tata njima who does not fulfill his master's expectations (i.e., does not properly perform his obligations), can expect to have responsibilities taken from him, and less desirable tasks thrust upon
592 him. Should he radically violate his master's trust he may be
571 expelled from the household, and the relationship between tata
464 njima and master of the house is abruptly ended. This is far
[626] more serious than merely being unemployed. An adolescent who finds himself in such a position attempts to become attached to another household, that of a less important man, in which he occupies a more lowly position. It is imperative that he be attached to some household, particularly if he is a young man with not enough savings set aside to provide for a decent luwaliram. Should he be unsuccessful in finding another household for him-

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

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5. Slaves--both male and female; chirs and their children.

6. Zogors and bachelors, as temporary members.

7. Tata njima--non-kin.

8. Malams of the Koran--taken in, and provided with a house and food, as an act of charity.

592 The term yal is used for members of the household who are not
571 close kinsmen of the household head. This group, some of whom
554 are necessarily present while others are occasionally found, some permanent and others temporary, some kinsmen and others not, forms the central social unit in Kanuri society. Its size and its composition reflects the status of the household head in the larger society, in terms of both the old and traditional system of social stratification, and in terms of present-day
[156] realities and opportunities. The solidarity of the household as a unit also reflects the ability of the household head to satisfy the expectations of the various members of his household, and consequently to live up to his own view of himself and his status in Kanuri society. In order to satisfy his wives, his slaves, his tata njima, and to induce people to name sons after him, he must be in a position, economically and politically, which will permit him to meet expectations. They, in turn will labor for him, and by their labors, as well as by their very presence as part of his household, the members of his household will help the household head to validate his status in the society.

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[431] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

[GEIDAM]

44 438 439 563 [415] en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Lastly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 439 177 External trade remains to be considered. This is the process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 439 177 452 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to wholesalers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily receive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balasma in Kanuri terms. [556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in [592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households, [571] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

[GEIDAM]

177 178 625 648 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present

177 178 625 648 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the information was revealed (in private, of course) that the new Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago,

567 571 at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property including a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
625 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
648 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
567 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature
571 of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the
178 political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[Sol] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

591 his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to
662 replace him with one of his own men.
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178 The kabuna represent a special category in the adminis-
571 tration of the district. The colonial administration makes no
631 provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are
66 all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no
salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

571 Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some
634 are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

175 The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town
called Damjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

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Kanuri society is a social system whose boundaries are herein defined by the extent of the political boundaries of the Kanuri state known as Bornu Emirate. As a language and a culture, Kanuri transcends these borders but for present purposes the social system is defined by its political limits. Social relations within this system are hierarchically arranged for many of the most important functions of social life and it can be seen in the pages to follow that within the framework of the superior/subordinate relationship there is a high degree of opportunism which characterizes these social relations. Superior/subordinate relations are governed strongly by factors of power and authority. These variables make up a type of human action called governmental and Smith's view is adopted here that such behaviour is possible at all levels of human social organization.(1) Since it is relationships which are being described a two-sided definition is useful for analytical purposes. Looking at the relationship from the superior's point of view, power is the ability to order action and make decisions about the kind of action to be taken, and authority in the same direction is the ability of the superior to secure performance of the action ordered. On the other side of the relationship, power and authority refer to the subordinate's sensitivity and response to the power and authority of superior(s).

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Whether or not a particular theory of society is espoused by a writer, his work very often tends to support some contemporary conceptions while contradicting others. It should be emphasized that the writer had no pre-conceived notions about Kanuri social relations, nor was he attempting to support, refine, or negate one social system theory

(1) Smith, M. G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, JRAI, 86, 1957, p. 50.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 as against another. The data have been described as they were observed rather than as test data for any theory of society. Nevertheless the material to follow suggests that there may be more to the so-called "market model view"[1] of the social system than its recent discreditors have led us to believe. This view emphasizes social relationships and roles as objects of choice in terms of the net satisfactions expected. The market model has been criticized because it tends to portray social interaction as overly contractual and overly rational. Furthermore it is claimed that social relations must be analyzed in relation to the values defining current role obligations or those internalized in personality, while economic relations are independent of such references.[2] However the data to follow indicate that in Kanuri society many non-economic as well as economic relations are governed by what is most aptly described as "investment" and "return". Individuals perform certain roles for socially defined returns. When the performance of obligations is judged as insufficient then dissatisfaction arises which may result in a shift in social relations or a change in the performance within the relationship. The reader must judge for himself whether or not this is merely a "metaphorical construction",[3] or an adequate description of Kanuri social life.

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114 123 The methods used in gathering data in the field fall into three categories: qualitative, quantitative and documentary. Qualitative methods of participant observation were used exclusively during the first eight months of field work. The writer and his wife lived in

(1) Hopkins, Terence K. Sociology and the Substantive View of the Economy in Trade and Market in the Early Empires. Polanyi, K., Arensburg, C.M. and Pearson, H. W. (eds.) p. 283.
(2) Ibid: p. 284
(3) Ibid: p. 284

Chapter IV

[p.50]

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

Kinship Terminology (1)

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In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kèsai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouse's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 In some cases, more oftek among the upper classes, if
565 a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents
[842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class
[853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela-
[577] tions. In this sense it is generalised to include all good, proper
[834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass
576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem-
[515] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class
264 ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

576 moved in the presence of social superiors, and if the gap between them is great shoes are removed even when passing in front of the superior's compound. A person who continually avoids or breaks moral rules and rules of etiquette and good conduct is described as nungu ba (having no shame) or shim ngundu (narrow eyes) - the latter from the saying " a man of narrow eyes has no shame."

Respect (bàrzum)

571 Respect (bàrzum) is a general category of behaviour in interpersonal relations which has to do with the response to power and authority. It ranges from shame-respect, described above, to friendship-respect in which there may be a more affective relationship that involves discipline and a superior-subordinate relation along with the possibility of partial intimacy depending upon factors of personality, age, generation, and sex differences of the actors.

593 604 Generally speaking the shame-respect relation is most stringently practised with own parents, being transferred to parents' siblings if any of these has taken on the parent's role toward ego. There is a significant difference in shame and friendship responses given to parents and to their collaterals. In the table below respect responses are not indicated because all informants gave a bàrzum response to own parents and parents' collaterals.

TABLE II

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Responses to the Category

	shame	friendship
own parents	99.5	0
pat. coll. (Parent's)	23.8	20.4
mat. coll. (Parent's)	23.2	20.2

593 465 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 604 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bèrzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a

571 607 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bèrzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalised inter-

571 607 action is one of reciprocal joking. The joking itself is related to the respect behaviour. The older or senior member (Ol-Sis-Hu) must always joke with the younger or junior (Wi-Yo-Bro) saying he will obtain either a spouse or a sexual partner for the latter. And this is an essential aspect of bèrsum; the senior must give something in return for the subservience he receives.

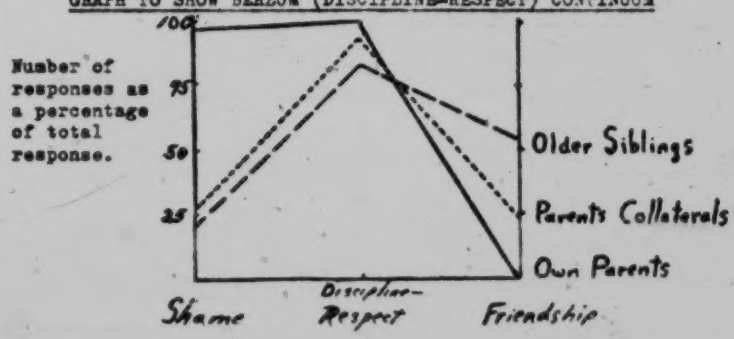
TABLE IV

Responses to Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro

	Respect		Joking	
	R	N-R	R	N-R
Ol-Sis-Hu	36	5	35	6
Wi-Yo-Bro	4	36	37	3
sig. level	.01		-	

602 It is now possible to make a more summary comment about the nature of the bèrzum behaviour norm in the kinship system. It can be said to range on a continuum from shame-respect through discipline-respect to friendship-discipline-respect, represented by three categories of relatives (a) own parents, (b) parent's collaterals, and (c) older siblings. Any of these who assume the own-parents role in relation to ego takes over the expected behaviour

GRAPH TO SHOW BERZUM (DISCIPLINE-RESPECT) CONTINUUM



602 from ego necessarily. It was noted that the behaviour is a response to power and authority and is non-reciprocal. This means that bàrzum is non-reciprocal, not the relationship in which it obtains. Respect ideally moves from junior to senior in a relationship, but as we shall see respect (bàrzum) must be cultivated if it is to flourish.

571 Beyond the operative limits of the kinship system, bàrzum is the essential quality of all relationships in the society which involve power and authority. If the relationship is of a master-servant variety then the subordinate gives bàrzum to the superior, while the superior will totally or partially feed, clothe, house and even obtain a wife for the subordinate (i.e. help with the bride-wealth, or even in some cases find a girl for him). The superior in such a relationship is often referred to as abanjima (father of the house) especially when the subordinate lives in or near the compound of his superior and the superior refers to the subordinate as his tada njima (child of the house).

571 576 To a lesser extent the bàrzum relationship is imbedded in the etiquette system of Kanuri greeting customs. This is called nona which means paying-one's-respects-to a superior. Here, although the bàrzum is only momentary, it symbolises and validates status differences in Kanuri social structure. The rule is simply this: a high status person never goes to call on or greet a lower status person. By following the reverse order, that is the lower status person always calling on or greeting the higher status person, respect is delivered in the proper direction and the lower status individual indicates his recognition of the power and auth-

571 ority of the superior in the society as a whole, thereby validating
576 the status hierarchy of the social structure.

571 In terms of the present analysis bèrzum is such an essential quality in the fabric of Kanuri interpersonal relations that it bears closer scrutiny. To do this we can use the method of presentation being followed here and return to the kinship system working out from there to the wider society. The content of the bèrzum relationship includes a sense of mutual obligation partially symbolized by the Kanuri concept of "trust" (aman). It is only partial because aman as we shall see has an affective connotation not necessarily implied in the bèrzum relationship.

602 In the questionnaire results, no differences were obtained from informants as to their behaviour towards patrilateral as compared with matrilateral kin. However, the interviewer also asked the respondants which kin they felt more aman with. In this case a definite discrimination between the descent groups was asked for and the answer was unequivocally in favour of the patrilateral group. The solution to the problem lies in the nature of the word aman (trust). It is not a unidimensional term implying only one kind of attitude, but subsumes within it several different kinds of trust, and it depends upon how the question is phrased which descent group will get the comparatively greater amount of aman in the individual's judgment. If the question is asked barely, with no indication or hypothetical case which might refer to loans or credit or emotional factors, the answer comes back quickly (and this is universal for all strata of society) that there is more aman with the patrilateral group. The reasons given for this choice are also

171 602 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers (1) for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system. 66.

602 433 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent system would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organization for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 571 [433] A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organization of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organization in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her relatives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

[591] [572]

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

571 602

In interpersonal relations in the society at large aman or trust is most often used in the patrilateral sense of the word when social organization is involved. Thus, in the anthropologist's household, one of the members who developed yearnings for the women of the other household members, and was suspected of taking ways, became increasingly estranged from the general corpus of the household personnel. The comments about him, most often muttered under their breaths by the others, were "aman ba", no trust, and "shim ngumdu" narrow eyes, i.e. no proper feelings of shame and respect. That is to say, he neglected or rejected the proper rules of trust behaviour which should be practised by a person living in a household unit. Thus aman (trust) in the patrilateral sense is the working mechanism of bàrzum (respect). Bàrzum as a formal or structural behaviour norm can often be tied to nona, to pay one's respects to a superior, but when it includes aman it is a more functional and purposeful interaction and is tied into the successful or unsuccessful operation of interpersonal relations. Consequently, when the two are linked together, i.e. when a respect relationship also involves patri-aman, its neglect or infringement causes a judgment of lack of "proper" respect to be placed on the head of the individual offender who breaks faith. To the Kanuri then, the best respect, the real respect relationship involves aman, and without this essential feature the relationship is more formal than functional. Here again the concept of a continuum is useful in filling out the complex variability of the respect relation. In terms of utility, the respect relation runs from extremely little, which is symbolized in nona, (paying one's respects to a superior), through to aman, (trusting a superior and being loyal to him), in return for the support and maintenance he can bestow. The value of these different aspects of respect both functionally to the

571 592 [123]

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• 571 602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalized pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if [855] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are [591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth- [553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate 553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer- 602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's
[862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yoiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602] [553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of
[551] opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
• 571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

(184) Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers; pepper sellers and kola-nut whoesalers. Joking relations also hold between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tàra; Kuburi and Tàra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bàdde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 463 614 648

571 602 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

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829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendship relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalized recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealized Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

592 Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion
[571] that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal rela-
[602] tions in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realised that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily
592 identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass
351 matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,[1] personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.[2]

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
• 571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organisation with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents, will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

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123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for pol-
125 itical reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

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[593] because of the eventual high status position he can look forward to upon the death of his father. Again he has a strong affective tie with his mother, i.e., his father's senior wife. In this case the compound split is merely a segmentary process which is reproducing the pattern. The son will attempt to set up a similar household to that from which he came.

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571 Another alternative takes place when a household head dies leaving several sons or heirs. The sons may remain in the compound area with the senior as the nominal head. However, as soon as each of the brothers begins creating his own nuclear family the original pattern begins to reassert itself, and hiving off takes place which is commonly noticeable in the re-arrangement of compound walls, or the emergence of new ones. The degree to which the brothers remain together is very often a measure of the genealogical distance between them through the father's line. Informants state that full brothers have a much greater chance of remaining in the same com-
[578] pound or near one another than other types of siblings. The conflicts over inheritance and the loyalties to different widowed mothers tend to create a somewhat stronger fissionable force in the case of half-siblings of the same dead father. In the opposite case where the widowed mother is the same, but the co-resident siblings are of different fathers, then only the offspring of the dead father have any claim to the inheritance. The half-siblings of this variety generally do not remain together since they have different patrilateral kinship affiliations. This does not mean to imply that half-siblings of different fathers are unfriendly to one another. In actual fact the reverse seems to be the case. However, ego's interests and sense

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
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An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by
[587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his
[554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He Married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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He has now obtained some farmland from a friend and all his primary relationships are with non-kin members (X is dead). His extreme youth, plus his absence at the time of the Mo-Bro death as compared with his brothers' presence in the compound, left him out of the inheritance and allowed the three half-brothers to parcel out the farmland among themselves. He feels today that there is gadena mbeji, a difference or bad feeling between him and his half-brothers.

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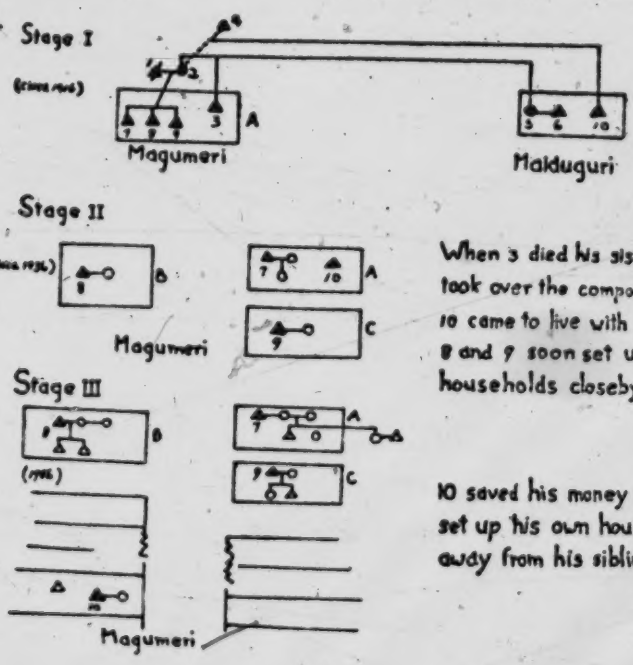
The following diagram illustrates the processes of the above example.



Legend:

(1) Mo-dead-husband: (2) Mo; (3) Mo-Bro: (4) Mo-next-husband (divorced later): (5) Mo-Sis: (6) Mo-Sis-Hu: (7). (8), (9) full siblings: (10) half-sibling to 7, 8, 9.

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Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs [591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up [621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of bèrzum its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

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602 als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensitivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms
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593 of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the fatherhead of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

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571 Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal extended family grouping,[1] the son (7) will soon be moving out to form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

[1] [cf. p. 86]

593 complete autonomy even when his new residence pattern has been
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571 established. On the other hand, the father is only a lower link in
593 a large, complex political system, and the father's relationships to
557 those above him are carefully scanned by the son. If the father should fall out of favour in the total political organization of Bornu, then to that extent his degree of power over his son may diminish, for the son being desirous of eventually stepping into the father's shoes is also sensitive to higher authorities than those of his immediate residential grouping. The continued loyalty and subservience of the son is therefore a function of the father's beneficence and his total position in the society at large. Certainly the bonds of consanguinity enter to thicken the tie between them, but a continued violation of the above methods of making the relationship work, i.e. validating the relationship, would lead to the possibility of the son looking for a more beneficent superior, real father notwithstanding. The father-son relationship would then have more formal bàrzum (respect) than actual functioning power and authority involved. Because of the ascribed nature of the real father role, however, the relationship can never be totally divested of authority. He can always secure some little performance of action on the part of the son, which the culture sanctions, such as attendance at family weddings, funerals, etc. although his power, i.e. his ability to make decisions about action for his son's behaviour is more highly variable and requires more careful cultivation if it is to be as diffuse as is ideally desired in the patrilocal family organization.

571 If the foregoing description seems too mechanistic, it is
557 a result of the example chosen to illustrate the phenomena. In this

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557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is
[554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

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592 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to
621 have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
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571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

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range of personal ambition, inertia, and variation in the scale of social relations. The kinds of structures which result from the natural processes of birth, maturation, marriage and death may vary and, as we have seen, result in various kinds of stresses to be incorporated into the organization. However, these can almost always be mitigated when the structure has a satisfactory operating distribution of power and authority. If not, then fissionable forces in residence structures tend to emerge and themselves determine the character of the group.

Maximal Lineages and Clans

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It is not necessary within the scope of the present discussion to go into a full description. Nevertheless, it should be noted that traditionally Kanuri kinship included functional clans and to some extent at least, i.e. among the upper classes, maximal patri-lineages. In Chapter II, mention was made of the military use of clans in the army in the pre-1893 periods of Bornu history. All Kanuri if pressed are able to give their clan membership whose identity they generally recognize patrilineally. Exceptions were found, however, where informants gave two clans which they identified as coming to them from their mother and their father. Nevertheless, basing judgment upon the statements of older informants it seems fairly certain that clan membership was reckoned patrilineally.

The Magumi and Kubûri clans are recognized by some to be the clans of the leading lineages of the Kanuri and Kanembu peoples respectively. It is also generally known in a rather vague way, which varies from informant to informant, that all clan members are descended from a common ancestor about whom there is sometimes an

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

437 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate
583 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman her-
[426] self. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the
[571] money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

58 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories - virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who has been married before. Marriages are further subdivided on the basis of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However, only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings. Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) to either strengthen or create obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases, these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia

[p. 148]

CHAPTER VI

The Life Cycle

121 In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialized.

561 As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the [571] only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organisation is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

844 At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (sartâma). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as [846] other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

[565] I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her bawa (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ba'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

[601]

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it. Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

[842]

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"But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

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Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

599 .571 uity into his own generation of one link or agent of his parents' relational network in the society.

861 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training begins to be applied to the child.

863 Toilet training is geared to the acquisition of walking skills. As soon as the child is able to toddle on its feet the adult woman in whose hut it lives starts enforcing the rule that the child should go outside of the hut, stoop on the ground and use only the left hand for any function having to do with toilet activities. Failure to learn these skills is met with more insistent pressure as time goes on. A young child only recently weaned who cannot accomplish facile toilet functions may not even be scolded. However, with increased age and language skill, admonitions soon begin and are given with increasing frequency; the child is told that it is dirty, bad, and that it must not do such things as urinate on the hut floor. The severity depends upon the particular situation, the age of the child, and the mood and personality of the mother, grandmother, or other socializing agent who may be quite calm on some occasions and rather angry on others. The following excerpt from notes taken by the writer's wife describe a socialization situation:

> If Kachella gana (aged two) visiting my house makes a puddle on the cement floor, his grandmother will ask for a tin of water to pour on the floor and to wash the child, and this will be done either with no comment at all or, "Oh Kachella, look what you have done." On such occasions Kachella does not show much discomfort. But if the child is sleeping on his grandmother's bed and wakes up wet, he may hear, "Get up! get up! You dirty little boy" and so on for four or five minutes. During such an outburst Kachella is liable to be sitting on the floor howling piteously, which gives rise to increased consequences. Another child is told to bring a soft corn stock, which granny waves menacingly as she cautions Kachella to "Stop! Stop! Stop!" and having achieved the desired effect, puts down the corn stock beside her as a warning. We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

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794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may 571 be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif- 881 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young 582 girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

881 and questions like these are the determining factors in the timing of
304 a circumcision ceremony and they point to the major functions of the
[571] event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the roadway to manhood for the young boy, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

As would be expected in a stratified society there is much variation in the elaborateness of the circumcision ceremony, depending upon the rank of the family involved, the number of boys being circumcised together, and the upward mobility motivations of the family head. Generally speaking, the period of circumcision is fifteen days. In the traditional ceremonies the boys are cut at a first and smaller celebration and then remain in their compounds for fifteen days, after which a large ceremony is held.

"They must eat good food and rest until their wound heals," said one informant. The consensus of opinion seems to be that it is "better" to have a group of boys circumcised together rather than singly. This may include several boys from one large extended family. More often the ceremony is initiated by a person of higher rank, such as a hamlet head, a Village Head, a District Head, or some person of noble family. People of lesser rank who have some subordinate relationship then try, or are asked, to have their own sons included. Social distances between the families concerned are, however, not exceptionally great. Thus a peasant's son might conceivably have been circumcised with a hamlet head's son or perhaps even a Village Head's son but it would be most unlikely that he would reach much higher in

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
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613 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have <u>more</u> rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

000 555 871 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognised, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, 571 [212] medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

871 563 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, September 1955.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high 128 463 554 position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wazirí indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these 125 data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

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558 The literal translation of wujirma is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Litterally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So
[571] many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

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558 Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different
533 to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

556 foolish, and call persons who behave this way wujirma. On the other
533 hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to
(171) praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shehu, is perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status.(1)

556 The optimum use of wealth is described as kère. The kan kère (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the kan kère.

556 The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of
571 balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefactors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants. Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of persons who would willingly become his tada or tada njima (his boy, his son, his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", You are powerful", "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "Wuro she" (Give to

(1) See Smith, M.G. The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing, Africa, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.

556 me a . . ."). This validates the higher status of the person being
• 571 asked to give and can strengthen or initiate an obligatory subordination of some kind on the part of the would-be receiver. But, because there are so many more potential receivers than possible donors, all informants felt that it was always wise to keep quiet about the exact proportions of one's wealth in order to limit the amount of requests which widespread knowledge of property surpluses would bring.

It should be noted here that this imbalance of donors and receivers and the culturally defined potentiality of their interrelationship, offers a much travelled route for social mobility in Bornu. Any man who obtains material surpluses may begin to use his property to obtain discipline-respect (barsum) relationships with an expanding
[558] group of followers. Contrarily, a man whose material wealth is declining finds his followers less apt to remain within his organization. This is one of the primary elements in the operation of political and economic power.

An example of what this can mean in every day life is seen in the following example. In Magumeri the local school teacher who is on a monthly civil service salary is considered moderately wealthy by local rural standards. During an interview, at the writer's house, the teacher became increasingly nervous and fidgety, continually watching a rather elderly peasant who seemed to hover around the base of a tree about twenty yards in front of the house. Towards the end of the afternoon, the informant interrupted the conversation to ask whether the writer had seen the man near the tree. He then complained bitterly that this man was no friend or relation to him, but had been begging for a hat (price, four to eight shillings) for the last few weeks. The

556 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man
571 left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 What this means is that the ideal of kore (wise generosity)
183 is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption.
[454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings, which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation
[123] and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

565 one of the other
369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
• 571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e.
[178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri musko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory func-
[828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

565 [171] levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

114 562 This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

554 562 The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

173 554 562 571 It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.[1] The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Mairs, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Mairs (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

[p. 229]

Chapter VIII

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 **The Hamlet and the Ward**

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization [571] with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] [632] Approximately three miles south-west of Nagumeri is the small village of Owerongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Nagumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

571 621 166 In 1953 one of these full-time gworongo farmers whose holdings were somewhat above the average, moved his household three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Gworongo Hamlet to be closer to his fields.(1) With him he took his two wives and a younger brother and his wife. The younger brother also had fields at this spot through inheritance. Two sons moved as well. One has since left to go and live with his father's brother in Maiduguri, and one was preparing for a patrilocal marriage in 1957. A stranger to Gworongo Hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the 1953 settlement. He had no wife at the time and reports that he asked the original mover if he might build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals with its head. For this hospitality he helped mend the owner's bramble fences on the gworongo plots, repaired household fences and huts, and sometimes gathered grass for the senior's horse. He has since married (with some financial help in the form of a loan and a gift from the settlement head) and is not a 62 settled member of the new community-in-the-becoming. All residents of this new settlement look upon the founder as its senior member, and when he dies his son (in the settlement) will take over the headship. Disputes between members are always taken to the senior for settlement before going to any higher authorities (which has never been done), while disputes with outsiders follow the general rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not yet have a name; however, in all likelihood, if it continues to grow and expand it will be called Aji or Ajiri after the original founder whose name is Aji.

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(1) This is the reason given by the farmer himself. Local gossip has it that he had quarrelled with the Hamlet Head of Gworongo over taxes.

571 621 This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

621 632 The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head [651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years 571 621 622 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Bulama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[text continues on p. 233]

361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

• 571 632 621 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional units of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (nguro) under its Bàlama is slowly approaching the condition where another Bàlama will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 571 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this study by the term extended household organization. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as kin who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

If the extended household head can maintain the
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571 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
554 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
622 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bèlama), depending upon the location of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bèlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bèlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[545] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 621 Lawan arrived. They look upon Lawan as their leader, but also feel more deeply rooted to their place of residence. This group has seen several Lawans come and go and if Lawan were to consistently overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to complaining about him to his superiors. Their goodwill and support must be sought by Lawan, and they must not be administered to their perpetual detri-
632 ment. Indeed this check on the Lawan's power applied to all his tala (peasants) many of whom know that they can complain of misrule to his superiors. Another check which any tala has over his political superior is migration. He can always move to some other town where he is treated more judiciously. All political leaders, especially Lawans and District Heads, are aware of these checks on their power and are to varying degrees influenced by them.

632 621 571 In Magumeri, the Lawan's own extended household organization includes his son, and about twenty followers under a chief follower (Wakil). Each of the men in this organization has a household of his own somewhere in Lawan's ward (they are not necessarily contiguous), and farmland given to him by Lawan. They receive economic aid from their superior in the form of food, clothing, money, etc., and a status in the extended household organization of the Lawan. Peasants often ask them to intercede for them with the Lawan, or to help them in arranging a meeting between disputants with Lawan as judge.

The members of Lawan's extended household organization are his "administrative staff". They keep in touch with gossip, especially political news; aid in raising taxes; act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him; help him on his farms; and carry messages for him. His followers on foot and horse give him as well the appearance of being what he is, a man cut above his peasant subjects, a local ruler.

632 571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

632 871 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated [554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A.(1)

632 423 [622] All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan 632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

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One of the informants offered the information that if he did not pay zakat to his Lawan, his farmland would be taken away from him. Checking this information proved to be difficult, since no cases were ever reported or observed. Consequently, people only speculated about the results of not paying zakat. The belief that land might be confiscated if the zakat tax is not paid is not universal, but the belief that some sort of reprisal would result from non-payment is held by all peasants.

The following excerpt from field notes illustrates the kind of experience that promotes this belief if the Lawan's authority is not responded to with some degree of subordination.

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Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the Lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat maker and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the town, he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school, an N.A. employee and a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appears to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the town, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

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On one of these occasions of the teacher's absence, Bukar had borrowed some matting from his mentor for use in his own compound. The Lawan, in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony, needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arabic teacher's to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked in the teacher's compound. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the others. He answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting from his own compound and was brought to the Lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the Lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by Lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned Lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar, sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by Lawan (the ceremony was over).

634 The District organization is roughly similar throughout the twenty-one such divisions in Borno Emirate. Each District shares the [368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a [491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

634 A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in 64 consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

634 The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most [644] impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the 634 palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household • 571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

634 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The
• 571 organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys
[554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'una if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Magumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new Dis-
634 trict should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live
571 either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization
561 are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

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[423] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an
[425] acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

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571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

634 that his assessment was too high. The DH promptly sent out some of his
571 followers and gathered twice the assessment originally stipulated. He
661 then called in the Lawan to the District capital, reprimanded him and gave back one-quarter of the excess tax raised by his followers.

631 Formally the Lawans are subordinate to the DH of their District. The DH relays information to them from the capital concerning the execution of their political duties and it is their responsibility to have these directives carried out. However, for various reasons to be discussed presently, some of the political activity of the DH is illegal under the present regulations. Therefore he often requires more than mere compliance to state regulations. As shown by the example above the DH wants cooperation and complicity in his own political organization of the District. Several factors militate against the absorption of the Lawans into the DH's organization. Firstly, the Lawan's salary and his income from taxes and political duties make him less dependent upon the DH than the latter's more disciplined followers. Secondly, the British have always viewed the Lawan's job as that of a local chief (see above pp.36-39) whose ties should be to the locality and not necessarily the DH. Nevertheless a DH's views are almost always taken into consideration by both the NA and the British when a new Lawan
631 is to be appointed. This last point leads to a conflict. Dismissals
661 and transfers are common occurrences among DH's. Because DH's often manage to get a few of their loyal followers into a Lawan's job, especially in the District capital, each new DH in a District is confronted with a few Lawans who are the loyal followers of his predecessor.

The result of this structural framework is a constant manoeuvring by the DH to either win the loyalty and obedience of his Lawans or replace them with his own followers.

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years, and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred, or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy out in the Districts. Their independent [571] source of income from the civil service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A. officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which 634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the 647 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues, 651 and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration with the Chief Scribe.

634 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe 647 was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All 661 631 efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

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hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

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In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat [565] with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to mulct the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

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However, this and other moves by the DH to obtain friendship and loyalty from the N.A. employees in his area can never be totally successful in creating a unified political organization in the District. First of all, they can be moved to other Districts by their superiors and often are, thus creating the problem of new N.A. personnel constantly arriving. Secondly, their income from N.A. salaries allows them to be independent of the DH economically if they wish, while the power and authority of their own departmental superiors in the capital always acts to lessen the degree of sensitivity and possible subservience they may feel towards the DH.

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This does not mean to imply that the N.A. employees are completely independent of the DH. In many branches of N.A. activity it is either difficult or impossible at present to initiate or continue civil service programs without a modicum of cooperation from the DH. This is another way of saying that in the rural area the independent existence of other sources of power and authority besides the line leading from Lawan through the DH to the Shehu is hardly recognized. (1)

For example, it is impossible to establish a local forest reserve without the DH issuing orders to all Lawana ordering them to cooperate with a newly arrived District representative of the Forestry Department. Or again, it is the DH who at present enforces and maintains a regular flow of children into the Junior Primary School in his District capital. On the other hand, if the DH continually refuses to cooperate with N.A. officials and civil service programs are obstructed, complaints by local N.A. personnel, plus the failure of program goals can bring sharp reprimands down upon the DH.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a

(1) The exception here is the European, who the peasant knows has much power.

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
634 which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
665 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Wazirí
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Wazirí with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bersum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
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[631] advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial government, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
• 571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

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643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

647 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved
662 by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647 Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and
[557] diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense
647 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However,
• 571 within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the DH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or
[641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

241 433 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the District Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
[571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
[586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
[571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bèrzum subordinates again help determine the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
[476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily salaries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
241 464 571 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure availability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties or working bèrzum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).
(2) See below p. 305.

241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilize the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groudnuts have been as follows:(1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer ∅
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

ø Maiduguri market (average)
∅ General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

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458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

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571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

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55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more
433 recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds,
369 and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kagumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted 571 that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists[1] provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups[2] reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

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511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).
(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

443 With one
[442] exception,[1] locally produced items such as medical services, pottery,
[438] meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
• 571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are <u>bèrzum</u> (discipline-respect) and <u>aman</u> (trust).[2] Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

<u>(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)</u>

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
442 has lived in Magumeri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
443 from Hadejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] (1) <u>Gworongo</u>, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is pro-
[302] duced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

438 442 443 mai gida[1] who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 101bs. per bag) on credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had [578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximate- • 571 ly 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

[192] [571] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Maguneri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate barzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate co-
[439] casions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it ever after he has become inactive in the role.

442 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakama) who wishes
572 to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time
442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers.(1) Retailers also use stan-
452 dards of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but
572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguinal kin, Ajimi does extend credit if requested and this is fairly often. He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a "friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bukar is
442
571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father".
[602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to describe what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a barzun relationship with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be arranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the look-

(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distribute anywhere from two to six.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar (1) and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

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[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 439 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maiduguri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Nakurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 438 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Magumeri and previously bought groundnuts for sale in the capital.

441 571 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its bbrzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 452 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This [511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of bursum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sakelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger [405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part [455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 • 571 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" [212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.

441 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to
571 obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of
436 Malam Mina's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European
441 trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Mina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/im-
[433] port economy. Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
• 571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (bèrzum), joking (suli), and friendship (numkam). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the bèrzum relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of bèrzum and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

602 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent
571
591 in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time, birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

602 These structural features are in their turn functions of
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571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bèrzum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the suborindates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
[426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories, virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

593 183 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of [565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper [586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (<u>tiful</u>) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the <u>tiful</u> stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The <u>tiful</u>

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bərzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
• 571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

621 in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name
571 for this constant and fundamental organization in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organisational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organization is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organization of the Emirate.

631 The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical
571 structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimized and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organization of the next higher level in the political structure.

631 In practice there are factors present which make it im-
642 possible for the Kanuri political organization to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository
[648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organization, and tends besides to create ambiguous

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is
571 the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of barzum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years,
511 have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

441 452 the extended household organisation of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organisations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
• 571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the a-
dult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 barzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more
important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This
is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to
the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization,
which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers
setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty
years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are
expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being
constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and trans-
portation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is
clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic or-
ganization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as
they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to
the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often
in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or co-
hesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the
opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizontally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfortable with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State. (1) This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked" by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating. However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

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(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

178 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of
• 571 a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social sys-
369 tem of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is
571 the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves
511 up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one
178 of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a
571 tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical rela-
511 tionships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will be-
556 come a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

ooo These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life.
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571].

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. 571 576 578 602 [182] Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

171 602 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers[1] for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system.

602 433 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent system would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organization for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 571 [433] A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organization of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organization in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her relatives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. [591] The custom [572] of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwe (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalised in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

593 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 602 There is much friendship practised between ego and his collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzé (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate [476] friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sárwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sárwa contributions, and his ashirmanzé.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-

593 ship developing in the husband-wife relationship depending upon
[565] the stability of the union. Such friendships are aided and abetted
[586] by cousin marriage as well as by upper class position where the divorce rate does not seem to be as high.

• 572 156 Finally, an examination of the nature of friendship in general excluding the grandparent-grandchild, and mother-child relations reveals some unique features which arise from its setting in the total social organization. The question can be raised as to why it is that friendship is not formalised or structured to the same extent as the other behaviours associated with the kinship system. Certainly, an immediate answer lies in the universal nature of this kind of interpersonal relationship, i.e., its affectivity and expressive content, and the concomitant emotional satisfactions which people obtain from such associations. These tend to create a large area for personality characteristics to determine exactly who among the available persons, for example age-mates in the kindred, ego will move toward in expanding and contracting his friendships. As in our society, social factors such as socio-economic status, occupation, residence patterns, ethnic background, and norms of upward mobility all enter into such choices as well. But there is more to Kanuri friendship relations than a mere addition or interaction of these idiosyncratic features of personality attraction and repulsion on the one hand and sociological variables on the other.

572 Informants were forever telling the anthropologist that someone he mentioned was a friend of theirs, although no affective or emotional or for that matter any very real social relationship existed between them. They meant, of course, that they liked

572 to include as many people as possible under the category of friend. On the other side of the question, what we in our culture would consider a very close friendship can be restricted or terminated for any one of a number of reasons, running from a shift in residence
572 to uneven upward mobility on the part of the friends. When friends
201 actually do have to part, great protestations of affection and sadness are often made at the time of leave-taking, especially and in much greater part, by the person remaining behind. Occasions like this are not uncommon. On one of these, a local official had received a much higher office in the capital. At a small gathering of his friends before his departure, heavy emotional displays of sadness and actual bereavement were made by many of his friends — they were losing such a good friend — why was he leaving them? — couldn't he stay? — did he realize how sad he was making them all feel? — he would forget them all now — etc. There was no mention whatsoever of his good fortune in receiving such an honourable and prestigeful promotion in the State. The sadness seemed more an expression of the group's dissatisfaction with their friend's departure than one of melancholy at his leaving, and it lasted only until his departure on the part of all but his very close ashirmanzé (intimate friend) who because of other circumstances in the situation had extremely few real friends and, therefore, suffered a more profound loss.

829 There is a cultural evaluation of interpersonal relations which underlies all Kanuri attitudes about their social life. Relationships achieved and/or ascribed are good, and more importantly, they are potentially profitable and satisfying phenomena. Conse-

572
829

Consequently, any informant will tell of a host of friends that he possesses. Contrarily, the loss or lessening of interaction in any relationship is a bad thing, and a departing friend is mourned at during his leaving as a loss to self and admonished over and over again not to forget his friends either directly — "Don't forget me," — or indirectly — "You will forget me now." —. This explains why no one mentioned the official's good luck in obtaining a promotion, the total emphasis being on the loss which his good fortune had inflicted on his friends. However, he was still a friend and would always be referred to as such if they were questioned. Thus, many of the friendships reported on are due to past associations now inactive, or often because of hoped-for associations in the future. Because of this constant interplay of friendship as a value per se with the non-permanent quality of many relationships through time the Kanuri often seem to the Western observer to lack "sincerity" in the emotional quality of their friendships except in rare cases of extreme intimacy. However, even in the latter a long-term basis is not necessarily a concomitant of mutual intimacy. Since it is good and desirable to have as many friends as possible, from previous associations as well as in terms of future possibilities, the social and physical mobility and the sheer numbers of such relationships dictate that an individual cannot have an expressive-affective relationship with all of them. Nor can he expect or predict when a really operative friendship (even in the kinship system) may be broken. Consequently, he learns to anticipate the possible break-up of any particular interpersonal relation at any time as part of his social interactions and concentrates, if he is successful in his culture,

572 829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendhip relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalized recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealized Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

592 [571] [602] Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal relations in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realised that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily 592 351 identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44 [441] of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market economy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

438 guri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
442

Ajimi regularly obtains his nuts from four of these traders, all of whom he visits, and all of whose goods he inspects and prices before he decides where to place his order. He strongly asserts that his primary criterion in making the decision as to where to buy is the quality of the nuts. Two of the suppliers are Kanuri, one of whom owns his own lorries; the other two are Hausa. Ajimi has gone to other suppliers in the past but could not, at the time of this study, remember their names. By going to the same supplier over and over again with his uncle's money, he builds up confidence, and has on several occasions obtained an extra kwando on credit from one of the Kanuri suppliers, the profits ofwhich he kept entirely for himself.

435 Although there is some variation in price, it generally
438 occurs at the retail level, while for bulk shipments cash prices re-
442 main fairly constant, and it is quantity which varies with supply, quality and demand. Thus £20.0.0 is generally the price for a kwando of kola-nuts (a large rafia rope-bound package). A kwando contains seven thousand to eight thousand nuts depending upon their size, quality and the state of the market at any particular time. After returning to Magumeri, Ajimi generally gets back about £32.0.0 per kwando and returns the money, plus half the profits (i.e. £6.0.0) to Alkali Bukar. This buying and selling procedure takes him between thirteen to seventeen days or roughly two weekly market cycles.

572 He wholesales his nuts in the Magumeri area and regularly
438
442 attends the Magumeri (Sunday), Gamiram (Thursday),(1) and Ardoram (Monday)
[366] markets.

(1) He avoids the more usual Thursday market at Ngubura and attends the Gajiram market because it has no motor road, and he finds less competition and a smaller number of kola-nut wholesalers there than at Ngubura.

442 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakama) who wishes
572 to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time
442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers.(1) Retailers also use stan-
452 dards of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but
572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguinal kin, Ajimi does extend credit if requested and this is fairly often. He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a "friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

442 When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bukar is
571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father".
[602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to describe what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a barzum relationship with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be arranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the look-

(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distribute anywhere from two to six.

[BEIDAH]

796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubəro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bari, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumari Ashembe, at Ngumari Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[272] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-
[264] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

796 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at
574 the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe,
554 the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan,
182 Ngumari Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In
554 the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumari Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 Another extremely important yearly festival is called
782

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
576 superior-suborindate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider themselves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) expect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri family and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage. or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the political scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling, wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, 195
so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other 576 197
areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most 178 191
Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic 178 177
features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related 302
ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash 412
carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are 531
tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life 171
are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one 304
ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not 171
significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 114
1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and 101
hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of 121

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

For the most part relations between husbands and wives are highly formalized. They avoid using one another's names in conversation. In public only the most necessary interaction takes place between them when other people are around. Women walk generally behind their husbands when the two are going somewhere together, and even in the household the woman remains or should remain inside the compound. When he is not working, the husband sits most often in the entrance hut or in front of his household. A visit to a Kanuri household brings the husband to the entrance hut if he is inside, and at the same time the wife retreats out of sight. For the most part women remain in the company of women, and men with men. Only in a few rare cases have I ever observed public expressions of friendliness between a husband and a wife. 593 576 562

Cultural tradition has ordained that men are the dominant members of society, and women, more specifically wives, are to be submissive. This is both Islamic and Kanuri. It is good and seemly for a woman to obey her husband and to appear humble in his presence. Men decide where the family is to live, who a daughter is to marry, and a multitude of day-to-day questions on every aspect of family life. For a wife or indeed any family member to make a decision without consulting the husband-father is asking for trouble. Disputes between a husband and a wife, in which a man can refer to a breech of his authority as the cause of the disagreement, are invariably settled in his favor and might include physical punishment by the husband if the wife is very young. Thus a district head ruled against the plaintiffs in a case in which the husband had been accused by the wife's relatives of a beating which he had administered to her. The district head stated that the girl had been grossly disobedient and that it was the husband's right to punish such acts, especially in one so very young who was still learning how to be a proper wife. 593 [562]

One out of every two Kanuri marriages is a polygynous one. Thus a woman is very likely sometime during her life to be in a situation in which she is one of two or more co-wives. Relations between co-wives is governed by strict codes of procedure. Each wife has her own hut in the back area of the compound farthest from the entrance hut or gate. Each wife cooks her own food and raises her own children who sleep in her hut while they are small. When co-wives go abroad as a group to the wells or to a ceremony, the senior wife—the one married to the husband-in-common for the longest time—takes the lead with the other wives behind in a single file. Then come the female children in terms of their own relative ages. During a family ceremony the senior wife is the authoritative head of the women's section and directs the work of the others. Relations with the husband are strictly regulated. The general rule is that each wife performs her duties from sunset to sunset and the evening meal is taken after sunset. Every wife takes her own turn cooking the husband's food and that night she visits him in his hut. He may or may not have intercourse with her, but he must try to share sexual favors as equally as possible or else word about it will spread around in the family and cause tension between wives. 595

Although it is very rare to observe cases of long-standing co-wife relations because of the high amount of divorce in Bornu, the Kanuri always say that co-wives can become very good friends if they remain married to the same man for a long period of time. On the other hand it is fairly easy to observe co-wife relations that are stiff, formal, and even tense and hostile. One woman whom I know actual-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to 577
their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Al- 571
though men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and 593
respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality [828]
to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and [861]
his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior 571
called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, 576.
especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very 571
friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. 576
His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and 593
never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of 571
father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as 576
older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young 593
nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are 602
greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri [591]
girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, 571
the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* 576
or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

571 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast down-
576 wards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In-
[582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people
576 with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent,
602 although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex.
571 Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of
576 interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational
578 groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger,
602 calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate
[182] any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up
572 with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age
593 and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friend-
602 ship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving
867 are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale so-
626 cial relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, tele-
571 phones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional pat-
576 terns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the
[179] conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in
[663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public se[illegible] and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic be[illegible] will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know abou[illegible]dernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at prese[illegible] the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

642
634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[273] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[772] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

175 567 554 [304] 175 567 554 592 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The susana of an important noble shares some of that importance by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 428 [643] 567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his master, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

567 576 178

567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and [673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[271] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear [554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function [369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[434] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

[BEIDAN]

796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubaro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

[GEIDAM]

Table XIX

*177
493
805
*565
*554
*463

4,5. Knowledge about Western Material Items.

	4. Can you ride a bicycle? yes	4. no	5. Can you tell time? yes	5. no
Aristocracy	4*a	1	5	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	1	2
Canteen Operators	4*b	2	4	2
NA Malams	5	1	6	-
Kabuna	2	4	3	3
Craftsmen	2	4	4	2
Talaka	4	4	5	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	2	2
Totals:	23	21	30	14

[576] *a one of the aristocracy (Yerima) stated that he doesn't ride a bicycle though he knows how to, because it isn't dignified.

*b one of the canteen traders stated that though he knows how to ride a bicycle, he doesn't ride, but travels on horse.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 565 In some cases, more often among the upper classes, if a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela- [577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper [834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass 576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem- [565] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class [264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

576 moved in the presence of social superiors, and if the gap between them is great shoes are removed even when passing in front of the superior's compound. A person who continually avoids or breaks moral rules and rules of etiquette and good conduct is described as nungu ba (having no shame) or shim ngundu (narrow eyes) - the latter from the saying " a man of narrow eyes has no shame."

Respect (bàrzum)

571 Respect (bàrzum) is a general category of behaviour in interpersonal relations which has to do with the response to power and authority. It ranges from shame-respect, described above, to friendship-respect in which there may be a more affective relationship that involves discipline and a superior-subordinate relation along with the possibility of partial intimacy depending upon factors of personality, age, generation, and sex differences of the actors.

593 604 Generally speaking the shame-respect relation is most stringently practised with own parents, being transferred to parents' siblings if any of these has taken on the parent's role toward ego. There is a significant difference in shame and friendship responses given to parents and to their collaterals. In the table below respect responses are not indicated because all informants gave a bàrzum response to own parents and parents' collaterals.

TABLE II

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Responses to the Category

	shame	friendship
own parents	99.5	0
pat. coll. (Parent's)	23.8	20.4
mat. coll. (Parent's)	23.2	20.2

602 from ego necessarily. It was noted that the behaviour is a response to power and authority and is non-reciprocal. This means that bàrzum is non-reciprocal, not the relationship in which it obtains. Respect ideally moves from junior to senior in a relationship, but as we shall see respect (bàrzum) must be cultivated if it is to flourish.

571 Beyond the operative limits of the kinship system, bàrzum is the essential quality of all relationships in the society which involve power and authority. If the relationship is of a master-servant variety then the subordinate gives bàrzum to the superior, while the superior will totally or partially feed, clothe, house and even obtain a wife for the subordinate (i.e. help with the bride-wealth, or even in some cases find a girl for him). The superior in such a relationship is often referred to as abanjima (father of the house) especially when the subordinate lives in or near the compound of his superior and the superior refers to the subordinate as his tada njima (child of the house).

571 576 To a lesser extent the bàrzum relationship is imbedded in the etiquette system of Kanuri greeting customs. This is called nona which means paying-one's-respects-to a superior. Here, although the bàrzum is only momentary, it symbolizes and validates status differences in Kanuri social structure. The rule is simply this: a high status person never goes to call on or greet a lower status person. By following the reverse order, that is the lower status person always calling on or greeting the higher status person, respect is delivered in the proper direction and the lower status individual indicates his recognition of the power and auth-

571 ority of the superior in the society as a whole, thereby validating
576 the status hierarchy of the social structure.

571 In terms of the present analysis bèrzum is such an essential quality in the fabric of Kanuri interpersonal relations that it bears closer scrutiny. To do this we can use the method of presentation being followed here and return to the kinship system working out from there to the wider society. The content of the bèrzum relationship includes a sense of mutual obligation partially symbolized by the Kanuri concept of "trust" (aman). It is only partial because aman as we shall see has an affective connotation not necessarily implied in the bèrzum relationship.

602 In the questionnaire results, no differences were obtained from informants as to their behaviour towards patrilateral as compared with matrilateral kin. However, the interviewer also asked the respondants which kin they felt more aman with. In this case a definite discrimination between the descent groups was asked for and the answer was unequivocally in favour of the patrilateral group. The solution to the problem lies in the nature of the word aman (trust). It is not a unidimensional term implying only one kind of attitude, but subsumes within it several different kinds of trust, and it depends upon how the question is phrased which descent group will get the comparatively greater amount of aman in the individual's judgment.. If the question is asked barely, with no indication or hypothetical case which might refer to loans or credit or emotional factors, the answer comes back quickly (and this is universal for all strata of society) that there is more aman with the patrilateral group. The reasons given for this choice are also

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553 On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal
[562] naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
576 superior-subordinate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider themselves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) expect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri family and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage. or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the political scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling, wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a
634 highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are
647 ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus
554 if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his resi-
[576] dence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the
647 extended household organization of the DH, then the factional member-
662 ships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials
647 disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household or-
557 ganization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[838] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

647
557 traditional one. One of the senior members of an individual's agnatic group arranges an audience with some person connected to an N.A. department. One informant in the N.A. commented on recruitment in the following manner.

> If you want a job in the Treasury, one of your relatives (a senior male agnate) will find out, if he does not already know, the name of some person who is known to "help" people and go to greet him some night. Your relative will give him some money and he will say that you must come back the next day and he will tell you. Then he will find you a job in the Department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him, and then the job is yours, and you are in the N.A. . . . Sometimes it takes a long time.

647 Because of the constant shifts in personnel, some to higher positions, others because of dismissals or jail terms, there is much unpredictability of job tenure in the N.A. and suspicion of unorthodox
647 behaviour is a common rule. Thus one junior N.A. official remarked
576 that he must be careful in his department to always dress less well than his superiors, or it would be considered ro kura (ambitious, proud), and therefore threatening. On the other hand, he must not dress too poorly or his superiors will consider him a wastrel, who
647 spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again, it is extremely difficult to transfer (through own effort) from one branch of the service to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to the person's own department heads and N.A. council; if a release is granted, then a further application to the desired department
[829] can be submitted. To the Kanuri such a transfer is not considered a rejection of the work, but of the people in the department. Thus informants claimed that they would be considered ingrates and trouble-
[662] makers if they were ever to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends "visiting at night", i.e. paying tribute to the appropriate

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demonstration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

[829] The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

242 177 561 •[576] Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age. However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite, and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training, [554] and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people. 242 177 [829] Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Abdulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.*

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style [582]
schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is rejected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate. Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very 590 common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' com- [562] pound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed 837 this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes [521] about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their 593 own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband 586 and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 577 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Although men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast); and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[571] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

796 ceremony. Naming of children, circumcision, marriage and burial all have a religious aspect, though of course the nature of the ceremony is strongly Kanuri in character, and differs from the same ceremony as practiced by Moslems generally or from that ceremony as practiced by other nearby African Moslems. Similarly, the ceremonial holidays in the yearly cycle follow the Moslem calendar. Days of celebration include: the new year, the prophet's birthday, the sacrifice of the ram, and of course the month of Ramadan.

2. Islamic Law.

671 779 • 517 Several aspects of Kanuri culture are most profoundly affected by Islam, and will here be given more extended discussion. Law is perhaps the foremost of these. Acceptance of Islam means the acceptance of Islamic law. This involves two broad areas: one's conduct in everyday life, and formal, written law which is a part of political organization. With respect to the first, the Kanuri view of the "good man" is synonymous with being a good Moslem. In one's every-day conduct one should be properly humble and respectful of superiors, and false pride (ro kura) is considered a despicable trait. One should be devout not only in performing ritual acts, such as prayer, but in one's thoughts. It is commendable for a man to awake early in the morning, long before the time one begins the day's work, for contemplation and the counting of prayer beads (tasjimi). [492] Disputes are taken to the Lowan and to the Ajia for arbitration,

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [877] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 177 554 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

[BEIDAN]

#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
#829 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
441 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that
178 of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

735 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and genero-
577 sity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
[554] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

[BEIDAH]

431 577 735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

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[GEIDAM]

735 178 441 *565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

*177 871 *829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 565 In some cases, more often among the upper classes, if a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela- [577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper [834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass 576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem- [515] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class [264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
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571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

554 829 [789] (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witchcraft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 829 441 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is not their own, and then they give the money to the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 [558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in [775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 554 577 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 463 [167] The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders, often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
• 578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast down-
576 wards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In-
[582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people
576 with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent,
602 although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex.
571 Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of
576 interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational
578 groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in
602 such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger,
[182] calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up
572 with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age
593 and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friend-
602 ship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving
867 are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale so-
626 cial relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

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Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its [829]
landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading de-
883 velopment. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
882 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
871 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
578 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

886
888 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
[826] though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions amd pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the idleal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
565

[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes: 632 689 578 692

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence. 632 689 578 692 159 [571]

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor. 632 685 689 578 692 159

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

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578 632 689 692 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

[634]

632 634 518 66

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

[166] [651]

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634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waz-634 iri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by 662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of 592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound [342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in [361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to 634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol-592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men 571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants 571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci-634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully 571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis-578 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize 634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci-571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan 578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-632

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lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head. 634 632 571 578

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization. 634 571 692 578 661

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area. 632 634 578 661

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap- 000

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larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

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which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

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665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true reli-
gion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
[563] riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
[579] but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them cor-
rect, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C.
and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us
here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and
eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian par-
ties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-
Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a
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gion was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the
former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this re-
gion between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be
represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
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has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

[651] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalə yaskə wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about <u>boye</u>, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
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152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
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369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

[GEIDAM]

627 431 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 578 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse her husband. Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

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[GEIDAM]

177 western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
632 are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
578 referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
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[593] because of the eventual high status position he can look forward to upon the death of his father. Again he has a strong affective tie with his mother, i.e., his father's senior wife. In this case the compound split is merely a segmentary process which is reproducing the pattern. The son will attempt to set up a similar household to that from which he came.

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571 Another alternative takes place when a household head dies leaving several sons or heirs. The sons may remain in the compound area with the senior as the nominal head. However, as soon as each of the brothers begins creating his own nuclear family the original pattern begins to reassert itself, and hiving off takes place which is commonly noticeable in the re-arrangement of compound walls, or the emergence of new ones. The degree to which the brothers remain together is very often a measure of the genealogical distance between them through the father's line. Informants state that full brothers have a much greater chance of remaining in the same com-
[578] pound or near one another than other types of siblings. The conflicts over inheritance and the loyalties to different widowed mothers tend to create a somewhat stronger fissionable force in the case of half-siblings of the same dead father. In the opposite case where the widowed mother is the same, but the co-resident siblings are of different fathers, then only the offspring of the dead father have any claim to the inheritance. The half-siblings of this variety generally do not remain together since they have different patrilateral kinship affiliations. This does not mean to imply that half-siblings of different fathers are unfriendly to one another. In actual fact the reverse seems to be the case. However, ego's interests and sense

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
832 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one, including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illicit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person. For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia, and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse. Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
• 578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This latter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

874 882 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguinal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's" house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resemblance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

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[441] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years [452] of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
578 613 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have more rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

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distinctions are made between these relatives as to the distribution of the rights and prerogatives of the deceased. The strength of the father-son relationship and its importance as the model for one of the central norms of behaviour in the society give it a much more important and decisive position for resolving conflicts in most cases. Although some internal resentments may result, the legal and social identity of the agnates with one another for the most part override this conflict in the system.

438 442 443 mai gida[1] who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 10lbs. per bag) on credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had [578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximately 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

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[192] [571] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bbrzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person. Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizontally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfortable with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State. This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked"(1) by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating. However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

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(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford:Blackwell, 1955.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true reli-
gion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
[563] riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
[579] but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them cor-
rect, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C.
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the [586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 595 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, supposedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tives, usually female relatives, in the name of the groom; these are called the *kwororam*, or the asking-a-question payments. Secondly, there are the formally recognized payments. The first of these is a large one called the *luwaliram*, given to the *luwali*, or the man who officially gives the bride to the groom and to whom she will return if she ever runs away or separates from her husband. This is followed several weeks later by a *sada'u*, a small fee given to the girl's family through her *luwali* on the morning of the wedding day. And thirdly there are a number of small payments paid out to the girl and her young friends, to the female relative(s) who accompany her to the groom's house, and to any unmarried sister she has left behind. The groom receives a few small gifts from the girl's family, and on the morning of the wedding day when the *sada'u* is paid, he receives gifts of money, clothes, and even on occasion a horse. He never knows beforehand, however, just how much or how little this "rebate" will come to in relation to his own outlay for the marriage. 583

When the status of the two families is similarly low, as it is in the vast majority of rural marriages, then there is very little worry over bridewealth. Generally it is not very high and almost standardized for the locality. An important man always pays more bridewealth because everyone believes he can afford it. Paying more for everything he does, including marriage, is one of the ways he validates or proves his higher social rank. An interesting insight is also gained when it is realized that not only is the status of the person getting married taken into account, but also the status of those whom he is associated with and whom he can count on for help. In our little town of Magumeri many people tried to have their daughters marry members of my household because, as they laughingly admitted, they knew I would help my household members with bridewealth, and my apparently wealthy status in Magumeri meant that payments could be set a good deal higher than usual for such a marriage. 583 554 583 554 123

No matter what the status of the two families may be, girls who have not been married before command a much higher set of bridewealth payments, and more of them. The magnitude is often three to five times as much and in extreme cases it goes even higher than that. Men tend to give more as they grow older and can afford it, while conversely women often receive less as they go from one marriage to the next. Kanuri say that a woman who has been married many times has been used a great deal and is therefore worth much less than others who have not had so many marriages and been used as much. On the other hand, if she remained with previous husband(s) for longer periods, has a reputation for quiet obedience, and staying inside the household, then the groom feels more confident about her and will pay more. Similarly if the women has borne children and has demonstrated her fertility, she is also worth more. Although some men know practically nothing about their wives to be, others investigate them and inquire into the reasons for previous marriage break-ups and so on. Was it because her previous husband beat her, or because she was an adulteress, or was excessively jealous of co-wives? Did she not perform her wifely duties properly, or show proper respect to her husband? Certainly some men like to know what kind of wife they are getting and this affects their willingness to pay bridewealth. However, it is not uncommon for a Kanuri man to say that he knew a particular wife for only a week, or perhaps just a day or two before they were married. In this case the woman's marital record is 58 562 581

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife. 581 562

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times. 58 159

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bridewealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [887]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

58 often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and
159 so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose
[832] magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali*, (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

183 The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in
586 and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

592 By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great
593 deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their
512 friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

593 In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household)
562 and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave
565 the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. 779 595 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse. [554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. 779 58 Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the [595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

779 marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights
.58 of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support
[593] of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does
not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement;
[182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All
of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies,
are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in
Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million peo-
[161] ple. About one-third live in towns with a population of more
than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital,
which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying
villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten
towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of
these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu
Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26
towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost
a third of the population.

369 Although there may be some question whether a town with a
632 population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear
121 that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly ap-
proaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

582 793 583 [557] the motivations of the luwali in giving his ward. It may be that the mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage payments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 582 793 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills. This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made, because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural powers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 793 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immediate ward of town. He had been married six times, almost always to one wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been a nyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obligations.

58 Nyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

58 ther. The term "agreement" refers to the chief difference with previously discussed marriage types, for here the parties to the marriage are themselves the prime movers in its inception. As would be expected this kind of marriage union is most common among women who have been married before and through divorce have gained independence. The main responsibility for the decision to initiate the marriage comes from the man and the woman who are to be married. The connotation here is that the marriage is not being contracted for utilitarian purposes primarily, but rather for reasons of emotion, affection, and mutual desirability on the part of the couple. To the Kanuri who view marriage as being first and foremost a utilitarian relationship which creates satisfactory economic and social relationships, this marriage by "agreement" seems somewhat strange. Indeed, not many marriages of this type were referred to by informants.

That they do exist was indicated by one informant who told how he had made an arrangement with a young girl of his home town when they were both in their pre-pubertal period. They knew that they could not marry one another (a) because her luwali (guardian), in this case her father, controlled her first marriage, and (b) because of the differential ages at which the sexes customarily marry. The informant related how he was able, several years later, when he was about thirteen and the girl about eleven, (i.e. marriageable) to obtain a solution to his problem with the aid of a friend. The friend, X, aged about seventeen or eighteen, was in a family with slightly more resources than the informant's and his father wanted him to take a virgin as a first wife. X himself (according to the informant) desired a virgin whose own family valued her at too high a price for X's family to become seriously interested. The informant suggested to X that he marry his (the informant's)

58 little sweetheart and keep her until he (the informant) was grown adult enough to have her as a wife for himself. Because the bridewealth was in the range of X's family resources, X's parents decided, after having the idea suggested to them by the informant, to obtain the informant's "intended" for their son. Needless to say, they knew nothing of the informant's long term plan to marry the girl eventually himself. When the informant was nineteen or twenty, his little childhood girl friend divorced X and married him. The informant did not know whether X ever managed to marry the girl of his own childhood dreams, but thinks he did.

58 183 This rather extreme example is interesting for its illustration of how individuals growing up within a certain social structure can often work out arrangements whereby they skirt round the requirements of their culture, yet manage to maintain the system as a set of rules. The Kanuri recognize that all marriages cannot simply be lasting agreements made between groups of individuals comprised almost entirely of males, especially in Bornu where divorce is so simple and all relationships have a brittle edge.

587 The final stage in independence is reached in the last variety of marriage, nyia kolatabe (marriage of discovery), which by its very nature is confined to non-virgin women. This is the most widespread form of marriage among the population, becoming common after the woman has had her first divorce (or second in some high ranking households). Informants claimed that in this type of marriage, "There is no arrangement, you only meet the woman somewhere and decide to marry her." [7] Some Kanuri equated it with the Hausa tsintuna or propertyless marriage, i.e. where the kin are not involved either in the decision to marry or the exchange of property. There is, however, a bridewealth payment by the husband-to-be which is paid to the woman herself, and the marriage is still solemnized at a sada'ż ceremony as at all weddings.

437 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate
583 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her lumali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman her-
[426] self. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the
[571] money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

58 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories - virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who has been married before. Marriages are further subdivided on the basis of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However, only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings. Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his lumali role (and in some cases his influence over other lumali) to either strengthen or create obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases, these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia

58 sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory subordination by the mallam to the luwali.

Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible or feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior/subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many men are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, there is a conflict
183 between the subordination that most Kanuri men expect of their wives and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in
[565] the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the
[586] man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are few divorces.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce. [586]

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 595 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, supposedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

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tives, usually female relatives, in the name of the groom; these are called the *kwororam*, or the asking-a-question payments. Secondly, there are the formally recognized payments. The first of these is a large one called the *luwaliram*, given to the *luwali*, or the man who officially gives the bride to the groom and to whom she will return if she ever runs away or separates from her husband. This is followed several weeks later by a *sada'u*, a small fee given to the girl's family through her *luwali* on the morning of the wedding day. And thirdly there are a number of small payments paid out to the girl and her young friends, to the female relative(s) who accompany her to the groom's house, and to any unmarried sister she has left behind. The groom receives a few small gifts from the girl's family, and on the morning of the wedding day when the *sada'u* is paid, he receives gifts of money, clothes, and even on occasion a horse. He never knows beforehand, however, just how much or how little this "rebate" will come to in relation to his own outlay for the marriage. 583

When the status of the two families is similarly low, as it is in the vast majority of rural marriages, then there is very little worry over bridewealth. Generally it is not very high and almost standardized for the locality. An important man always pays more bridewealth because everyone believes he can afford it. Paying more for everything he does, including marriage, is one of the ways he validates or proves his higher social rank. An interesting insight is also gained when it is realized that not only is the status of the person getting married taken into account, but also the status of those whom he is associated with and whom he can count on for help. In our little town of Magumeri many people tried to have their daughters marry members of my household because, as they laughingly admitted, they knew I would help my household members with bridewealth, and my apparently wealthy status in Magumeri meant that payments could be set a good deal higher than usual for such a marriage. 583 554 583 554 123

No matter what the status of the two families may be, girls who have not been married before command a much higher set of bridewealth payments, and more of them. The magnitude is often three to five times as much and in extreme cases it goes even higher than that. Men tend to give more as they grow older and can afford it, while conversely women often receive less as they go from one marriage to the next. Kanuri say that a woman who has been married many times has been used a great deal and is therefore worth much less than others who have not had so many marriages and been used as much. On the other hand, if she remained with previous husband(s) for longer periods, has a reputation for quiet obedience, and staying inside the household, then the groom feels more confident about her and will pay more. Similarly if the women has borne children and has demonstrated her fertility, she is also worth more. Although some men know practically nothing about their wives to be, others investigate them and inquire into the reasons for previous marriage break-ups and so on. Was it because her previous husband beat her, or because she was an adulteress, or was excessively jealous of co-wives? Did she not perform her wifely duties properly, or show proper respect to her husband? Certainly some men like to know what kind of wife they are getting and this affects their willingness to pay bridewealth. However, it is not uncommon for a Kanuri man to say that he knew a particular wife for only a week, or perhaps just a day or two before they were married. In this case the woman's marital record is 58 562 581

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

581 unimportant; instead the man considers other factors such as his need for a wife, the marriage expenses including the bridewealth, and the physical attractiveness of the woman.

583 The previous relationship of the groom to the girl and her family can vary the bridewealth enormously. Often the groom, and/or his family, are acquainted with the girl, and/or her family, as neighbors and friends. When this is the case, then other factors tend to enter in to determine the bridewealth. But in a number of special and not uncommon situations, the groom is released from the bulk of the bridewealth or it is substantially lowered. If the girl is his cousin (the Kanuri [582] marry all cousins, although they claim it is not good to marry one's mother's sister's daughter) then he may find that only a small *sada'u* payment is necessary. About [584] one-fifteenth of all Kanuri marriages are of this kind, and of these about one-fifth involve unions in which the little cousin was promised to the boy when she was an infant at the time that he was circumcised, roughly about puberty. At that time he becomes her *luwali* or the dispenser of her marriage rights and can arrange for her future husband or marry her himself when she reached puberty. In other cases the 583 groom is a dependent or client of the girl's *luwali* (usually her father) and the 581 marriage tends to cement the relationship between him and the father even further. Indeed many subordinates of "big men" in Bornu think of their superiors as being obliged to help them find a wife. In such a case the groom may assume only a small portion of the expenses, or the wife-to-be is a daughter or relative of the superior and the latter depresses the payments purposely, so his subordinate can marry. In a few cases girls are given to *mallams* (koranic teacher-priests) and no bridewealth is required. Such unions are called "marriages of charity" and the *luwali* who abrogates his rights to bridewealth in this fashion is considered to be a pious man. In actual practice it is not very common. This is seen in the marriage histories of the *mallams* themselves who may have married once in five or six times this way but rarely more than that. *Mallams* claim that they do not like it because it makes them obligated to the wife-giver for free prayers, constant officiating as a religious leader in the household of the *luwali*, and so on, so that they avoid such charity in order to maintain their independence. This avoidance is mitigated if they are already members of the *luwali's* household and the marriage is simply cementing the relationship.

583 The bargaining abilities on both sides of the marriage can also determine the bridewealth. The groom's representatives are told by the girl's family, through her *luwali*, that the groom can expect many gifts which will compensate for an elaborate and expensive wedding. The groom's representatives tell the woman and her relatives, especially her *luwali*, of the groom's qualities, especially his kindness and generosity, his wealth and expectations of more, his potentialities as a successful man, and his connection through friends, through his own services, and relatives to very important people. On his side, the *luwali* speaks of the benefits to be gained by marriage to this particular girl and slowly the bridewealth payment, [585] especially the *luwaliram*, emerges at a set price. On her first wedding night, a previously unmarried girl also bargains at great length in order to bid up a special consummation fee that is her right.

If the marriage arrangements take place in the autumn, or around harvest time, it is assumed that the man will have more cash than at other times. Thus the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

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alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

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Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bridewealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [887]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
871 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

posed to divorce so often; he is not supposed to have liaisons with divorced women, and he is supposed to behave in a judicious manner as one of the leading members of his community. Thus many young married men living in or near the compound of an older relative or some non-relative, who might be a political and economic superior, refused to be called mature even when they were married. They claimed that they were still young men and that they had still some way to go before they could be called mature adults. Carrying this point further, men whose occupation required that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives limited the application of the word "mature" to themselves, and did so rather proudly. For example, one man of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the district head's father and who was himself a lifelong servant of the district head of Magumeri, accepted a definition of himself in general as a mature man. Indeed he said, laughingly, he would soon be an old man. He explained that he was mature because he had a married daughter, a farm, a nice compound, a wife who he asserted proudly had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he thought he should be dubbed "mature." When asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his district head without the latter's instructions, he quickly replied, "Oh no! In that sense, I am still a small boy." This was in no way shameful for him since his recognition in the community and his status in the society as a whole stands upon his subordinate relationship to the district head.

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There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term for the mature man whose meaning also embodies the same ideology of adult behavior. The woman who has had a child can be referred to by a special term that indicates that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and added a new member to her husband's household and to both of their families. Middle-aged women can be referred to by another term which distinguishes them from younger woman and from old women whether or not they have given birth to children. In practice such terms are not observed in common use, the woman's status and age being described in other terms.

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Ideally an adult woman should be married and should desire to remain so. She should be obedient to her husband, have and want children, and perform her womanly tasks promptly and efficiently while remaining chaste within the walls of her husband's compound, leaving it only when absolutely necessary. She should, however, maintain contact with her own family and return there for important family ceremonies. As one would expect, those who come closest to this ideal in their own behavior often tend to agree with this image of womanly perfection and give it their unqualified support. However those who divorce often and easily tend to qualify their agreement. Thus in answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband demanded you always stay inside the compound?" a woman who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years answered simply, "He is the head of the household," meaning "I must obey." Contrarily, a woman who at the age of thirty-five had been married and divorced four times replied, "Then I would make him divorce me. I would leave him immediately."

885 581

While men who are unmarried or between marriages live very similar lives to married men, divorced women are striking in their contrast to their married sisters. A married woman among the Kanuri is tied to her husband's household and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
567 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[8] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
888 though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men
[826] and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[8] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

584 obstacle to such a marriage is the bride-price, which will be
565 high for a daughter of a good family. The father of a boy of good family, conversely, may arrange to have his son marry the daughter of a talaka if he likes the girl, particularly if she is very pretty. A talaka will not usually arrange for the marriage of his son with the daughter of a very rich man (a wealthy trader, for example), because the girl will eventually inherit wealth and her husband will have no claim to it, nor will the
584 boy's father ever see any of it. However, a talaka father may
565 arrange for his son to marry the daughter of a kəntuoma (aris-
557 tocrat) family in order for his son to benefit from his future father-in-law's influence in obtaining power, though the boy's own father will not himself directly benefit from the marriage.

• 581 The qualities desired in a kalə yaskə spouse are as follows: a pretty girl is highly desirable in marriage; a girl with a nasty temper, one who curses people or has other undesirable personality characteristics (such as shamelessness--nungu ba) will not find a husband so easily. A pretty girl is better than a wealthy one, but better still is industriousness and willingness to work hard. Being able to cook well is also more important than beauty. If the father of a boy has two girls to choose from as brides for his son, one pretty and the other industrious and skillful, he will prefer the industrious
584 one for his son. If a girl does not like the boy suggested for her by her father, if she thinks him ugly, the marriage will not take place. The father of the girl will ask her if she likes the

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own [595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 [115] Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law 836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nəmgəmtəm, and is quite distinct from 587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse. 581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no 887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [581] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house- [252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (fale) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with women of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural factors and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status Individuals are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered to them.

Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an educated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marrying such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of English and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an educated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXXVI

*177 *581 *829 *565 *554 *463

26. Marrying an educated woman: would you marry a woman who had gone to school and who spoke English?

	Yes	No
Aristocracy	3	2
Koranic Malams	2	1
Canteen operators	6	-
NA Malams	4	2
Kabuna	4	2
Craftsmen	4	2
Talaka	6	2
Low-status Individuals	3	1
Totals:	32	12

Reasons given in support of marrying such a wife:

NA Malam: "Better than anything else. She can help me in writing."

Talaka: "A woman who speaks English can bring money."

Talaka: "I would learn English from my wife."

Qualifications:

Two said that they would marry such a wife, but only if she prays.

Reasons given in opposing such a marriage:

Aristocrat: "No. She would write letters to other people."

Kabuna: "She would be better than me. She would send letters elsewhere."

Talaka: "No. If you marry her she'll speak badly to you, curse you. My power is slight."

Low-status individual: "No. I'm afraid to."

her husband (the respondent) and this would subvert his authority within the family. This is expressed as a fear that through her superior knowledge she would be able to commit adultery, while her ignorant husband would be powerless to stop her. The groups hardly differ among themselves at all in their answers to this question, except that the Canteen Operators are the sole group which unanimously indicated a willingness to marry an educated woman.

A related question asks if a wife would be permitted to work as a school-teacher or a dispenser (Table XXXVII). The question implies, of course, that one is married to an educated woman, Approximately the same number of people responded that they would permit their wives to work (70 per cent) as had said that they would marry an educated woman (Table XXXVI). Several mentioned the wife's salary as an advantage in having a working wife (*f, *g); one brought up the issue of adultery again (*d) implying that an educated woman who worked would be less under her husband's control. Eleven individuals (25 per cent) said that they would refuse to allow their wives to go out and work. Some stated simply that they would not allow it (*e), while others claimed that she would not be as good a wife if she went to work (*c). Two others noted that they would allow their wife to work under certain circumstances and would forbid it under other circumstances (*a, *b).

In discussing this matter, the idea of keeping one's wife secluded (kule) must be taken into account. Though only a rel-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 326]

CHAPTER V [p. 99]

Marriage Relations

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Kanuri marriages are virilocal from the point of view of the woman, which means that she always leaves her residence to live in the compound of her husband. From the point of view of the man, marriages are patrilocal or neolocal. Thus a man either brings his wife to the compound of his father or very close to it, or else takes his wife to a new residence away from the residences of both their kin groups. Thirty-eight out of sixty-one informants in Magumeri reported bringing their first wives to the house of their own father or setting up a contiguous compound. For successive wives the number dropped to about one-half of those asked.

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The inception of the first marriage for young girls is decided upon by her family and chiefly among these her luwali or guardian,(1) who is most commonly the head of the household in which the girl is living at the time of her marriage. A luwali can stand in various relational positions to the young girl - he may be her father, her elder brother, her cross-cousin, or patrilateral parallel-cousin, or adoptive parent. When the household head is not the luwali, which can occur for example in the case of cousin wardship, then the luwali still has the rights of marriage dispensation over the girl. Indeed he would take anyone to court who tried to inveigle these rights away from him. Although such cases are known they are quite rare.

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The luwali's choice of potential husband is based on the availability of males seeking virgin wives plus his desire to create profitable relationships for himself. If he is a high status person, his wife-giving rights will be used most commonly to tie political and/or

(1) C.F., "lugali" in Ellision, R.E., Marriage and Childbirth Among the Kanuri, Africa; Vol. 9, 1936, pp. 524-535.

581 429 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the 582 565 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate.(conceived out [848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest.. Marriages with parents or their siblings, own full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

836 589 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older, a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

836
[589] husbands. These women (gower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a wom-
582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

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581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.
885 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be
581 realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like
264 to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must
437 join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b)
581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

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434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and consent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most probably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

The Kanuri recognize different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kamu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

As a man and woman grow older they demand 582
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although [589]
not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the tem- [585]
porary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless
their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few [595]
exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable
and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and [589]
thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/
or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These
factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

583 Men marry if their harvest
587 money holds out longer than their shopping, and their aspirations fit their resources. Generally speaking men can obtain a wife within their price range. The variation in expense for marriage with a divorced woman is large, but is lower than a virgin marriage at any one level in the society. The entire affair can cost as low as two to four pounds ($5.60 to $11.20 in 1955-7) or approximately 11% of the smallest annual income recorded (twenty-seven pounds in cash and kind). The number of times a woman has been married and her class status determine the extent of the
587 bridewealth. One informant, a man of about 33, married a woman of similar age. The entire bridewealth did not exceed four pounds in value even though the woman was fairly "well-connected". Her father's brother, with whom she was visiting at the time of the marriage, was a court official in the District Headquarters, and she herself was an urban woman. The informant stated that the bridewealth was to be very small because, "She had been used very much", i.e. she had been married and divorced many times. This meant that her services and favours had been granted to many others, and that she was prone to this kind of behaviour. Thus, no very good assurances could be given from past performances that the projected marriage would last very long (the informant divorced her five and a half months after the wedding). Therefore no great investment in her as wife could be made.

581 Men desire wives primarily for their cooking and food-producing skills, although other factors such as culturally prescribed propriety, sexual abilities, personality attributes, family background etc. all play a part in the choice of any particular woman. Some men also claimed that they would prefer to marry high ranking, rather than wealthy women, if forced to choose between these two qualities. Women generally replied in the reverse, i.e. they would prefer to marry wealthy rather

581 than high ranking men, if they had to choose between these two attributes
581 in a husband. This type of distinction was more easily elicited from
369 urban persons or upper class informants than from rural peasants, who only
565 discuss such a question in a fantasy-like conversation which many are not willing to do. Lower class informants in the rural areas often refused to consider questions about whether they would like to marry wealth or rank answering only "andi tala" (we are peasants or commoners).

581 Crosscutting the foregoing classification of marriage with virgins or non-virgins are several subclassifications which describe in a somewhat sharper fashion the nature of the relationships involved in the contraction of the marriage.

581 According to custom any variety of marriage may be a nyia
593 kulle, a marriage of seclusion or partial seclusion. In practice, this
565 kind of marriage is almost totally restricted to the upper classes and usually implies only a partial seclusion. The woman may go out to visit under cover of darkness and escorted, or may even go out of the compound during the day, again escorted, for some very special reason such as a rite de passage ceremony which she is obligated to attend. One very high ranking District Head claimed that his senior wife, who had been married to him for many years, had never been out of his compound except when he changed Districts, and once when he had arranged an escorted trip to Mecca for her.

Women of this kind are exempt from any of the ordinary wifely duties which take them beyond the compound walls, such as getting water at a public well, or helping on the farm, etc. It is no wonder then that such marriages are almost totally restricted to the households of the higher ranks of society. No man wishes his wife to be seen excessively in public. However it is only the rich and powerful who can afford

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565 the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of loneliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practise preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe.). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.(1)

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596 For the most part the older men who had practised preferential marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal extended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.

(1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kèrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
(602) would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
[606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

[178] (1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

581 In discussing the matter
582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which draws a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

582 The next type of marriage to be considered is the nyia kam
557 rukatabe (marriage of pleasure). The expression means marriage to a man of wealth or high status, i.e. marriage with one of his daughters or with one of the girls over whom he has rights of marriage dispensation. The closer the girl comes to being the actual biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

One common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of luwali. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law.(1) It will

[602] (1) Ego always behaves to his wife's luwali in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

582 793 583 [557] the motivations of the luwali in giving his ward. It may be that the mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage payments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 582 793 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills. This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made, because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural powers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 793 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immediate ward of town. He had been married six times,almost always to one wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been a nyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obligations.

58 Nyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

1. Age Differences

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[582]
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It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her [183] husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

837 established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of re-
628 lationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the marketing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually the wives of their close friends and relatives.

586 It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the contrary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to
[123] be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order to re-unite separated couples.

581 This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the
585 formalization ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the marriage. After the fatiha prayer[1] has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for
[829] the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior status, but because European marriages are well known for their durability. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

581 Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, preferential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that
586 their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

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571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bərzum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the suborindates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
[426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

• 581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories, virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

581 593 [565] only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings.

581 557 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create [582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt [583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the luwali.

581 [584] Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

581 unimportant; instead the man considers other factors such as his need for a wife, the marriage expenses including the bridewealth, and the physical attractiveness of the woman.

583 The previous relationship of the groom to the girl and her family can vary the bridewealth enormously. Often the groom, and/or his family, are acquainted with the girl, and/or her family, as neighbors and friends. When this is the case, then other factors tend to enter in to determine the bridewealth. But in a number of special and not uncommon situations, the groom is released from the bulk of the bridewealth or it is substantially lowered. If the girl is his cousin (the Kanuri [582] marry all cousins, although they claim it is not good to marry one's mother's sister's daughter) then he may find that only a small *sada'u* payment is necessary. About [584] one-fifteenth of all Kanuri marriages are of this kind, and of these about one-fifth involve unions in which the little cousin was promised to the boy when she was an infant at the time that he was circumcised, roughly about puberty. At that time he becomes her *luwali* or the dispenser of her marriage rights and can arrange for her future husband or marry her himself when she reached puberty. In other cases the 583 groom is a dependent or client of the girl's *luwali* (usually her father) and the 581 marriage tends to cement the relationship between him and the father even further. Indeed many subordinates of "big men" in Bornu think of their superiors as being obliged to help them find a wife. In such a case the groom may assume only a small portion of the expenses, or the wife-to-be is a daughter or relative of the superior and the latter depresses the payments purposely, so his subordinate can marry. In a few cases girls are given to *mallams* (koranic teacher-priests) and no bridewealth is required. Such unions are called "marriages of charity" and the *luwali* who abrogates his rights to bridewealth in this fashion is considered to be a pious man. In actual practice it is not very common. This is seen in the marriage histories of the *mallams* themselves who may have married once in five or six times this way but rarely more than that. *Mallams* claim that they do not like it because it makes them obligated to the wife-giver for free prayers, constant officiating as a religious leader in the household of the *luwali*, and so on, so that they avoid such charity in order to maintain their independence. This avoidance is mitigated if they are already members of the *luwali's* household and the marriage is simply cementing the relationship.

583 The bargaining abilities on both sides of the marriage can also determine the bridewealth. The groom's representatives are told by the girl's family, through her *luwali*, that the groom can expect many gifts which will compensate for an elaborate and expensive wedding. The groom's representatives tell the woman and her relatives, especially her *luwali*, of the groom's qualities, especially his kindness and generosity, his wealth and expectations of more, his potentialities as a successful man, and his connection through friends, through his own services, and relatives to very important people. On his side, the *luwali* speaks of the benefits to be gained by marriage to this particular girl and slowly the bridewealth payment, [585] especially the *luwaliram*, emerges at a set price. On her first wedding night, a previously unmarried girl also bargains at great length in order to bid up a special consummation fee that is her right.

If the marriage arrangements take place in the autumn, or around harvest time, it is assumed that the man will have more cash than at other times. Thus the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride-wealth, goes up. 583

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.* [593]

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they divide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find. 582 [587]

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a marriage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are important to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage. 585 [554] 887 [602] 585 832 [152] 585 177 871 [582]

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very 585 577 829

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
570 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
229 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. Indeed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate. [582]

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. 571 576 578 602 [182] Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society. 881 571 [182]

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders. 881 648

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men. 881 562 182

Adolescence

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As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents. [561] [582] [836]

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Is-
779 595 lam. The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse.
[554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is per-
779 58 mitted under Islamic law. Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the
[595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

• 582 369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.

582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-

[833] sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy

[591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

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128 within that community. This section, then, is a particularization of the section on social organization in the preceding chapter. It will deal with kinship in an urban community; the data on which the present discussion is based are taken from a sample of individuals (the construction of which will be discussed later) chosen from the community of Geidam. It should be considered against the more general background provided earlier.

Much of the data in this section are presented in the form of tables, wherein individuals are grouped into categories which are contrasted with each other. There are eight groupings in all, and each stands for a category within Kanury social structure which is significantly represented in the town of Geidam. At this point in the discussion, all of the categories should be readily recognizable since their roles in the community have previously been described and discussed. In the following chapter, Chapter IV, they will be considered in yet another context as the problem of acculturation will be treated in terms of categories in Kanuri social structure. At that time, the manner in which the various categories were selected, and the choice of individuals who make up the categories will be described in detail.

1. Marriage.

• 582 It had been mentioned earlier that boys in the small vil-
369 lages marry earlier than they do in the cities. It may be seen

582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 463 565 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief

595 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing

565 554 463 the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 199]

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Table VI

Age at First Marriage

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31...35
Aristocracy							1		1		1		2							
Koranic Malams							1					1		1						
Canteen Traders							1		1				1	1			2			
NA Malams						2		1	1			1					1			
Kabuna				1		1	1					1		1						1
Craftsmen				1	2				1										1	1
Talaka						3	1		1		1	1		1						
Low-status	1								1					1						
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1 1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom [183] four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaskə or a Zogor

	a. Present wives		b. First wife		c. All previous wives	
	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	-	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

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582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

*177 than Kanuri, and communication with the managers of the various
191 trading companies in Geidam is in Hausa. Knowledge of Hausa
441 among the Kanuri canteen operators is reflected in their atti-
• [582] tudes towards the Hausa generally. This can be seen in the
willingness of the Canteen Operators to marry Hausa women (see
*177 Table XXXV). Hausa is also the language of the colonial
648 bureaucracy in Northern Nigeria, and all Europeans in adminis-
191 tration have learned to speak Hausa. The number of Kanuri
*565 *634 speakers among the European administrative personnel in Bornu
Province is negligible. Therefore most of the Aristocracy
*177 and all of the NA Malams speak Hausa. In the remaining five
*565 groups, 11 individuals speak Hausa and 16 do not. Most of
191 the lower class groups do not have much contact with Hausas
and consequently do not speak their language.

*177 With respect to knowledge of English, the picture is even
191 more clear-cut. Only seven people in the sample speak English.
*[565] One aristocrat (Yerima Mustapha) speaks a little English, and
*[634] the entire group of NA Malams, all having been educated in Euro-
pean-style schools, speak English. No one else has any knowl-
edge of the language.

It is interesting to note that knowledge of other languages is a common occurrence in this area. Fifteen cases of speakers of six additional languages are found in this small sample. Of course a few individuals speak several languages, while others speak only Kanuri. There are six speakers of Shuwa Arabic, and five speakers of Fulani represented. There are almost as many

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*177 NA Malams would like their sons to do NA work like their fathers.
*463 Four of the Kabuna would like their sons to do NA work, and none
*829 want their sons to be Kabuna like their fathers (column 8). The
*554 Craftsmen exhibit a preference for their sons to become Koranic
*[634] Malams. The Talaka are divided between NA work and becoming
*[565] Koranic Malams, and none in this group wants his son to do what he himself is doing. In contrast, 2 of the 4 Low-status individuals would like their sons to engage in the same occupation as that of their fathers, despite the low status which individuals in those occupations enjoy. The butcher (*m) does not wish his son to become a butcher. He says, "I'm a butcher; that's enough." But the drummer (*n) shows a love for his work which only another creative artist can truly appreciate, whatever his culture.

*177 The final behavioral area to be investigated is that of
*.582 marriage. Table XXXV is concerned with willingness to marry someone from another culture. Willingness to involve one's self with members of another culture would tend to foster close contacts with that culture. Resistance to such involvement would inhibit contact. Marriage, or willingness to marry out, may be used as a measure of interpersonal and intercultural contacts.

Column 1 records answers to the question: would you marry a non-Kanuri woman? Twenty-five individuals (56 per cent) said that they would be willing; nineteen (43 per cent) said that they
*[565] would not. Two groups show great tolerance in their attitude:
*[634]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

Table XXXV

24, 25. Willingness to marry out: willingness to marry a non-Kanuri; willingness to marry a Hausa, a Fulani, a Moslem Babur, a Moslem Yoruba.

	1. Non-Kanuri		2. Hausa		3. Fulani		4. Babur		5. Yoruba		
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	
Aristocracy	4	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	1	177*
Koranic Malams	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	582*
Canteen Operators	3	3	4*	2	-	6	1	5	-	6	565*
NA Malams	6	-	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	4	463*
Kabuna	3	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	1	5	554*
Craftsmen	2	4	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	186
Talaka	3	5	3	5	1	7	4	4	2	6	
Low-status Individuals	2	2	-	4	-	4	-	4	-	4	
Totals	25	19	19	25	13	31	17	27	12	32	

* a canteen operator stated that he would marry a Hausa woman, but only if she wore her hair in the Kanuri fashion.

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*177 the Aristocracy (80 per cent would) and the NA Malams (100 per
• 582 cent would). In contrast, among the Craftsmen only 33 per cent
*565
*634 would marry out and among the Talaka only 38 per cent would
*463 marry out. *The four remaining groups do not show clear-cut* preferences.

*177 The remainder of the table is concerned with the atti-
582 tudes of the sample towards marriage with women of four tribes.
186 Since it was anticipated that few, if any, individuals would indicate willingness to marry a white woman, or a non-Moslem, the choices which were offered were limited to tribes who are all present in the area and who are known to the people of the community of Geidam. The Fulani are all Moslem and the Hausa almost all Moslem; in the case of the Babur and the Yoruba who are partly Moslem, the question was specifically phrased: would you marry a Moslem Yoruba, or a Moslem Babur woman?

It may be seen from the table that willingness to marry women of the four tribes which were selected varies, though in no case do the members of the sample appear to be as willing to marry from the tribes offered them in the question as the answers to the previous question (column 1) would indicate. The most popular tribe was the Hausa, and 43 per cent said they would marry a Hausa woman. The next in order of popularity was the Babur tribe, a part-Moslem, part-pagan people living in Bornu Province and strongly acculturated to the Kanuri; 38 per cent indicated willingness to marry a Babur woman. Fewer people are willing to marry a Fulani woman; though the Fulani

177 are Moslems like the Kanuri, they are pastoralists who live
582 in the bush and differ greatly from the urban Geidamites; 30
186 per cent would marry a Fulani woman. The least popular choice was the Yoruba woman, selected by only 27 per cent of the sample. Though the Yoruba who live in Northern Nigeria are all urban people, and the question referred specifically to Moslem Yoruba who are numerous, the Yoruba are generally identified as a southern tribe of very different background.

[565] Considering each group in turn, the Aristocracy are noteworthy in their willingness to marry Yoruba women, whom they seem to prefer above the other three choices. This might be attributed to their wider orientation as a group. The Koranic Malams show no difference in their preferences among the four [441] tribes. The Canteen Operators are almost unanimous in rejecting three of the four tribes, yet a majority of them (67 per cent) would marry a Hausa woman. This curious and striking result can be explained quite simply by looking at the role of the Canteen Operators. Their normal activities in trade bring them into contact with Hausas and they all speak Hausa. Because of the frequency of their interaction with members of that culture they show a willingness to marry Hausa women. This does not extend to women of other tribes in the form of a general willingness to marry out, as can readily be seen by their [634] responses in columns 3, 4, and 5. The NA Malams are willing to marry with women of three of the tribes, including the unpopular Fulani, but unlike the Aristocracy they are not willing to marry

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177 a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and
582 show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen
186 are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with wom-
[63] en of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the
[46] other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards
[56] the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half
[36] would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural factors and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor
[55] the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status Individuals are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered to them.

177 Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an edu-
581 cated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a
[62] Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marrying such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of English and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an educated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

607 Informants
[587] say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded
[601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

605 There is a joking relationship which takes place between
[601] cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his
605 joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior
601 in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunyi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings
605 into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only
[582] marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

581 429 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the 582 565 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate (conceived out [848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest. Marriages with parents or their siblings, own full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

836 589 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older, a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

836 [589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a woman 582 older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.

885 581 264 437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b) 581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

As a man and woman grow older they demand 582
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more
likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who
is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although [589]
not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and
restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper
class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does
the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an
extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little
freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early
divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the tem- [585]
porary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless
their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few [595]
exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable
and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and [589]
thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/
or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These
factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest 000

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565 the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of loneliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practise preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe.). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.(1)

582
565 For the most part the older men who had practised preferential marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal extended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.
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(1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

• 582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage.

582 584 [304] This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. If the young girl is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

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> When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

587 567 [593] In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced woman who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kèrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
[602] would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
[606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

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582 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

[178] (1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

581 In discussing the matter
582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which draws a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

582 557 The next type of marriage to be considered is the nyis kam rukatabe (marriage of pleasure). The expression means marriage to a man of wealth or high status, i.e. marriage with one of his daughters or with one of the girls over whom he has rights of marriage dispensation. The closer the girl comes to being the actual biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

One common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of luwali. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law.(1) It will

[608] (1) Ego always behaves to his wife's luwali in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

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557 be remembered that a bride's family is traditionally of higher status than a groom's. In this situation we see the perfect fit to the traditional evaluation of status between a man (and his group) and his in-
[583] laws. The bridewealth is usually not excessive since the entire set of arrangements takes place within the extended household organization of one wealthy and/or high ranking man. This does not mean that the groom must live inside the superior's household, for the organization may encompass a group of households. The arrangement parallels the form of cousin marriage since two members within one organization are being married, rather than members from two separate and distinct organizations.

Another way of doing the same thing would be for the household head to find a girl from among the households of his friends or relatives and initiate the arrangements for a marriage between his subordinate and the girl in question. In this case the superior would almost certainly help the subordinate with gifts and loans of money. This kind of behaviour is very similar to that of a father obtaining a wife for his young unmarried son who lives in the father's compound. Consequently when a powerful household head arranges such a wedding for his subordinate he is acting like a father to his follower. Informants noted the similarity when they spoke of this kind of behaviour.

Where no strong relationship exists between two males a high ranking person may single out some individual, junior to himself in status, with whom he wishes to obtain a relationship and give him a fero (daughter, ward, girl), in order to create some obligation as a basis for their relations into the future. As a general rule the superior uses his powers of dispensation to maintain, create and strengthen supportive subordinates, while the subordinate invests his subservience to obtain the fruits of his superior's powers of dispensation.

582 557 For example, in 1930 the District Head of Mobber, who was in grave danger of being dismissed from his position by the British, contracted a marriage with a daughter of the Waziri of Bornu.(1) This was his own way, the Kanuri way, of attempting to strengthen his waning political position in the State. He felt that a marriage link between himself and the household of the Waziri would make it more difficult for the higher powers to dispose of him, and would enlist the aid of the Waziri, the second most powerful man in the Kanuri political organization, on his [648] behalf. The British administration, however, did not take into account the feelings of fathers-in-law for sons-in-law(2) when judging political performance, and so the manoeuvre was in the end to no avail.

The nyia kam rukatabe can also refer to a marriage which is initiated purely for the sake of marrying a woman or a girl, whose attachment to ego will obviously profit him economically. She is often wealthy herself, or is a wealthy heiress. Thus a high ranking person was observed to spend a great deal of money (this might almost be termed an "investment") for a virgin girl who was the only heir of a rich old man of lower social rank to himself. Informants described this as a true nyia kam rukatabe (marriage with a rich man's girl).

582 587 557 565 By their very nature marriages of this variety are more commonly of the virgin type. However, young girls who divorce and return to the households of their luwali, as tradition prescribes, very often can be utilized for such marriages in their second or possibly even third unions. Since high ranking women are more often in seclusion there is a greater probability that successive dispensations after div-

(1) See above; chap. III.
(2) The official records do not give the actual biological linkage of the girl to the Waziri, and it is therefore impossible to tell what kind of a ward she was in the Waziri's household.

582 orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to
587 return to the partial seclusion of their luwali's compound, especially
557 during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not
565 only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

582 793 Nyia sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage is similar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the
582 793 583 donor. In such cases much, if not all, of the gift giving by the male to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in connection with the formalizing ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and

(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nyia mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

582 the motivations of the lawali in giving his ward. It may be that the
793
583 mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage
[557] very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage payments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam
582 for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills.
793 This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made, because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural powers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their
793 wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immediate ward of town. He had been married six times, almost always to one wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been a nyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obligations.

58 Nyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

1. Age Differences

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[582]
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It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her [183] husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 571 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif- 881 582 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

881 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she men-
582 struates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e.
585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time
[302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a fero gana (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it:

[833] She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When
881 she bleeds, then she is kamu kura (a mature woman) and she
[885] knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offerings to the poor).

885 Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl
[302] changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a completely different person immediately upon taking up the status of married woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the compound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities become progressively remote from their own.

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 [369] Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatized occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognised, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a zower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 582 871 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri culture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

885 of any institutional prolongation of a girl's unmarried status beyond
582 puberty is regarded by the people as leading to the ruin of her normal
871 development as it is conceived in the culture. (This opposition is also exacerbated by the fear of a loss of power of dispensation over the girl by her guardian when she attends school).

881 For young boys the end of childhood and the beginning of
304 adolescence is marked by circumcision. It is apparent from the variation in age, running anywhere from seven to twelve years for the circumcision of boys, that physiological maturation has very little to do with the timing of the ceremony for any particular boy. The boy's family, especially the head of the household (usually his father), decides the issue on the basis of family readiness to perform the ceremony. Often a large group of boys, sometimes as many as thirty or forty in large towns, are cut when a leading family performs a circumcision for one of its members.

The important thing for the Kanuri is not the readiness of any particular young boy for the ceremony in terms of either his behavioural or physiological development. The deciding factor is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationships with the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Have a lot of friends and relatives been asking repeatedly when little Aba is going to be circumcised? Have the household members, especially the head, attended a great many marriages, naming ceremonies, etc., of other community members and given gifts on these occasions? Is it now time to reap the benefit of all that participation by having a ceremony of one's own, to which many people will come and many gifts of goods and money will be obtained? These

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 885 562 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 [561] One of the interesting functional results of having an extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the [165] availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of [162] argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

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(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

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This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygynous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

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Maturity

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The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184]

A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.

[831]

When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as zairo (any person who has not been married,

121 and complexity of stratification.(1) Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt [829] here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

829 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as 582 563 191 can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely endogamous,(2) although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or women which included non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

581 only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a re-
593
[565] lationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two head-
ings.

581 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife
557 by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization
and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some
cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create
[582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions
take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely
emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in
still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt
[583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe)
in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual
understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the
luwali.

581 Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and dis-
[584] covery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the
man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a house-
hold head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage
arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large
population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible
for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creat-
ing superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of
marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they
grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defin-
ing relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing
to become obligated to others through marriage.

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bərzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

882 will lead them to their adult roles in the socio-economic structure of
582 the society. Since boys do not marry until the end of this period, first marriages are much later for males as compared to females.

885 By maturity, the Kanuri mean several things. For a man it means that he is married, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a household and some degree of independence. When some of these social attributes are lacking the person often refers to himself as a "small boy" no matter what his age. There is no one status term meaning maturity for females, although terms exist which define her status as a woman who has had a child or not, as middle aged, and so on.

888 Old age for women often means dependence upon her sons if she has any, plus some petty trade in order to help sustain herself economically. For men, old age can be viewed on a continuum running from the one pole of successful seniority achieved or ascribed during life, to its opposable and supportative complement, subordination. Some achieve their seniority, others support this achievement by acting as subordinates, sometimes only as stepping stones to their own growth in seniority, or at other times, as a life goal in itself. However, it should be remembered that all men, even the Shehu, are in some sense subordinate in the total social structure.

56 The discussion of stratification has been organized within a theoretical framework in which the complex differentiation of Kanuri society is classified into status dimensions. These are sets of agreed upon rankings pf persons within some specified area of behaviour. For the present discussion the status dimensions of ethnic membership, occupation, birth ascription, wealth, and rural/urban status, have been considered in some detail.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

848 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should
613 she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the
[586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, sup-
595 posedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

• 583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tives, usually female relatives, in the name of the groom; these are called the *kwororam*, or the asking-a-question payments. Secondly, there are the formally recognized payments. The first of these is a large one called the *luwaliram*, given to the *luwali*, or the man who officially gives the bride to the groom and to whom she will return if she ever runs away or separates from her husband. This is followed several weeks later by a *sada'u*, a small fee given to the girl's family through her *luwali* on the morning of the wedding day. And thirdly there are a number of small payments paid out to the girl and her young friends, to the female relative(s) who accompany her to the groom's house, and to any unmarried sister she has left behind. The groom receives a few small gifts from the girl's family, and on the morning of the wedding day when the *sada'u* is paid, he receives gifts of money, clothes, and even on occasion a horse. He never knows beforehand, however, just how much or how little this "rebate" will come to in relation to his own outlay for the marriage. 583

When the status of the two families is similarly low, as it is in the vast majority of rural marriages, then there is very little worry over bridewealth. Generally it is not very high and almost standardized for the locality. An important man always pays more bridewealth because everyone believes he can afford it. Paying more for everything he does, including marriage, is one of the ways he validates or proves his higher social rank. An interesting insight is also gained when it is realized that not only is the status of the person getting married taken into account, but also the status of those whom he is associated with and whom he can count on for help. In our little town of Magumeri many people tried to have their daughters marry members of my household because, as they laughingly admitted, they knew I would help my household members with bridewealth, and my apparently wealthy status in Magumeri meant that payments could be set a good deal higher than usual for such a marriage. 583 554 583 564 123

No matter what the status of the two families may be, girls who have not been married before command a much higher set of bridewealth payments, and more of them. The magnitude is often three to five times as much and in extreme cases it goes even higher than that. Men tend to give more as they grow older and can afford it, while conversely women often receive less as they go from one marriage to the next. Kanuri say that a woman who has been married many times has been used a great deal and is therefore worth much less than others who have not had so many marriages and been used as much. On the other hand, if she remained with previous husband(s) for longer periods, has a reputation for quiet obedience, and staying inside the household, then the groom feels more confident about her and will pay more. Similarly if the women has borne children and has demonstrated her fertility, she is also worth more. Although some men know practically nothing about their wives to be, others investigate them and inquire into the reasons for previous marriage break-ups and so on. Was it because her previous husband beat her, or because she was an adulteress, or was excessively jealous of co-wives? Did she not perform her wifely duties properly, or show proper respect to her husband? Certainly some men like to know what kind of wife they are getting and this affects their willingness to pay bridewealth. However, it is not uncommon for a Kanuri man to say that he knew a particular wife for only a week, or perhaps just a day or two before they were married. In this case the woman's marital record is 58 562 581

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

581 unimportant; instead the man considers other factors such as his need for a wife, the marriage expenses including the bridewealth, and the physical attractiveness of the woman.

583 The previous relationship of the groom to the girl and her family can vary the bridewealth enormously. Often the groom, and/or his family, are acquainted with the girl, and/or her family, as neighbors and friends. When this is the case, then other factors tend to enter in to determine the bridewealth. But in a number of special and not uncommon situations, the groom is released from the bulk of the bridewealth or it is substantially lowered. If the girl is his cousin (the Kanuri [582] marry all cousins, although they claim it is not good to marry one's mother's sister's daughter) then he may find that only a small *sada'u* payment is necessary. About [584] one-fifteenth of all Kanuri marriages are of this kind, and of these about one-fifth involve unions in which the little cousin was promised to the boy when she was an infant at the time that he was circumcised, roughly about puberty. At that time he becomes her *luwali* or the dispenser of her marriage rights and can arrange for her future husband or marry her himself when she reached puberty. In other cases the 583 groom is a dependent or client of the girl's *luwali* (usually her father) and the 581 marriage tends to cement the relationship between him and the father even further. Indeed many subordinates of "big men" in Bornu think of their superiors as being obliged to help them find a wife. In such a case the groom may assume only a small portion of the expenses, or the wife-to-be is a daughter or relative of the superior and the latter depresses the payments purposely, so his subordinate can marry. In a few cases girls are given to *mallams* (koranic teacher-priests) and no bridewealth is required. Such unions are called "marriages of charity" and the *luwali* who abrogates his rights to bridewealth in this fashion is considered to be a pious man. In actual practice it is not very common. This is seen in the marriage histories of the *mallams* themselves who may have married once in five or six times this way but rarely more than that. *Mallams* claim that they do not like it because it makes them obligated to the wife-giver for free prayers, constant officiating as a religious leader in the household of the *luwali*, and so on, so that they avoid such charity in order to maintain their independence. This avoidance is mitigated if they are already members of the *luwali's* household and the marriage is simply cementing the relationship.

583 The bargaining abilities on both sides of the marriage can also determine the bridewealth. The groom's representatives are told by the girl's family, through her *luwali*, that the groom can expect many gifts which will compensate for an elaborate and expensive wedding. The groom's representatives tell the woman and her relatives, especially her *luwali*, of the groom's qualities, especially his kindness and generosity, his wealth and expectations of more, his potentialities as a successful man, and his connection through friends, through his own services, and relatives to very important people. On his side, the *luwali* speaks of the benefits to be gained by marriage to this particular girl and slowly the bridewealth payment, [585] especially the *luwaliram*, emerges at a set price. On her first wedding night, a previously unmarried girl also bargains at great length in order to bid up a special consummation fee that is her right.

If the marriage arrangements take place in the autumn, or around harvest time, it is assumed that the man will have more cash than at other times. Thus the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride-wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali*, especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali*.

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they divide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a marriage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are important to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

• 583 Marriage is effected through the payment of a bride-price, the luwaliram, before the marriage proper. There can be no marriage without payment of the luwaliram. The luwaliram is conceived of as money for buying a wife. One informant stated, "It is just like buying a ram. Your children are the profit [85] (riba) of your investment." It follows, of course, that among [436] the Kanuri, children belong to the father. At present, the luwaliram is always paid in hard currency--pounds and shillings, though in former times it was paid in Maria Theresa dollars (gursus) which served as currency in the area.

The amount of the luwaliram varies with a number of factors. Luwaliram varies with social class, with urban and rural differences, and with the qualities of the bride-to-be. For common folk (talaka), it may run to five or six pounds. In the smaller, isolated villages it runs higher, occasionally over ten pounds. A Lowan may pay as much as ten to twenty pounds for his son's bride; very poor folk in the towns may pay as little as three pounds. Luwaliram for a very pretty girl, for the daughter of a kantuoma (aristocrat), or of a very wealthy man, is naturally high; while that for an ugly girl, or one who has undesirable traits, or who is no longer a virgin (bati) is conversely low.

583 If the boy is old enough to have accumulated money of his 593 own, that will go towards his luwaliram, but the bulk of it is given by his father. The boy's father, or the head of the house in which he grew up, should he have grown up in a household

583 593 other than that of his own father, is the basic contributor to
583 the luwaliram. His abakura (FaElBr) and abagana (FaYoBr) may
604 contribute a share of the luwaliram, but his bawa (FaSi) is more likely to help in building a house for the boy rather than give to his luwaliram. His yakura (MoElSi), Yigana (MoYoSi), and Rawa (MoBr) only would give money to the luwaliram if their nephew grew up in their house. If not, they have no responsi-
583 bility towards paying a share of his luwaliram. Since it typ-
593 ically happens that a boy grows to maturity in his father's house, his father has the primary responsibility for providing the luwaliram. A poor man would not ask a wealthy friend of his for luwaliram money which he, the poor man, must provide for his son.

If the father of a girl sees that his daughter is getting older, and that her prospects for getting married are not good for one reason or another, he may give his daughter away as a sadaka (alms) marriage. If he can, he gives his daughter as wife to an important malam, along with many presents and clothes. If he cannot afford to give presents, he just gives the girl. In such a marriage there is no bride-price, the only permitted exception to the general rule. The girl's father acts as her luwali, assuming responsibility for her conduct. Though she may be unattractive and bad-tempered, the man to whom the girl is given cannot refuse her if she is given as a sadaka marriage.

583 Other forms of marriage which avoid payment of a luwaliram are specifically not permitted. Exchange marriage is forbidden

• 583 by Maliki law. Premarital bride-service is not permitted in lieu of the luwaliram. A man would be ashamed to go to his future father-in-law to say that he had no money to pay the luwaliram.

584 The girl is represented by her luwali in arranging a marriage. The luwali may be a relative or friend of the girl, but not her father (except in the case of a sadaka marriage noted above). The luwali states the amount of the luwaliram. The bridegroom may also be represented by someone, or he may make his own arrangements. The bridegroom, or his representative, may accept the stated price, or he may bargain for a lower price. The luwaliram is given to the luwali, who in turn passes it to [431] the girl's father. The girl's father gives a token fee to the luwali, gives presents to the groom which include both money and clothing, and gives his daughter household utensils and jewelry.

583 At the time of marriage, an additional payment, <u>sədagu</u> [436] (Arabic, sadak), is made. Sədagu is paid in the form of Maria Theresa dollars, two to five being the average amount of sədagu payment, though now eight shillings may be substituted for each Maria Theresa dollar. The size of the sədagu is arranged for before the marriage, and initial payment of part of the sədagu [586] may be made before the marriage. Should a couple divorce before the entire sədagu has been paid, the difference must be paid at the time of divorce.

Finally, in addition to both luwaliram and sədagu, there is still a third type of payment, called <u>məri</u>, which must be

583 paid before the marriage or it is not a legal marriage. Mori, too, can vary in size, but it is the smallest of the three payments, and usually amounts to several shillings.

585 The wedding itself is very brief. It is presided over by a Malam, before many witnesses. The Malam asks the names of bride and bridegroom, asks them if they wish to marry, reads a section of the Koran. Then all pray, and the ceremony is ended as kola nuts (coro) are distributed to all present, and gifts are given to Malam and luwali. That evening, the husband's closest friends come to the bride's house to take her to the house of her husband. While her friends cry and try to hold her back, the husband's friends take the bride off by horse, and leave her at her husband's house. One friend of the girl refuses to leave her until the husband pays fugurum (or ferorum), which is the set amount of thirty shillings, alike for rich and poor. Fugu means hymen. The friend keeps several shillings of the fugurum for herself and gives the remainder to the mother of the bride, payment to her for protecting her daughter's virtue.

585 626 Virginity of the girl is attested to by blood stains on a white blanket which has been spread on the wedding bed. The blood-stained blanket is taken from the room the following morning by friends of the girl and brought to her mother. If it is stained, mother praises daughter, and her friends parade it throughout the neighborhood. If it is not stained, the girl is cursed by all. If the husband finds that his bride is not a

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own
[595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this
[115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-
583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law
836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nəmgəmtəm, and is quite distinct from
587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse.
581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no
887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with shelter and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce, both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

836 [589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a woman 582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society. 885 581 264 437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b) 581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

583 585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman,(1) and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

583 584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] [595] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

583 584 encouraged to increase his bridewealth offer and also to increase his kwororam gifts to the girl's grandmother (she had no mother in the compound) in order to increase his chances of acceptability. Only after enlarging his offer and his kwororam before witnesses did the anxious suitor discover that he was the victim of a ruse, and that there was no other bidder for the girl.

The kwororam is not considered part of the bridewealth within this present discussion or by the Kanuri themselves because it is not necessarily returnable by the girl's family if the arrangements proceed no further. It is therefore exactly what its name implies, a fee or set of gifts given for the privilege of asking and smoothing out any opposition from female relatives to the future negotiations between the girl's guardian and the would-be suitor.

The kwororam applies only to non-preferential virgin marriages. It is not practised in cousin marriage because these unions are arranged 587 [836] years before they are consummated. In non-virgin marriage the money and gifts which the man gives to the woman while he is sleeping with her, as a divorced woman, serve instead as the initiatory behaviour which may or may not lead to marriage. The man may also give small gifts of some cloth, soap, perfume, or other women's sundries to any senior female relative of the divorced woman, especially if she is quite a young girl or woman who values her elder's opinion.

583 584 The Kanuri recognise that this practice has the utility of allowing some time to elapse while the parties prepare to go more deeply and seriously into creating the marriage relationship.

If there has been a kwororam, the luwaliram occurs one to three months afterwards. This payment is the largest single amount given by the male (with the aid of his supporters) to the female's group. It

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is arrived at through bargaining done between intermediaries for the husband-elect and the girl's luwali. The primary reason given for this use of intermediaries is that a man should not indulge in argument with his potential father-in-law. The luwali of the girl uses a number of arguments to persuade the suitor to raise the price of the luwaliram. Thus he tells of the qualities of the girl, her family connections, the large number of people to whom the luwaliram must be distributed, i.e. the people who have a claim or an interest in the girl's marriage. He often hints broadly at the gifts which the young man may expect from the girl's family to offset the expense of the payment, in order to assure the suitor that the bridewealth payment is only a returnable token which should be raised in order to add dignity and prestige to the entire affair. Most of it, in all likelihood, he suggests will be returned at the next ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the wedding. The luwali also tries to assure the groom's party that the girl will have a very fine dowry of enamel plates, clothes, pots, pillows, mats, jewellry, etc., which will give the groom much prestige and perhaps even a source of capital. The luwali may complain that he is spending a lot of money on the dowry, which he feels must be compensated by a high bridewealth payment. The husband-elect, on the other hand, tries to point out through his intermediaries how much the marriage expenses in general are costing him and how the entire negotiation may endanger his socio-economic status. However, he must not push such an argument too far or his suit might be considered ill-advised. His best argument is usually a threat of withdrawal, or a feint in that direction, at which point the prices may be lowered somewhat as an inducement to his re-entry into the fray.

[602] The luwaliram payment is distributed by the luwali among the close bilateral relatives of the young girl, although he keeps a major

583
584 portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasizes the patri-
602 lateral group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliram.

587 With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliram payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliram payment.

584 With the completion of the luwaliram payment the final ar-
585 rangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada'a, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliram payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

584 If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the
591 luwaliram, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

584 691 the man requests that the luwaliram payment be returned to him (as it should be traditionally). Very often a man may try initially in the judicial proceedings to regain his entire investments, asking not only for the luwaliram, but a sum which includes his entire outlay of capital to date for the wedding. In such cases the position is usually just a beginning for bargaining. However, if the adjudicator can be convinced that the girl's or woman's group intended to defraud, or break faith from the very beginning of negotiations, the man might possibly be awarded more than just the luwaliram by the court. On the other hand, either party has the right of retraction before the formal wedding day ceremony (sada'a) which for the man means forfeiture of his payments, and for the woman and her group, means repayment of the luwaliram to the rejected suitor. For example, in one case observed, a man was repaid his luwaliram because a higher bidder had come on the scene.

585 In the early morning on the day of the wedding the groom with his male friends and relatives, along with male friends and relatives of the bride's household, meet at the household of the luwali, or at the house of a ranking person of the ward or town for the sada'a. The tendency is to use the luwali's house more among higher ranks in the city, while lower status groups and rural people generally use the compound of a local ranking person. At this time the second and final 585 583 payment of the bridewealth, the sada'a is made. It is most commonly [436] referred to in Maria Theresa dollars although most often paid in pound sterling. For peasant non-virgin weddings in the Magumeri area during 1956-7, the price seemed to be fairly standardized around the value of 4 M.T. dollars (28-32 shillings). The disposal of this payment is similar to that of the luwaliram.

The major part of the ceremony is given over to examining

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publically the gifts from the girl's family to the husband-elect. These can include such items as men's robes, pillows, mats, money, grain, sometimes a horse, or a saddle. Male informants expressed the opinion that the closer the gifts to the groom approximated the combined value of the luwaliram and the sada'a, the more satisfactory was the entire affair. In only one case was such equivalence ever observed (1) although tales were told of others. These stories always referred to a lower ranking individual who had married the virgin ward of a rich, powerful person. The hero of the story was always spoken of as having been given a girl and a large amount of property equal to or surpassing his bridewealth payments. Taken for granted in these reports was the loyalty and service which the husband-elect gave to his benefactor both before and after the marriage. The only other incidence when gifts to the groom are of a grandiose nature occurs when both the girl's family and the groom are rich, powerful persons and there is competition in the gift giving.

All the males who attend this ceremony, contribute a little money to the groom. It is collected by the sowa kura (big friend) who serves as "best man" for the wedding. He gives the mallams who lead the prayers a little money, and presents the official or ranking person at whose house the sada'a took place a small fee, if this person was not the girl's luwali and takes charge of the gifts to the husband-elect. During the entire wedding he pays the proper people, accepts gifts for the groom, brings him information as to what is going on and what is re-

(1) In this case the virgin girl was being married, high above her status, to a highly respected and fairly well-to-do person, by local rural standards. The father-in-law (luwali in this case) felt that he must try to give this new husband as good an impression of the girl's family as possible, and please him in every way. Consequently, the gifts to the groom were much larger than usual.

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• 583 quired, heads the party bringing the bride to the groom's house, and generally acts as a middleman between the groom and everyone with whom the latter is supposed to have dealings. Informants commented that this allows the groom to remain unruffled by the many decisions and social obligations which are occasioned by the wedding ceremony.

585 After the sada'a and luwaliram have been paid and the gifts to the groom exchanged the bridewealth payment is completed. However, there remain the rest of the marriage expenses which can be impressive. During the entire day of the wedding the kususu (female head of the wedding proceedings for the groom) demands that the groom supply the celebrating women with kola nuts and tobacco flowers for staining their teeth and pay any drummers who have been employed for the dancing celebrations. At a virgin marriage a special payment, the kususuram, must be paid through the kususu (woman head of the wedding) consisting of a ram, soap, shoes, and kola nuts for the women. This expenditure is used for the performance of a special hair washing ceremony held on the first day of marriage. At all weddings the kususu requires a small gift for her services. This is carried over to the sowa kura (the "best man") who must also be given a gift of a robe and/or some money for his efforts at the wedding. When the groom's party (minus the groom) brings the virgin girl from her household a small payment of money (majila) must be paid to the eldest unmarried sister of the young virgin, if any reside in the compound, so that she will feel no jealousy and spite over her young sister's marriage.

Since the girl must traditionally arrive on horseback in any kind of marriage, the man holding the bridle and guiding the horse is given a small fee for the safe delivery of the bride. The wedding party of singing, joyful women must also be given gifts by the groom. At one

585 virgin wedding in which 15 women had come thirty miles on foot with their little relative and friend who was to be married, each of them was given five shillings by the bridegroom, the girl's mother was given twenty shillings and the two drummers, who had accompanied the party, were given fifteen shillings each. The groom had also paid the expences of the journey which included the rental of two camels for five pounds. In other words the journey had cost him somewhere around ten or eleven [583] pounds. His bridewealth payments had been eight M.T. Dollars and seventeen pounds sterling or about twenty pounds, which means that the bridal journey alone had cost him as much as half of his bridewealth payments.

Before the consummation in the privacy of his hut, the groom must bargain with the young bride over the <u>feroram</u> (consummation money, literally: the virgin's fee). This is usually achieved quite rapidly since there is a fairly standard price range of one to two pounds for this payment and agreement is commonly reached after a short conversation.

583 One final point must be made about Kanuri bridewealth; this is the idea of <u>use</u>. Kanuri moral tradition defines the bridewealth payment as a transfer of property given for the use of the woman by her husband. This is not a static but a processual arrangement which changes 583 its nature through time. Thus, if a woman leaves a man within the first 586 year after marriage, before he has had a chance to utilize her services in agricultural production, then he has "not had his money's worth" and requires some of it back. This applies just as well to women who are in seclusion; indicating that it is the total function of the woman whose use the male feels he has acquired. If a divorce results very rapidly after the marriage through any fault of the woman, the male usually feels aggrieved and demands that part of the bridewealth be returned. His

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586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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593 In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment
602 of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed
586 into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with
[603] whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her <u>luwali</u>'s compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with
[691] him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The <u>luwali</u> and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
586 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
625 times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bridewealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

583 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent
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[691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
[182] with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

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movement of the bride and her dowry from the husband's residence angered him. This should not be taken to mean that the husband feels he owns the dowry. His claim to the dowry is similar (not identical) to his claim to the woman, i.e. he has certain privileges over her use which are conditional upon his living up to her expectations and those of her family (if she is a young girl) of being a good husband. Dowry and bride are called the same thing (larusa) and are related in people's minds as a unitary phenomenon which comes to a man's house as the result of his marriage negotiations and the payment of bridewealth. Therefore, loss of dowry implies partial loss of bride. Usufruct of bride and dowry by the husband is however different, for use of dowry is dependent not upon the formation of a marriage but upon husband-wife relations. The husband may in time gain access to the dowry as a source of capital, if his wife trusts him. This occurs however only after long periods of marriage. Even then the wife merely loans him some of her capital rather than giving it to him outright, and if he is clever he usually returns a little more than he takes. This is because the woman considers her dowry as part of her marriageable self; it helps define her social value as a wife or potential wife. A woman who had been married many years to the same man, when given a small gift of an enamel dish, put it among her possession and called it larusa (in this sense, woman's possessions). The man who gives bridewealth for a wife gains her services as a human larusa (a bride) but her will and partial independence is recognized in that he cannot take over her dowry carte blanche but must wait until the relationship between them is sufficiently durable and trustworthy so that his use of her possessions is not open to suspicion of fraud. Since durable marriages are not very common, neither is husband use of dowry. A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-

583 A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-
593 sent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most prob-
[586] ably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son
[685] over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates
156 from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal
583 worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value
[595] in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

581 The Kanuri recognize different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kamu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is
[?32] good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

583 587 Men marry if their harvest money holds out longer than their shopping, and their aspirations fit their resources. Generally speaking men can obtain a wife within their price range. The variation in expense for marriage with a divorced woman is large, but is lower than a virgin marriage at any one level in the society. The entire affair can cost as low as two to four pounds ($5.60 to $11.20 in 1955-7) or approximately 11% of the smallest annual income recorded (twenty-seven pounds in cash and kind). The number of times a woman has been married and her class status determine the extent of the 587 bridewealth. One informant, a man of about 33, married a woman of similar age. The entire bridewealth did not exceed four pounds in value even though the woman was fairly "well-connected". Her father's brother, with whom she was visiting at the time of the marriage, was a court official in the District Headquarters, and she herself was an urban woman. The informant stated that the bridewealth was to be very small because, "She had been used very much", i.e. she had been married and divorced many times. This meant that her services and favours had been granted to many others, and that she was prone to this kind of behaviour. Thus, no very good assurances could be given from past performances that the projected marriage would last very long (the informant divorced her five and a half months after the wedding). Therefore no great investment in her as wife could be made.

581 Men desire wives primarily for their cooking and food-producing skills, although other factors such as culturally prescribed propriety, sexual abilities, personality attributes, family background etc. all play a part in the choice of any particular woman. Some men also claimed that they would prefer to marry high ranking, rather than wealthy women, if forced to choose between these two qualities. Women generally replied in the reverse, i.e. they would prefer to marry wealthy rather

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557 be remembered that a bride's family is traditionally of higher status than a groom's. In this situation we see the perfect fit to the traditional evaluation of status between a man (and his group) and his in-
[583] laws. The bridewealth is usually not excessive since the entire set of arrangements takes place within the extended household organization of one wealthy and/or high ranking man. This does not mean that the groom must live inside the superior's household, for the organization may encompass a group of households. The arrangement parallels the form of cousin marriage since two members within one organization are being married, rather than members from two separate and distinct organizations.

Another way of doing the same thing would be for the household head to find a girl from among the households of his friends or relatives and initiate the arrangements for a marriage between his subordinate and the girl in question. In this case the superior would almost certainly help the subordinate with gifts and loans of money. This kind of behaviour is very similar to that of a father obtaining a wife for his young unmarried son who lives in the father's compound. Consequently when a powerful household head arranges such a wedding for his subordinate he is acting like a father to his follower. Informants noted the similarity when they spoke of this kind of behaviour.

Where no strong relationship exists between two males a high ranking person may single out some individual, junior to himself in status, with whom he wishes to obtain a relationship and give him a fero (daughter, ward, girl), in order to create some obligation as a basis for their relations into the future. As a general rule the superior uses his powers of dispensation to maintain, create and strengthen supportive subordinates, while the subordinate invests his subservience to obtain the fruits of his superior's powers of dispensation.

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587 orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to
557 return to the partial seclusion of their luwali's compound, especially
565 during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

582 Nyia sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage (1) is sim-
793 ilar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the
582 donor. In such cases much, if not all, of the gift giving by the male
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583 to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in connection with the formalizing ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and

(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nyia mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

582 793 the motivations of the luwali in giving his ward. It may be that the
583 mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage
[557] very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage payments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 582 793 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills. This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made, because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural powers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 793 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immediate ward of town. He had been married six times, almost always to one wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been a nyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obligations.

58 Nyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

437 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate
• 583 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman her-
[426] self. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the
[571] money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

58 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories - virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who has been married before. Marriages are further subdivided on the basis of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However, only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings. Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) to either strengthen or create obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases, these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia

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571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bèrzum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the suborindates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

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in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual
understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the
luwali.

581 Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and dis-
[584] covery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the
man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a house-
hold head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage
arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large
population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible
for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creat-
ing superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of
marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they
grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defin-
ing relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing
to become obligated to others through marriage.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

581 unimportant; instead the man considers other factors such as his need for a wife, the marriage expenses including the bridewealth, and the physical attractiveness of the woman.

583 The previous relationship of the groom to the girl and her family can vary the bridewealth enormously. Often the groom, and/or his family, are acquainted with the girl, and/or her family, as neighbors and friends. When this is the case, then other factors tend to enter in to determine the bridewealth. But in a number of special and not uncommon situations, the groom is released from the bulk of the bridewealth or it is substantially lowered. If the girl is his cousin (the Kanuri [582] marry all cousins, although they claim it is not good to marry one's mother's sister's daughter) then he may find that only a small *sada'u* payment is necessary About [584] one-fifteenth of all Kanuri marriages are of this kind, and of these about one-fifth involve unions in which the little cousin was promised to the boy when she was an infant at the time that he was circumcised, roughly about puberty. At that time he becomes her *luwali* or the dispenser of her marriage rights and can arrange for her future husband or marry her himself when she reached puberty. In other cases the 583 groom is a dependent or client of the girl's *luwali* (usually her father) and the 581 marriage tends to cement the relationship between him and the father even further. Indeed many subordinates of "big men" in Bornu think of their superiors as being obliged to help them find a wife. In such a case the groom may assume only a small portion of the expenses, or the wife-to-be is a daughter or relative of the superior and the latter depresses the payments purposely, so his subordinate can marry. In a few cases girls are given to *mallams* (koranic teacher-priests) and no bridewealth is required. Such unions are called "marriages of charity" and the *luwali* who abrogates his rights to bridewealth in this fashion is considered to be a pious man. In actual practice it is not very common. This is seen in the marriage histories of the *mallams* themselves who may have married once in five or six times this way but rarely more than that. *Mallams* claim that they do not like it because it makes them obligated to the wife-giver for free prayers, constant officiating as a religious leader in the household of the *luwali*, and so on, so that they avoid such charity in order to maintain their independence. This avoidance is mitigated if they are already members of the *luwali's* household and the marriage is simply cementing the relationship.

583 The bargaining abilities on both sides of the marriage can also determine the bridewealth. The groom's representatives are told by the girl's family, through her *luwali*, that the groom can expect many gifts which will compensate for an elaborate and expensive wedding. The groom's representatives tell the woman and her relatives, especially her *luwali*, of the groom's qualities, especially his kindness and generosity, his wealth and expectations of more, his potentialities as a successful man, and his connection through friends, through his own services, and relatives to very important people. On his side, the *luwali* speaks of the benefits to be gained by marriage to this particular girl and slowly the bridewealth payment, especially the *luwaliram*, emerges at a set price. On her first wedding night, a pre- [585] viously unmarried girl also bargains at great length in order to bid up a special consummation fee that is her right.

If the marriage arrangements take place in the autumn, or around harvest time, it is assumed that the man will have more cash than at other times. Thus the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
871 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly
584 as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

586 587 with ease. Since most men marry a number of times in the course of a normal life, they are likely to marry women who have been married previously and whose earlier marriage (or marriages) has ended in divorce. An important distinction is made between a marriage with a girl who has never been married before, and marriages with women who have been married previously.

585 302 a) Marriage with a virgin. The adult Kanuri woman wears her hair in a striking coiffure which resembles a Trojan helmet. Adolescent girls who have not yet married wear their hair in totally different fashion. Their hair-do is divided into three parts, and they are referred to as kalə yaskə, a term for their particular developmental stage which derives from the hair-do that characterizes the stage. Since very high priority is placed on virginity for a girl before marriage, a first marriage with a kalə yaskə is equivalent to marriage with a virgin.

584 Marriages are frequently arranged, but consent of both boy and girl plays a part, even in marriages in which the boy is marrying for the first time and the girl is a kalə yaskə. A boy may come to his father to say that he likes a particular girl. It frequently happens then that the boy's father will go to the house of the father of the girl, bringing presents with him, to arrange the marriage. The father of the boy may also select a particular girl as wife for his son, ask the boy if he likes the girl, then make the arrangements with the father of the girl. [565] A talaka may marry the daughter of a very good family, if he can raise the money needed for her bride-price. The sole

584 obstacle to such a marriage is the bride-price, which will be
565 high for a daughter of a good family. The father of a boy of good family, conversely, may arrange to have his son marry the daughter of a talaka if he likes the girl, particularly if she is very pretty. A talaka will not usually arrange for the marriage of his son with the daughter of a very rich man (a wealthy trader, for example), because the girl will eventually inherit wealth and her husband will have no claim to it, nor will the
584 boy's father ever see any of it. However, a talaka father may
565 arrange for his son to marry the daughter of a kəntuoma (aris-
557 tocrat) family in order for his son to benefit from his future father-in-law's influence in obtaining power, though the boy's own father will not himself directly benefit from the marriage.

581 The qualities desired in a kalə yaskə spouse are as follows: a pretty girl is highly desirable in marriage; a girl with a nasty temper, one who curses people or has other undesirable personality characteristics (such as shamelessness--nungu ba) will not find a husband so easily. A pretty girl is better than a wealthy one, but better still is industriousness and willingness to work hard. Being able to cook well is also more important than beauty. If the father of a boy has two girls to choose from as brides for his son, one pretty and the other industrious and skillful, he will prefer the industrious
584 one for his son. If a girl does not like the boy suggested for her by her father, if she thinks him ugly, the marriage will not take place. The father of the girl will ask her if she likes the

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

582 369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.

582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-

[833] sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy

[591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

583 by Maliki law. Premarital bride-service is not permitted in lieu of the luwaliram. A man would be ashamed to go to his future father-in-law to say that he had no money to pay the luwaliram.

584 The girl is represented by her luwali in arranging a marriage. The luwali may be a relative or friend of the girl, but not her father (except in the case of a sadaka marriage noted above). The luwali states the amount of the luwaliram. The bridegroom may also be represented by someone, or he may make his own arrangements. The bridegroom, or his representative, may accept the stated price, or he may bargain for a lower price. The luwaliram is given to the luwali, who in turn passes it to [431] the girl's father. The girl's father gives a token fee to the luwali, gives presents to the groom which include both money and clothing, and gives his daughter household utensils and jewelry.

583 At the time of marriage, an additional payment, <u>sədagu</u> [430] (Arabic, sadak), is made. Sədagu is paid in the form of Maria Theresa dollars, two to five being the average amount of sədagu payment, though now eight shillings may be substituted for each Maria Theresa dollar. The size of the sədagu is arranged for before the marriage, and initial payment of part of the sədagu [586] may be made before the marriage. Should a couple divorce before the entire sədagu has been paid, the difference must be paid at the time of divorce.

Finally, in addition to both luwaliram and sədagu, there is still a third type of payment, called <u>məri</u>, which must be

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
584 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
587 of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
548 ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
831 receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them. A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and someone else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
626 new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage, begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him, "What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is perfectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife. However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

CHAPTER V [p. 99]

Marriage Relations

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Kanuri marriages are virilocal from the point of view of the woman, which means that she always leaves her residence to live in the compound of her husband. From the point of view of the man, marriages are patrilocal or neolocal. Thus a man either brings his wife to the compound of his father or very close to it, or else takes his wife to a new residence away from the residences of both their kin groups. Thirty-eight out of sixty-one informants in Magumeri reported bringing their first wives to the house of their own father or setting up a contiguous compound. For successive wives the number dropped to about one-half of those asked.

584 429

The inception of the first marriage for young girls is decided upon by her family and chiefly among these her luwali or guardian,(1) who is most commonly the head of the household in which the girl is living at the time of her marriage. A luwali can stand in various relational positions to the young girl - he may be her father, her elder brother, her cross-cousin, or patrilateral parallel-cousin, or adoptive parent. When the household head is not the luwali, which can occur for example in the case of cousin wardship, then the luwali still has the rights of marriage dispensation over the girl. Indeed he would take anyone to court who tried to inveigle these rights away from him. Although such cases are known they are quite rare.

581 429

The luwali's choice of potential husband is based on the availability of males seeking virgin wives plus his desire to create profitable relationships for himself. If he is a high status person, his wife-giving rights will be used most commonly to tie political and/or

(1) C.F., "lugali" in Ellision, R.E., Marriage and Childbirth Among the Kanuri, Africa: Vol. 9, 1936, pp. 524-535.

583
585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman,(1) and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

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584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] [595] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

583 584 encouraged to increase his bridewealth offer and also to increase his kwororam gifts to the girl's grandmother (she had no mother in the compound) in order to increase his chances of acceptability. Only after enlarging his offer and his kwororam before witnesses did the anxious suitor discover that he was the victim of a ruse, and that there was no other bidder for the girl.

The kwororam is not considered part of the bridewealth within this present discussion or by the Kanuri themselves because it is not necessarily returnable by the girl's family if the arrangements proceed no further. It is therefore exactly what its name implies, a fee or set of gifts given for the privilege of asking and smoothing out any opposition from female relatives to the future negotiations between the girl's guardian and the would-be suitor.

The kwororam applies only to non-preferential virgin marriages. It is not practised in cousin marriage because these unions are arranged 587 years before they are consummated. In non-virgin marriage the money and (836) gifts which the man gives to the woman while he is sleeping with her, as a divorced woman, serve instead as the initiatory behaviour which may or may not lead to marriage. The man may also give small gifts of some cloth, soap, perfume, or other women's sundries to any senior female relative of the divorced woman, especially if she is quite a young girl or woman who values her elder's opinion.

583 584 The Kanuri recognize that this practice has the utility of allowing some time to elapse while the parties prepare to go more deeply and seriously into creating the marriage relationship.

If there has been a kwororam, the luwaliram occurs one to three months afterwards. This payment is the largest single amount given by the male (with the aid of his supporters) to the female's group. It

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is arrived at through bargaining done between intermediaries for the husband-elect and the girl's luwali. The primary reason given for this use of intermediaries is that a man should not indulge in argument with his potential father-in-law. The luwali of the girl uses a number of arguments to persuade the suitor to raise the price of the luwaliram. Thus he tells of the qualities of the girl, her family connections, the large number of people to whom the luwaliram must be distributed, i.e. the people who have a claim or an interest in the girl's marriage. He often hints broadly at the gifts which the young man may expect from the girl's family to offset the expense of the payment, in order to assure the suitor that the bridewealth payment is only a returnable token which should be raised in order to add dignity and prestige to the entire affair. Most of it, in all likelihood, he suggests will be returned at the next ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the wedding. The luwali also tries to assure the groom's party that the girl will have a very fine dowry of enamel plates, clothes, pots, pillows, mats, jewellry, etc., which will give the groom much prestige and perhaps even a source of capital. The luwali may complain that he is spending a lot of money on the dowry, which he feels must be compensated by a high bridewealth payment. The husband-elect, on the other hand, tries to point out through his intermediaries how much the marriage expenses in general are costing him and how the entire negotiation may endanger his socio-economic status. However, he must not push such an argument too far or his suit might be considered ill-advised. His best argument is usually a threat of withdrawal, or a feint in that direction, at which point the prices may be lowered somewhat as an inducement to his re-entry into the fray.

[602] The luwaliram payment is distributed by the luwali among the close bilateral relatives of the young girl, although he keeps a major

583 584 602 portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasizes the patrilateral group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliram.

587 With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliram payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliram payment.

584 585 With the completion of the luwaliram payment the final arrangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada'a, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliram payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

584 591 If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the luwaliram, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

584 the man requests that the luwaliram payment be returned to him (as it
071 should be traditionally). Very often a man may try initially in the judicial proceedings to regain his entire investments, asking not only for the luwaliram, but a sum which includes his entire outlay of capital to date for the wedding. In such cases the position is usually just a beginning for bargaining. However, if the adjudicator can be convinced that the girl's or woman's group intended to defraud, or break faith from the very beginning of negotiations, the man might possibly be awarded more than just the luwaliram by the court. On the other hand, either party has the right of retraction before the formal wedding day ceremony (sada'a) which for the man means forfeiture of his payments, and for the woman and her group, means repayment of the luwaliram to the rejected suitor. For example, in one case observed, a man was repaid his luwaliram because a higher bidder had come on the scene.

585 In the early morning on the day of the wedding the groom with his male friends and relatives, along with male friends and relatives of the bride's household, meet at the household of the luwali, or at the house of a ranking person of the ward or town for the sada'a. The tendency is to use the luwali's house more among higher ranks in the city, while lower status groups and rural people generally use the compound of a local ranking person. At this time the second and final
585 payment of the bridewealth, the sada'a is made. It is most commonly
583 referred to in Maria Theresa dollars although most often paid in pound
[436] sterling. For peasant non-virgin weddings in the Magumeri area during 1956-7, the price seemed to be fairly standardized around the value of 4 M.T. dollars (28-32 shillings). The disposal of this payment is similar to that of the luwaliram.

The major part of the ceremony is given over to examining

582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. 582 This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. 584 [304] If the young girl is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

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> When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

587 567 [593] In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced woman who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

837 households when her husband was away. Several informants remarked that it was apparent, now her husband was away, that she wished to have some tum-tum (pleasure, with a sexual implication).

593 837 Whether or not the husband is away, women must leave the compound for ceremonies, water carrying, helping other women to prepare for ceremonies, going to market, etc. Only men with wives in seclusion can restrict, and then only partially, female activities beyond the household. Within this framework, all Kanuri men know from their own experience how easily liaisons can be set up with married women, and therefore become anxious and mistrustful of wives who leave the compound too often.

837 584 The covert subversion of marital fidelity norms is also illustrated in the role of the sersér. The sersér is an old woman who for a fee, acts as an intermediary between a man and a married woman in promulgating a future marriage between them, which presumes the divorce of the woman from her present husband. The relationship arranged between the man and the married woman by the sersér often infers an adulterous sexual union as well. If discovered by the husband, the old woman is often taken into court with her male employer and fined heavily. However, among males who value their respectability, the old woman is usually warned at first to stay away from the compound, and the wife admonished not to have anything to do with her.

832 Another illustration that documents the social recognition of female desire for sexual freedom is the concept of tarwo which refers to walking about looking for a partner for sexual intercourse. Any man or woman walking about the town alone is suspect of tarwo. There are a few definitive signs such as man having his hat pushed for-

581 only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a re-
573 [565] lationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two head-
ings.

581 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife
557 by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization
and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some
cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create
[582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions
take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely
emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in
still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt
[583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe)
in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual
understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the
luwali.

581 Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and dis-
[584] covery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the
man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a house-
hold head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage
arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large
population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible
for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creat-
ing superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of
marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they
grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defin-
ing relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing
to become obligated to others through marriage.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

581 unimportant; instead the man considers other factors such as his need for a wife, the marriage expenses including the bridewealth, and the physical attractiveness of the woman.

583 The previous relationship of the groom to the girl and her family can vary the bridewealth enormously. Often the groom, and/or his family, are acquainted with the girl, and/or her family, as neighbors and friends. When this is the case, then other factors tend to enter in to determine the bridewealth. But in a number of special and not uncommon situations, the groom is released from the bulk of the bridewealth or it is substantially lowered. If the girl is his cousin (the Kanuri [582] marry all cousins, although they claim it is not good to marry one's mother's sister's daughter) then he may find that only a small *sada'u* payment is necessary About [584] one-fifteenth of all Kanuri marriages are of this kind, and of these about one-fifth involve unions in which the little cousin was promised to the boy when she was an infant at the time that he was circumcised, roughly about puberty. At that time he becomes her *luwali* or the dispenser of her marriage rights and can arrange for her future husband or marry her himself when she reached puberty. In other cases the 583 groom is a dependent or client of the girl's *luwali* (usually her father) and the 581 marriage tends to cement the relationship between him and the father even further. Indeed many subordinates of "big men" in Bornu think of their superiors as being obliged to help them find a wife. In such a case the groom may assume only a small portion of the expenses, or the wife-to-be is a daughter or relative of the superior and the latter depresses the payments purposely, so his subordinate can marry. In a few cases girls are given to *mallams* (koranic teacher-priests) and no bridewealth is required. Such unions are called "marriages of charity" and the *luwali* who abrogates his rights to bridewealth in this fashion is considered to be a pious man. In actual practice it is not very common. This is seen in the marriage histories of the *mallams* themselves who may have married once in five or six times this way but rarely more than that. *Mallams* claim that they do not like it because it makes them obligated to the wife-giver for free prayers, constant officiating as a religious leader in the household of the *luwali*, and so on, so that they avoid such charity in order to maintain their independence. This avoidance is mitigated if they are already members of the *luwali's* household and the marriage is simply cementing the relationship.

583 The bargaining abilities on both sides of the marriage can also determine the bridewealth. The groom's representatives are told by the girl's family, through her *luwali*, that the groom can expect many gifts which will compensate for an elaborate and expensive wedding. The groom's representatives tell the woman and her relatives, especially her *luwali*, of the groom's qualities, especially his kindness and generosity, his wealth and expectations of more, his potentialities as a successful man, and his connection through friends, through his own services, and relatives to very important people. On his side, the *luwali* speaks of the benefits to be gained by marriage to this particular girl and slowly the bridewealth payment, especially the *luwaliram*, emerges at a set price. On her first wedding night, a pre- [585] viously unmarried girl also bargains at great length in order to bid up a special consummation fee that is her right.

If the marriage arrangements take place in the autumn, or around harvest time, it is assumed that the man will have more cash than at other times. Thus the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.*

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the [582]
time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is rejected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate. Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

586 587 with ease. Since most men marry a number of times in the course of a normal life, they are likely to marry women who have been married previously and whose earlier marriage (or marriages) has ended in divorce. An important distinction is made between a marriage with a girl who has never been married before, and marriages with women who have been married previously.

585 302 a) Marriage with a virgin. The adult Kanuri woman wears her hair in a striking coiffure which resembles a Trojan helmet. Adolescent girls who have not yet married wear their hair in totally different fashion. Their hair-do is divided into three parts, and they are referred to as kalə yaskə, a term for their particular developmental stage which derives from the hair-do that characterizes the stage. Since very high priority is placed on virginity for a girl before marriage, a first marriage with a kalə yaskə is equivalent to marriage with a virgin.

584 Marriages are frequently arranged, but consent of both boy and girl plays a part, even in marriages in which the boy is marrying for the first time and the girl is a kalə yaskə. A boy may come to his father to say that he likes a particular girl. It frequently happens then that the boy's father will go to the house of the father of the girl, bringing presents with him, to arrange the marriage. The father of the boy may also select a particular girl as wife for his son, ask the boy if he likes the girl, then make the arrangements with the father of the girl. A talaka may marry the daughter of a very good family, if he can raise the money needed for her bride-price. The sole

583 paid before the marriage or it is not a legal marriage. Mori, too, can vary in size, but it is the smallest of the three payments, and usually amounts to several shillings.

585 The wedding itself is very brief. It is presided over by a Malam, before many witnesses. The Malam asks the names of bride and bridegroom, asks them if they wish to marry, reads a section of the Koran. Then all pray, and the ceremony is ended as kola nuts (coro) are distributed to all present, and gifts are given to Malam and luwali. That evening, the husband's closest friends come to the bride's house to take her to the house of her husband. While her friends cry and try to hold her back, the husband's friends take the bride off by horse, and leave her at her husband's house. One friend of the girl refuses to leave her until the husband pays fugurum (or ferorum), which is the set amount of thirty shillings, alike for rich and poor. Fugu means hymen. The friend keeps several shillings of the fugurum for herself and gives the remainder to the mother of the bride, payment to her for protecting her daughter's virtue.

585 626 Virginity of the girl is attested to by blood stains on a white blanket which has been spread on the wedding bed. The blood-stained blanket is taken from the room the following morning by friends of the girl and brought to her mother. If it is stained, mother praises daughter, and her friends parade it throughout the neighborhood. If it is not stained, the girl is cursed by all. If the husband finds that his bride is not a

585 virgin, he beats her that night, and proclaims it openly. Both
626 the girl and her mother feel shame; the husband, in turn, feels that he has been defrauded and has gotten a bad bargain. The fugurum money, however, is not repaid him. Though the Kanuri know that the hymen may be removed surgically, and that the Arabs do do this in order to make the wedding night less painful to the bride, they never do it themselves; the hymen is always forcefully broken.

585 On the following day, friends of the girl come to cook for her and for her husband, and they do this for seven days, while the bride does nothing except bathe and decorate herself while
[834] visitors come to greet her. Her husband is permitted to resume having intercourse with her after four days. If he has another wife, he does not sleep with her for those seven days, nor does she cook for him during that period.

b) Marriage with a divorced woman. The above description of marriage practices represents the marriage of a man with a kalə yaskə, described as a virgin, and usually, though not always a virgin. More properly, such a marriage should be called a girl's first marriage, in contrast to subsequent marriages.
586 Should she be divorced, the woman enters a totally different cat-
587 egory in the social structure. She becomes a zogor, and marriage with a zogor is different in many respects from marriage with a kalə yaskə. The status of a man does not change significantly after a divorce, consequently there is no category for a
000 man corresponding to that of the zogor. His first marriage fre-

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

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585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman,(1) and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

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584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] [595] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

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portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasizes the patrilateral group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliram.

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With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliram payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliram payment.

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With the completion of the luwaliram payment the final arrangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada'a, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliram payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

584 691

If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the luwaliram, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

584 the man requests that the luwaliram payment be returned to him (as it should be traditionally). Very often a man may try initially in the judicial proceedings to regain his entire investments, asking not only for the luwaliram, but a sum which includes his entire outlay of capital to date for the wedding. In such cases the position is usually just a beginning for bargaining. However, if the adjudicator can be convinced that the girl's or woman's group intended to defraud, or break faith from the very beginning of negotiations, the man might possibly be awarded more than just the luwaliram by the court. On the other hand, either party has the right of retraction before the formal wedding day ceremony (sada'a) which for the man means forfeiture of his payments, and for the woman and her group, means repayment of the luwaliram to the rejected suitor. For example, in one case observed, a man was repaid his luwaliram because a higher bidder had come on the scene.

585 In the early morning on the day of the wedding the groom with his male friends and relatives, along with male friends and relatives of the bride's household, meet at the household of the luwali, or at the house of a ranking person of the ward or town for the sada'a. The tendency is to use the luwali's house more among higher ranks in the city, while lower status groups and rural people generally use the compound of a local ranking person. At this time the second and final payment of the bridewealth, the sada'a is made. It is most commonly referred to in Maria Theresa dollars although most often paid in pound sterling. For peasant non-virgin weddings in the Magumeri area during 1956-7, the price seemed to be fairly standardized around the value of 4 M.T. dollars (28-32 shillings). The disposal of this payment is similar to that of the luwaliram.

The major part of the ceremony is given over [illegible] examining

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publically the gifts from the girl's family to the husband-elect. These can include such items as men's robes, pillows, mats, money, grain, sometimes a horse, or a saddle. Male informants expressed the opinion that the closer the gifts to the groom approximated the combined value of the luwaliram and the sada'a, the more satisfactory was the entire affair. In only one case was such equivalence ever observed (1) although tales were told of others. These stories always referred to a lower ranking individual who had married the virgin ward of a rich, powerful person. The hero of the story was always spoken of as having been given a girl and a large amount of property equal to or surpassing his bridewealth payments. Taken for granted in these reports was the loyalty and service which the husband-elect gave to his benefactor both before and after the marriage. The only other incidence when gifts to the groom are of a grandiose nature occurs when both the girl's family and the groom are rich, powerful persons and there is competition in the gift giving.

All the males who attend this ceremony, contribute a little money to the groom. It is collected by the sowa kura (big friend) who serves as "best man" for the wedding. He gives the mallams who lead the prayers a little money, and presents the official or ranking person at whose house the sada'a took place a small fee, if this person was not the girl's luwali and takes charge of the gifts to the husband-elect. During the entire wedding he pays the proper people, accepts gifts for the groom, brings him information as to what is going on and what is re-

(1) In this case the virgin girl was being married, high above her status, to a highly respected and fairly well-to-do person, by local rural standards. The father-in-law (luwali in this case) felt that he must try to give this new husband as good an impression of the girl's family as possible, and please him in every way. Consequently, the gifts to the groom were much larger than usual.

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quired, heads the party bringing the bride to the groom's house, and generally acts as a middleman between the groom and everyone with whom the latter is supposed to have dealings. Informants commented that this allows the groom to remain unruffled by the many decisions and social obligations which are occasioned by the wedding ceremony.

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After the sada'a and luwaliram have been paid and the gifts to the groom exchanged the bridewealth payment is completed. However, there remain the rest of the marriage expenses which can be impressive. During the entire day of the wedding the kususu (female head of the wedding proceedings for the groom) demands that the groom supply the celebrating women with kola nuts and tobacco flowers for staining their teeth and pay any drummers who have been employed for the dancing celebrations. At a virgin marriage a special payment, the kususuram, must be paid through the kususu (woman head of the wedding) consisting of a ram, soap, shoes, and kola nuts for the women. This expenditure is used for the performance of a special hair washing ceremony held on the first day of marriage. At all weddings the kususu requires a small gift for her services. This is carried over to the sowa kura (the "best man") who must also be given a gift of a robe and/or some money for his efforts at the wedding. When the groom's party (minus the groom) brings the virgin girl from her household a small payment of money (majila) must be paid to the eldest unmarried sister of the young virgin, if any reside in the compound, so that she will feel no jealousy and spite over her young sister's marriage.

Since the girl must traditionally arrive on horseback in any kind of marriage, the man holding the bridle and guiding the horse is given a small fee for the safe delivery of the bride. The wedding party of singing, joyful women must also be given gifts by the groom. At one

585 virgin wedding in which 15 women had come thirty miles on foot with their little relative and friend who was to be married, each of them was given five shillings by the bridegroom, the girl's mother was given twenty shillings and the two drummers, who had accompanied the party, were given fifteen shillings each. The groom had also paid the expences of the journey which included the rental of two camels for five pounds. In other words the journey had cost him somewhere around ten or eleven
583 pounds. His bridewealth payments had been eight M.T. Dollars and seventeen pounds sterling or about twenty pounds, which means that the bridal journey alone had cost him as much as half of his bridewealth payments.

Before the consummation in the privacy of his hut, the groom must bargain with the young bride over the ferorum (consummation money, literally: the virgin's fee). This is usually achieved quite rapidly since there is a fairly standard price range of one to two pounds for this payment and agreement is commonly reached after a short conversation.

583 One final point must be made about Kanuri bridewealth; this is the idea of use. Kanuri moral tradition defines the bridewealth payment as a transfer of property given for the use of the woman by her husband. This is not a static but a processual arrangement which changes
583 its nature through time. Thus, if a woman leaves a man within the first
586 year after marriage, before he has had a chance to utilize her services in agricultural production, then he has "not had his money's worth" and requires some of it back. This applies just as well to women who are in seclusion; indicating that it is the total function of the woman whose use the male feels he has acquired. If a divorce results very rapidly after the marriage through any fault of the woman, the male usually feels aggrieved and demands that part of the bridewealth be returned. His

the aid of magical devices.

Besides the greater elaboration and expense of a virgin 585
marriage it is also distinguished by the delivery of the woman's dowry (larusa) to the groom's compound the day after the wedding. In non-virgin marriages the dowry is brought with the woman on the wedding night. This is due to the necessity of proving the virgin status of the young girl. Her material goods cannot be brought over to the husband's house until the terms of the contract are acclaimed as valid. If her 691
virginity is questionable on the marriage night, then a litigation either in or out of court begins, wherein her status as a virgin must be re-assessed and the entire marriage arrangement re-evaluated. The whole community is witness to this validation since the successful deflowering is made public in the middle of the night or early morning by a procession of women of both families, friends and neighbours, who go round the town beating enamel basins, with a drummer in the lead. This serves as an announcement of the marriage consummation and of the discovery of the girl's virgin status by her husband. If there is no procession every one knows something is amiss. Among more traditional families, the groom announces the successful test by emerging from his hut immediately after deflloration to shoot a gun into the air.

The second classification of marriage is the kanu gwejin 587
(he takes a woman) which means marrying a woman who has already been married before and is now divorced. There is a great deal of variation in the initiation of such a marriage, but as a general rule it is carried on with much less ceremony and a far greater degree of individual choice is exercised by the couple themselves. This freedom increases with age as well as being more common for all ages (except first marriages) among the lower ranks of society. As a man and woman grow older they demand

As a man and woman grow older they demand 582
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more
likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and author-
ity of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who
is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although [589]
not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and
restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appear-
ance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper
class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does
the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an
extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little
freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early
divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the tem- [585]
porary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless
their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few [595]
exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable
and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The excep- [589]
tions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and
thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/
or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These
factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the ex-
pression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

595 iram to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwaliram), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

595 632 162 [589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are atypical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of [125] the population than is commonly the case. The following table on num- [30] ber of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Wgubura, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of relationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the marketing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually the wives of their close friends and relatives.

It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the contrary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order to re-unite separated couples.

This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the formalization ceremony (*sada't*) on the day of the marriage. After the *fatiha* prayer[1] has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior status, but because European marriages are well known for their durability. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, preferential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

881 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she men-
582 struates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e.
585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time
[302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a fero gana (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it:

[833] 881 [885]

> She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When she bleeds, then she is kamu kura (a mature woman) and she knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offerings to the poor).

885 Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl
[302] changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a completely different person immediately upon taking up the status of married woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the compound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities become progressively remote from their own.

369 Another difference noticeable immediately to the 216.
342 stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live
829 in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush" the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several of the rich leaders in Bornu were building, under private contract, city houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity, and cement floors.

369 In Maguneri, complaints against rural people are always heard
829 from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never marry a "bush" girl. [585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town, the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the dignitaries of Maguneri were of such a low quality that it became a standing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared, respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids the civil servantin the bush, unless his confidence is won over through continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

21 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the [586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 595 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, supposedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relations of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali*, (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household) and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very
597 common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' com-
562 pound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed
837 this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes
521 about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their
593 own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband
586 and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

rare circumstances women themselves initiate the proceedings by announcing the divorce, although this is usually done with a circumlocution such as when she says, as one woman did, "There is nothing holding us together but these gifts that you have given me. Take them. I wish to go." 593 586

About eighty to ninety percent of all marriages end in divorce, probably because it is such a simple affair. The husband in most cases simply tells the wife to go, saying "I divorce you." He does not say it three times, as is usual in Islamic countries, because the wife may return, for the Kanuri practice of Muslim marriage is such that, after saying "I divorce you," three times there should be no reconciliation or remarriage. Once a pronouncement of divorce has been made the woman leaves her husband's household and the marriage enters a special hundred-day period in which the woman cannot remarry although the man may do so. This is defined as a waiting period to see whether or not the woman is pregnant so that the man can claim the child. The woman generally returns to her *luwali* at this time and there is always some negotiation between the man and the *luwali* to see whether or not the marriage can be patched up. About one-third of all divorce pronouncements do end in reconciliation even though the husband most often divorces her again later on. It is interesting to note that unlike western society, practically no Kanuri divorce cases (perhaps one percent) go to the courts; thus it is impossible to get the records of divorce except through field study of actual cases. [779] [114]

When a divorce occurs children remain with their father unless they are still nursing. After nursing they are generally sent back to the father's household, although the period is sometimes stretched out for young girls who are trained by their mothers. Children of broken unions are cared for by a father's co-wife or by some other close relative of the father. Contacts with a divorced parent are always maintained and the child visits his or her mother regularly. This is especially true for boys who expect to take care of their mother when she is an elderly unmarried woman. Conflicts sometimes arise because a man's daughter does not return and the mother's relatives or one of her subsequent husbands might try to arrange a marriage without consulting her own father. If such consultations take place, however, no one feels put out and the man who arranged the marriage takes a portion of the bridewealth in payment.

Each spouse in a marriage maintains very close contacts with his or her own relatives. Presents are exchanged and visits back and forth between members of kin groups are very common. Children are named after relatives, especially grandparents, and in many cases go to live with them after weaning, or before the birth of a new baby in the family. Only in cases of long term marriage does a wife finally come to feel a part of and fully accepted by her husband's family. However when this does happen the wife can become a very powerful voice in the family, and her long and intimate association with her husband often means that she has become a permanent authority in the household. In one such case a senior wife had never been married to anyone else and had been married to her husband, a powerful man in the village, for thirty years. The man remarked that he made very few decisions without consulting this woman, and people recognized that she had a powerful position in village affairs. Such cases, however, are not common. Kanuri marriage involves a separation of the sexes not only by custom and tradition but as a result of the conflicts in marriage relations which produce tensions between husbands and 593 602 [553] 593

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
888 though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men
[826] and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

611 171 182 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 595 The most important social unit determined by kinship is the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 587 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

586 587 with ease. Since most men marry a number of times in the course of a normal life, they are likely to marry women who have been married previously and whose earlier marriage (or marriages) has ended in divorce. An important distinction is made between a marriage with a girl who has never been married before, and marriages with women who have been married previously.

585 302 a) Marriage with a virgin. The adult Kanuri woman wears her hair in a striking coiffure which resembles a Trojan helmet. Adolescent girls who have not yet married wear their hair in totally different fashion. Their hair-do is divided into three parts, and they are referred to as kalə yaskə, a term for their particular developmental stage which derives from the hair-do that characterizes the stage. Since very high priority is placed on virginity for a girl before marriage, a first marriage with a kalə yaskə is equivalent to marriage with a virgin.

584 Marriages are frequently arranged, but consent of both boy and girl plays a part, even in marriages in which the boy is marrying for the first time and the girl is a kalə yaskə. A boy may come to his father to say that he likes a particular girl. It frequently happens then that the boy's father will go to the house of the father of the girl, bringing presents with him, to arrange the marriage. The father of the boy may also select a particular girl as wife for his son, ask the boy if he likes the girl, then make the arrangements with the father of the [565] girl. A talaka may marry the daughter of a very good family, if he can raise the money needed for her bride-price. The sole

583 by Maliki law. Premarital bride-service is not permitted in lieu of the luwaliram. A man would be ashamed to go to his future father-in-law to say that he had no money to pay the luwaliram.

584 The girl is represented by her luwali in arranging a marriage. The luwali may be a relative or friend of the girl, but not her father (except in the case of a sadaka marriage noted above). The luwali states the amount of the luwaliram. The bridegroom may also be represented by someone, or he may make his own arrangements. The bridegroom, or his representative, may accept the stated price, or he may bargain for a lower price. The luwaliram is given to the luwali, who in turn passes it to [431] the girl's father. The girl's father gives a token fee to the luwali, gives presents to the groom which include both money and clothing, and gives his daughter household utensils and jewelry.

583 At the time of marriage, an additional payment, <u>sədagu</u> [436] (Arabic, sadak), is made. Sədagu is paid in the form of Maria Theresa dollars, two to five being the average amount of sədagu payment, though now eight shillings may be substituted for each Maria Theresa dollar. The size of the sədagu is arranged for before the marriage, and initial payment of part of the sədagu [586] may be made before the marriage. Should a couple divorce before the entire sədagu has been paid, the difference must be paid at the time of divorce.

Finally, in addition to both luwaliram and sədagu, there is still a third type of payment, called <u>məri</u>, which must be

585 virgin, he beats her that night, and proclaims it openly. Both
626 the girl and her mother feel shame; the husband, in turn, feels that he has been defrauded and has gotten a bad bargain. The fugurum money, however, is not repaid him. Though the Kanuri know that the hymen may be removed surgically, and that the Arabs do do this in order to make the wedding night less painful to the bride, they never do it themselves; the hymen is always forcefully broken.

585 On the following day, friends of the girl come to cook for her and for her husband, and they do this for seven days, while the bride does nothing except bathe and decorate herself while [834] visitors come to greet her. Her husband is permitted to resume having intercourse with her after four days. If he has another wife, he does not sleep with her for those seven days, nor does she cook for him during that period.

b) Marriage with a divorced woman. The above description of marriage practices represents the marriage of a man with a kalə yaskə, described as a virgin, and usually, though not always a virgin. More properly, such a marriage should be called a girl's first marriage, in contrast to subsequent marriages.
586 Should she be divorced, the woman enters a totally different cat-
587 egory in the social structure. She becomes a zogor, and marriage with a zogor is different in many respects from marriage with a kalə yaskə. The status of a man does not change significantly after a divorce, consequently there is no category for a
000 man corresponding to that of the zogor. His first marriage fre-

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
584 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
587 [548] of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
[83] ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive
several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution
which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them.
A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of
weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find
themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and some-
one else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
[626] new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her
status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the
freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the
attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage,
begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few
men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not
be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a
zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing
this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him,
"What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer
that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is per-
fectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife.
However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

587 The levirate among the Kanuri is called fatorongabe. A man must marry the widow of his elder brother (yaga); he is not permitted to marry the widow of his younger brother (kərami). At the death of one's wife, one may marry her younger sister, but one is forbidden to marry her elder sister. This, too, is called fatorongabe.

2. Divorce.

586 779 The Koran has a great deal to say about divorce, particularly in Sura II ("The Cow"), and Sura LXV ("Divorce"). It specifically mentions a waiting period of four months (three full menstrual courses for the woman) to determine if the woman is pregnant before the divorce is final and the woman becomes a zogor. A man may divorce his wife twice and take her back again, but after the third time, she must marry another man before she can remarry her first husband. After the waiting period, the husband cannot maliciously retain his former wife or prevent her from marrying another man. If the husband divorces his wife before the marriage is consummated, but after the bride-price has been settled, half of the bride-price should be paid, unless the husband is released from payment, but it is more proper that the [853] husband should forego it. After a divorce, mothers with nursing children should be permitted to let the children nurse for two whole years, while they are supported by the father of the child.

Kanuri practice concerning divorce operates within the limits dictated by the Koran. The husband divorces his wife by say-

586 779 ing, "I divorce you," or, "The marriage is over." When a husband divorces his wife she leaves his house and goes to the house of her luwali. A wife cannot divorce her husband, but, as the Alkali of Geidam phrased it, "The power of a woman is in the law; the law helps her." As an example, he noted that if a woman hits her husband, that is nothing, but if a man hits his wife, the marriage can be dissolved by an Alkali. She can ask the court to grant her a divorce if her husband is impotent, and therefore not a real husband. If he disputes the accusation the court may actually attempt to ascertain whether it is true or not, by witnessing whether the husband is capable of having intercourse with his wife.

A man may divorce his wife twice, and take her back within the three months and ten day waiting period, or at any time after that. After the third time, he is forbidden from taking [784] her back until she has married and divorced another man. If they continue to live together after the third divorce, they are living in a state of sin called dəl for which the punishment is hell. A man may divorce his wife only once and say dəla to her, and the marriage is dissolved, just as if he had divorced her for the third time.

When a man divorces his wife, friends and neighbors frequently come to attempt to arbitrate their dispute (sholo). 586 681 The husband may finalize the separation by saying, "Yanyi" (She is like my mother). Having said this, the marriage is ended, and the husband may not take back his wife unless he pays a fine

586 779 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is <u>haram</u> (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

586 779 626 695

[694]

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

[431] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalə yaskə wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about <u>boye</u>, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
578 knife.
152

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
593 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
369 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of
183 qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zəgəsə (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zəgəsə are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband 422 593 usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household possessions. [586] He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

592 In addition to the formal relationships between master and slave, and between adopted son and chibuna, described above, there are informal ways through which an individual may become attached to a household. Every adult must be attached to some 592 household. Since the minimal household is represented by a man 586 and his wife, a divorced couple marks the end of their household. Each of them, man and woman, must now attach himself to another household. The primary reason for this is economic--and it makes itself felt immediately in the problem of food. [462] A man without a wife has no one to cook for him. Since no Kanuri man would ever cook for himself (cooking and preparation of food are tasks confined to women), he must attach himself to the household of a friend, neighbor, or close relative, [156] and regularly take his meals there. However, it is somewhat shameful to continue on in this position, and a man who had recently divorced his wife tends to take another wife before long, thereby re-establishing his own household. The woman, after a divorce, goes back to her luwali, and becomes a zogor who lives in his household until she remarries. She, too, becomes a temporary member of her luwali's household and takes her meals with the women of that household. The luwali has the responsibility of offering a roof to his ward after her divorce, and it is not uncommon to find a zogor living for a time as a part of a large household. Men will regularly come to court her, and in time she will remarry and leave her luwali's household.

000 There is still another way to become part of a large house-

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with shelter and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce, both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

593 562 565 564 463 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower categories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives secluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

• 586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75 (mean is 4.88). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-

586 565 554 463

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205]

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[GEIDAM]

Table X

X a

Total Number of Wives per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy		1		1			1		2												
Koranic Malams			1		2																
Canteen Traders					1	1	2		1	1											
NA Malams			3	1				1								1					
Kabuna					2	1		1		1	1										
Craftsmen		1				2		1	1									1			
Talaka		2			1			1	1					1			1				1
Low-status	1			1					1					1							
Totals:	1	4	4	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1

median = 5.5
mean = 6.4

[GEIDAM]

• 564
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X b
Number of Divorces per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy	1		1		1		1	1													
Koranic Malams		1	2																		
Canteen Traders		1	2		1		2														
NA Malams	2	1	1			1								1							
Kabuna			2	1			1		1	1											
Craftsmen	1				2	1		1								1					
Talaka	1	1		1			1	1					1			1				1	
Low-status	1		1					1					1								
Totals:	6	4	9	2	4	2	5	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

median = 3.75
mean = 4.88

586 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had
565
554 more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the
463 lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalo yaskas have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa

Number of Living Children

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554
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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

[BEIDAM]

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaE1Si after weaning
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning
NA Malams	1:	to FaE1Br (chibuna) after weaning
Kabuna	-	
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age h
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11
	8	

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
163 ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
[192] have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invariably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the great love for children and desire to have children. However, those who have borne a child have indicated their ability to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives who have no children of their own, and who are probably unable to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediately after the child was weaned; two were given away at later ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not have an adequate home at the time.

[GEIDAM]

592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson. 592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat- 586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away 597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are 565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in 463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named [553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one 592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that 597

603 the difference in generation of the parties, there is a higher secondary content of fondness on the grandparent's part, while the slight lessening of this dimension is associated with a corresponding rise of the respect relation on the part of the grandchild. It does not show up in the questionnaire data summarized in Table I, because the joking relations (suli) with grandparents already includes friendship behaviour within its meaning content for this particular category of relative. Therefore when subjects were asked how they behaved towards grandparents, their suli responses included the kind of affective behaviour covered by this relationship.

593 The same thing is true for the relationship to own mother, although for different reasons. No friendship responses were given to own mother, because the cultural ideal of shame-respect is so strong here. Thus there was a blanket response pattern from all subjects in accordance with the traditional value of shame-respect.

[612] Nonetheless, there is the possibility and indeed expectation of an affective fondness and friendship relation between ego (male or female speaking) and own mother, which is extended in theory to

[586] include the mother's kindred. When asked what was the worst thing that he could remember ever happening to him when he was young, an informant replied without hesitation that it had occurred when he had to stay in his father's house on the occasion of his mother's divorce of his father. Another informant related how he had gone to the Jos Plateau to learn something about geological survey work, as part of his training for a job with the Bornu N.A. However, after three months he claims he had strong yearnings to see his mother and subsequently walked off the job and returned to his

593 ship developing in the husband-wife relationship depending upon
[565] the stability of the union. Such friendships are aided and abetted
[586] by cousin marriage as well as by upper class position where the divorce rate does not seem to be as high.

572 Finally, an examination of the nature of friendship in
156 general excluding the grandparent-grandchild, and mother-child relations reveals some unique features which arise from its setting in the total social organization. The question can be raised as to why it is that friendship is not formalized or structured to the same extent as the other behaviours associated with the kinship system. Certainly, an immediate answer lies in the universal nature of this kind of interpersonal relationship, i.e., its affectivity and expressive content, and the concomitant emotional satisfactions which people obtain from such associations. These tend to create a large area for personality characteristics to determine exactly who among the available persons, for example age-mates in the kindred, ego will move toward in expanding and contracting his friendships. As in our society, social factors such as socio-economic status, occupation, residence patterns, ethnic background, and norms of upward mobility all enter into such choices as well. But there is more to Kanuri friendship relations than a mere addition or interaction of these idiosyncratic features of personality attraction and repulsion on the one hand and sociological variables on the other.

572 Informants were forever telling the anthropologist that someone he mentioned was a friend of theirs, although no affective or emotional or for that matter any very real social relationship existed between them. They meant, of course, that they liked

585 virgin wedding in which 15 women had come thirty miles on foot with their little relative and friend who was to be married, each of them was given five shillings by the bridegroom, the girl's mother was given twenty shillings and the two drummers, who had accompanied the party, were given fifteen shillings each. The groom had also paid the expences of the journey which included the rental of two camels for five pounds. In other words the journey had cost him somewhere around ten or eleven [583] pounds. His bridewealth payments had been eight M.T. Dollars and seventeen pounds sterling or about twenty pounds, which means that the bridal journey alone had cost him as much as half of his bridewealth payments.

Before the consummation in the privacy of his hut, the groom must bargain with the young bride over the <u>feroram</u> (consummation money, literally: the virgin's fee). This is usually achieved quite rapidly since there is a fairly standard price range of one to two pounds for this payment and agreement is commonly reached after a short conversation.

583 One final point must be made about Kanuri bridewealth; this is the idea of <u>use</u>. Kanuri moral tradition defines the bridewealth payment as a transfer of property given for the use of the woman by her husband. This is not a static but a processual arrangement which changes 583 its nature through time. Thus, if a woman leaves a man within the first • 586 year after marriage, before he has had a chance to utilize her services in agricultural production, then he has "not had his money's worth" and requires some of it back. This applies just as well to women who are in seclusion; indicating that it is the total function of the woman whose use the male feels he has acquired. If a divorce results very rapidly after the marriage through any fault of the woman, the male usually feels aggrieved and demands that part of the bridewealth be returned. His

583
586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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586
[603] In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with [691] him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
586 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
[695] times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bridewealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

583
593 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

[691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
[184] with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

583 A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-
593 sent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most prob-
[586] ably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son
[685] over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates
156 from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal
583 worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value
[595] in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

581 The Kanuri recognize different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kamu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is
[832] good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
• 586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

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565 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realises that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

593
156 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593
557 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

837 established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of re-
628 lationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the marketing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually the wives of their close friends and relatives.

586 It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the contrary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to
[123] be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order to re-unite separated couples.

581 This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the
585 formalization ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the marriage. After the fatiha prayer[1] has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for
[829] the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior status, but because European marriages are well known for their durability. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

581 Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, preferential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that
586 their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

586 Nevertheless the incidence of divorce is very high and only exceptional women marry as virgins and remain married all their lives to the same man, while practically all men divorce a wife at least once in their lives. The average figure is about three to four divorces per person (from qualitative observation and genealogical records) during a life span. The reasons given for divorce run the complete gamut of dissatisfaction that a man and a woman can complain of in their relations with one another.(1) Furthermore divorce is very easy to institute, being merely an act of personal will by either partner to the marriage.

[692] A great many divorces are practised without resort to the formal proceedings of the Alkalai court. The woman leaves her husband's compound taking her property with her and returns (traditionally) to her luwali's (guardian) household, which usually means her parents. As we have said before, this is not always the case in later marriages. If the husband wants her back, he sends an intermediary to the house to which she has returned to plead his case. If he does not, then an intermediary may be sent from the house to which the girl has gone. This latter procedure is much less usual, since the girl's family is traditionally of higher status, and it is customary for the lower status group to visit the higher and not vice versa. If no intermediaries are used it is assumed that both parties desire a divorce, or if they are used and fail to obtain a reconciliation, then [627] divorce follows. If any adjudication is required in the proceedings, [692] it is most commonly carried on by relatives, friends, ward heads and town heads.

[171] (1) c.f. Smith, M.G., op.cit. (1955) (p.63). Smith gives a list of complaints obtained from Hausa court records of divorce. All of his list of sixty-three complaints are applicable to Kanuri court proceedings on divorce.

586 town heads. Resort to higher courts occurs only in cases where settle-
692 ment by these local adjudicators is refused by one or both of the parties. This usually happens in the following instances: (1) annulment cases where there is a failure at consummation of the marriage; (2) when a man wants the return of the bridewealth because of his wife's request for a divorce only a few months after the wedding; (3) when there has been a beating which draws blood, thereby involving the litigants in an argument over blood money which must be paid by the assailant to the injured party and his/her family; (4) when any matter becomes so contentious as to be impossible to reconcile with the immediate help of relatives, friends, and local leaders.

586 Informants claimed that at least half of all divorces resulted in the remarriage of the couple. In light of the large number of divorces, this statement seemed contradictory to the observed facts
[192] at first glance. However, the Kanuri word for divorce (dimnyin) really means "to leave a spouse", i.e. it makes no distinction between divorce and separation in its semantic reference, which is an accurate description of the facts, since all divorces begin as separations. When viewed in this light the informants' statements make sense, since many separated couples are re-united. The reunion of a man with his separated wife was described as being very informal and inexpensive. He merely gives a small gift to the woman and the relatives (sometimes) with whom she is staying, and she returns to his compound without ceremony. There is, however, a limit to the number of times a man and woman may separate and re-unite. The third time a woman leaves her husband's compound, she does so in the knowledge that return is impossible under the terms of Kanuri law. That is to say, after the first and

586 second separation reconciliation is possible, while the third constitutes an irrevocable separation, i.e. a divorce.

Among the manifold particularistic reasons for divorce, two major categories of dissatisfaction may be isolated. The first can be labelled "functional disputes". The woman complains that the man does not give her enough market money, or he does not like her, or he wants too much or too little sexual intercourse, while the man complains that the woman does not cook well, or enough, or on time, or does not perform some other womanly task properly. Sometimes, these may be real issues, at other times they serve as excuses for some other dissatisfactions which the man or woman may not want to make public. The second category has already been referred to in the discussion of male dominance. The behavioural responses by men and women to the cultural ideology of male dominance causes much dissatisfaction. The male complains that his wife has done something or continues to do something that he has repeatedly told her not to do, while the woman complains that her husband will not allow her to do things which she proclaims to be her right, such as visiting her parents, or going to a friend's house to have her hair done. The most common male complaints in this vein are, (a) "she goes to dances", or (b) "she will not stay in the house". The first of these (a) implies that the woman likes to go out at night against her husband's wishes to an activity that no man likes his wife to attend, since it is a common time and place for sexual liaisons to be made, or at the very least, for the advertisement of sexual charms. The second (b) is more general in that it includes the first, and refers to a generalized insubordination on the part of the wife.

008 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri

58 sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory subordination by the mallam to the luwali.

Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible or feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior/subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many men are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, there is a conflict
183 between the subordination that most Kanuri men expect of their wives and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in
[565] the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the
[586] man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are few divorces.

885 562 described in other terms. The main distinctions for women are, fero (girl), Kamu (woman) and Kamursu (old woman). A woman (kamu) can be given descriptive attributes to place her properly in people's minds. For example, she can be kamu kwanzò mbeji (a woman with a husband, i.e. married), or sanzò ngubu or gana (older or younger). These can be extended to include statuses such as having borne children or not, having an influential family, having a rich husband, being in seclusion and so on.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term rashidi whose meaning also connotes or embodies the ideology of mature behaviour.

The ideal view of the adult female role positively evaluates marriage, durability of marriage, children, obedience to husband, proper and efficient performance of women's tasks, chastity, staying in husband's compound much of the time, and maintaining some contact with her own family as some of the more important goals towards which 183 adult females should strive. In actual practice, women who divorce 885 the least number of times give their unqualified support to the cultur- 562 al ideal of the female role. On the other hand, women who divorce 586 easily and frequently tend to qualify their support of the ideal. This contrast is illustrated by the answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband required you to stay always in the compound?" A woman, who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years, answered simply, shi kura fatobe (he is the head of the household), i.e. he is my authoritative superior and I must obey. Contrarily, a woman, who at the age of about thirty-five had married and divorced four times, replied, daji lenyin (then I would go away), i.e. divorce him.

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[586] The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of [152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari, 888 old men) and women (kamursu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

241 433 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the District Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
[571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 464 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
[586] a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
[571] year.(1) Numbers and nature of bèrzum subordinates again help determine the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
[476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and political and religious specialists, use this source of supply.(2) Finally, for those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily salaries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
241 464 571 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure availability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties or working bèrzum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).
(2) See below p. 305.

593 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict
183 between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of
[565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper
[586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali*, especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali*.

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the [582]
time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

611 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems
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182 to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 The most important social unit determined by kinship is
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000 the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a
587 statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

586 with ease. Since most men marry a number of times in the course
587 of a normal life, they are likely to marry women who have been married previously and whose earlier marriage (or marriages) has ended in divorce. An important distinction is made between a marriage with a girl who has never been married before, and marriages with women who have been married previously.

585 a) Marriage with a virgin. The adult Kanuri woman wears
302 her hair in a striking coiffure which resembles a Trojan helmet. Adolescent girls who have not yet married wear their hair in totally different fashion. Their hair-do is divided into three parts, and they are referred to as kalə yaskə, a term for their particular developmental stage which derives from the hair-do that characterizes the stage. Since very high priority is placed on virginity for a girl before marriage, a first marriage with a kalə yaskə is equivalent to marriage with a virgin.

584 Marriages are frequently arranged, but consent of both boy and girl plays a part, even in marriages in which the boy is marrying for the first time and the girl is a kalə yaskə. A boy may come to his father to say that he likes a particular girl. It frequently happens then that the boy's father will go to the house of the father of the girl, bringing presents with him, to arrange the marriage. The father of the boy may also select a particular girl as wife for his son, ask the boy if he likes the girl, then make the arrangements with the father of the
[565] girl. A talaka may marry the daughter of a very good family, if he can raise the money needed for her bride-price. The sole

585 virgin, he beats her that night, and proclaims it openly. Both
626 the girl and her mother feel shame; the husband, in turn, feels that he has been defrauded and has gotten a bad bargain. The fugurum money, however, is not repaid him. Though the Kanuri know that the hymen may be removed surgically, and that the Arabs do do this in order to make the wedding night less painful to the bride, they never do it themselves; the hymen is always forcefully broken.

585 On the following day, friends of the girl come to cook for her and for her husband, and they do this for seven days, while the bride does nothing except bathe and decorate herself while [834] visitors come to greet her. Her husband is permitted to resume having intercourse with her after four days. If he has another wife, he does not sleep with her for those seven days, nor does she cook for him during that period.

b) Marriage with a divorced woman. The above description of marriage practices represents the marriage of a man with a kalə yaskə, described as a virgin, and usually, though not always a virgin. More properly, such a marriage should be called a girl's first marriage, in contrast to subsequent marriages.
586 Should she be divorced, the woman enters a totally different cat-
587 egory in the social structure. She becomes a zogor, and marriage with a zogor is different in many respects from marriage with a kalə yaskə. The status of a man does not change significantly after a divorce, consequently there is no category for a
000 man corresponding to that of the zogor. His first marriage fre-

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalɔ yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalɔ yaskə each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalɔ yaskə takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalɔ yaskə; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalɔ yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
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587 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
548 of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
831 ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive
several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution
which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them.
A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of
weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find
themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and some-
one else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
626 new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her
status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the
freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the
attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage,
begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few
men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not
be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a
zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing
this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him,
"What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer
that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is per-
fectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife.
However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

595 en, depending on a number of factors, and the husband would wish to determine his first wife's feeling on the subject before proceeding further. He might also want to examine his own feelings toward his first wife, should the possibility arise that she might refuse to accept a second wife in the household.

[B37] Unlike the unmarried man, a married man is not supposed to sleep with a zogor before marrying her, since that would be adultery.

587 A man wishing to marry a zogor discusses the matter with her. If the marriage is acceptable to her, he pays the luwaliram money directly to her. Luwaliram for a zogor is much less than for a kalə yaskə. Whereas all marriages with a kalə yaskə involve the payment of sədagu, many marriages of a man with a zogor leave out the sədagu. Məri payment on marrying a zogor is no more than two or three shillings.

The husband-to-be buys kola nuts (goro) which he will distribute, while his wife-to-be begins buying and grinding millet which she will take with her to her new home. A zogor may buy six to eight shillings worth of millet which she pounds and grinds, and other foodstuffs such as wheat, rice, salt and pepper to take with her, but she brings less food to the new home than does a kalə yaskə.

The marriage ceremony itself is the same as that held when a kalə yaskə marries. Both husband and wife have a luwali who is responsible, in a sense, for the conduct of that person. The wedding takes place in the morning, and that evening women friends

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own
[595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this
[115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-
583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law
836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nəmgəmtəm, and is quite distinct from
587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse.
581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no
887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

587 The levirate among the Kanuri is called fatorongabe. A man must marry the widow of his elder brother (yaga); he is not permitted to marry the widow of his younger brother (karami). At the death of one's wife, one may marry her younger sister, but one is forbidden to marry her elder sister. This, too, is called fatorongabe.

2. Divorce.

586 779 The Koran has a great deal to say about divorce, particularly in Sura II ("The Cow"), and Sura LXV ("Divorce"). It specifically mentions a waiting period of four months (three full menstrual courses for the woman) to determine if the woman is pregnant before the divorce is final and the woman becomes a zogor. A man may divorce his wife twice and take her back again, but after the third time, she must marry another man before she can remarry her first husband. After the waiting period, the husband cannot maliciously retain his former wife or prevent her from marrying another man. If the husband divorces his wife before the marriage is consummated, but after the bride-price has been settled, half of the bride-price should be paid, unless the husband is released from payment, but it is more proper that the [853] husband should forego it. After a divorce, mothers with nursing children should be permitted to let the children nurse for two whole years, while they are supported by the father of the child.

Kanuri practice concerning divorce operates within the limits dictated by the Koran. The husband divorces his wife by say-

[GEIDAN]

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Table VII

Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[183]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaskə or a Zogor

	a. Present wives		b. First wife		c. All previous wives	
	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	--	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

[GEIDAM]

582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

607 Informants

[587] say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded [601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

605 [601] There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his 605 601 joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunyi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings 605 into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only [582] marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by [587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his [554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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584 encouraged to increase his bridewealth offer and also to increase his kwororam gifts to the girl's grandmother (she had no mother in the compound) in order to increase his chances of acceptability. Only after enlarging his offer and his kwororam before witnesses did the anxious suitor discover that he was the victim of a ruse, and that there was no other bidder for the girl.

The kwororam is not considered part of the bridewealth within this present discussion or by the Kanuri themselves because it is not necessarily returnable by the girl's family if the arrangements proceed no further. It is therefore exactly what its name implies, a fee or set of gifts given for the privilege of asking and smoothing out any opposition from female relatives to the future negotiations between the girl's guardian and the would-be suitor.

The kwororam applies only to non-preferential virgin marriages. It is not practised in cousin marriage because these unions are arranged
587 years before they are consummated. In non-virgin marriage the money and
[836] gifts which the man gives to the woman while he is sleeping with her, as a divorced woman, serve instead as the initiatory behaviour which may or may not lead to marriage. The man may also give small gifts of some cloth, soap, perfume, or other women's sundries to any senior female relative of the divorced woman, especially if she is quite a young girl or woman who values her elder's opinion.

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584 The Kanuri recognize that this practice has the utility of allowing some time to elapse while the parties prepare to go more deeply and seriously into creating the marriage relationship.

If there has been a kwororam, the luwaliram occurs one to three months afterwards. This payment is the largest single amount given by the male (with the aid of his supporters) to the female's group. It

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584 portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasizes the patri-
602 lateral group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliram.

587 With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliram payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliram payment.

584 With the completion of the luwaliram payment the final ar-
585 rangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada'a, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliram payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

584 If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the
691 luwaliram, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

the aid of magical devices.

Besides the greater elaboration and expense of a virgin marriage it is also distinguished by the delivery of the woman's dowry (larusa) to the groom's compound the day after the wedding. In non-virgin marriages the dowry is brought with the woman on the wedding night. This is due to the necessity of proving the virgin status of the young girl. Her material goods cannot be brought over to the husband's house until the terms of the contract are acclaimed as valid. If her virginity is questionable on the marriage night, then a litigation either in or out of court begins, wherein her status as a virgin must be re-assessed and the entire marriage arrangement re-evaluated. The whole community is witness to this validation since the successful deflowering is made public in the middle of the night or early morning by a procession of women of both families, friends and neighbours, who go round the town beating enamel basins, with a drummer in the lead. This serves as an announcement of the marriage consummation and of the discovery of the girl's virgin status by her husband. If there is no procession every one knows something is amiss. Among more traditional families, the groom announces the successful test by emerging from his hut immediately after defloration to shoot a gun into the air.

The second classification of marriage is the kanu gwojin (he takes a woman) which means marrying a woman who has already been married before and is now divorced. There is a great deal of variation in the initiation of such a marriage, but as a general rule it is carried on with much less ceremony and a far greater degree of individual choice is exercised by the couple themselves. This freedom increases with age as well as being more common for all ages (except first marriages) among the lower ranks of society. As a man and woman grow older they demand

As a man and woman grow older they demand 582
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's lumali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more
likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and author-
ity of her lumali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who
is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although [589]
not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and
restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appear-
ance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper
class woman by her lumali after her first one or two divorces than does
the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an
extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little
freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early
divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (gower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the tem- [585]
porary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless
their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few [595]
exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable
and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The excep- [589]
tions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and
thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/
or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These
factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the ex-
pression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest 600

583 Men marry if their harvest
587 money holds out longer than their shopping, and their aspirations fit their resources. Generally speaking men can obtain a wife within their price range. The variation in expense for marriage with a divorced woman is large, but is lower than a virgin marriage at any one level in the society. The entire affair can cost as low as two to four pounds ($5.60 to $11.20 in 1955-7) or approximately 11% of the smallest annual income recorded (twenty-seven pounds in cash and kind). The number of times a woman has been married and her class status determine the extent of the
587 bridewealth. One informant, a man of about 33, married a woman of similar age. The entire bridewealth did not exceed four pounds in value even though the woman was fairly "well-connected". Her father's brother, with whom she was visiting at the time of the marriage, was a court official in the District Headquarters, and she herself was an urban woman. The informant stated that the bridewealth was to be very small because, "She had been used very much", i.e. she had been married and divorced many times. This meant that her services and favours had been granted to many others, and that she was prone to this kind of behaviour. Thus, no very good assurances could be given from past performances that the projected marriage would last very long (the informant divorced her five and a half months after the wedding). Therefore no great investment in her as wife could be made.

581 Men desire wives primarily for their cooking and food-producing skills, although other factors such as culturally prescribed propriety, sexual abilities, personality attributes, family background etc. all play a part in the choice of any particular woman. Some men also claimed that they would prefer to marry high ranking, rather than wealthy women, if forced to choose between these two qualities. Women generally replied in the reverse, i.e. they would prefer to marry wealthy rather

582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. 582 584 [304] This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. If the young girl is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

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> When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

• 587 567 [593] In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced woman who was his No-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kèrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
[602] would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
[606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

[178] (1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

582 557 For example, in 1930 the District Head of Mobber, who was in grave danger of being dismissed from his position by the British, contracted a marriage with a daughter of the Wazirí of Bornu.(1) This was his own way, the Kanuri way, of attempting to strengthen his waning political position in the State. He felt that a marriage link between himself and the household of the Wazirí would make it more difficult for the higher powers to dispose of him, and would enlist the aid of the Wazirí, the second most powerful man in the Kanuri political organisation, on his [648] behalf. The British administration, however, did not take into account the feelings of fathers-in-law for sons-in-law(2) when judging political performance, and so the manoeuvre was in the end to no avail.

The nyia kam rukatabe can also refer to a marriage which is initiated purely for the sake of marrying a woman or a girl, whose attachment to ego will obviously profit him economically. She is often wealthy herself, or is a wealthy heiress. Thus a high ranking person was observed to spend a great deal of money (this might almost be termed an "investment") for a virgin girl who was the only heir of a rich old man of lower social rank to himself. Informants described this as a true nyia kam rukatabe (marriage with a rich man's girl).

582 587 557 565 By their very nature marriages of this variety are more commonly of the virgin type. However, young girls who divorce and return to the households of their luwali, as tradition prescribes, very often can be utilized for such marriages in their second or possibly even third unions. Since high ranking women are more often in seclusion there is a greater probability that successive dispensations after div-

(1) See above; chap. III.
(2) The official records do not give the actual biological linkage of the girl to the Wazirí, and it is therefore impossible to tell what kind of a ward she was in the Wazirí's household.

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587 orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to
557 return to the partial seclusion of their luwali's compound, especially
565 during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

582 Nyia sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage is sim-(1)
793 ilar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the
582 donor. In such cases much, if not all, of the gift giving by the male
793 to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in
583 connection with the formalizing ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and

(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nyia mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

58 little sweetheart and keep her until he (the informant) was grown adult enough to have her as a wife for himself. Because the bridewealth was in the range of X's family resources, X's parents decided, after having the idea suggested to them by the informant, to obtain the informant's "intended" for their son. Needless to say, they knew nothing of the informant's long term plan to marry the girl eventually himself. When the informant was nineteen or twenty, his little childhood girl friend divorced X and married him. The informant did not know whether X ever managed to marry the girl of his own childhood dreams, but thinks he did.

58 183 This rather extreme example is interesting for its illustration of how individuals growing up within a certain social structure can often work out arrangements whereby they skirt round the requirements of their culture, yet manage to maintain the system as a set of rules. The Kanuri recognize that all marriages cannot simply be lasting agreements made between groups of individuals comprised almost entirely of males, especially in Bornu where divorce is so simple and all relationships have a brittle edge.

587 The final stage in independence is reached in the last variety of marriage, Ayia kolatabe (marriage of discovery), which by its very nature is confined to non-virgin women. This is the most widespread form of marriage among the population, becoming common after the woman has had her first divorce (or second in some high ranking households). Informants claimed that in this type of marriage, "There is no arrangement, you only meet the woman somewhere and decide to marry her." [[71]] Some Kanuri equated it with the Hausa tsintuna or propertyless marriage, i.e. where the kin are not involved either in the decision to marry or the exchange of property. There is, however, a bridewealth payment by the husband-to-be which is paid to the woman herself, and the marriage is still solemnized at a sada'ż ceremony as at all weddings.

587 562 is still solemnized at a sada'è ceremony as at all weddings. With her growing freedom in life a woman exerts a progressively stronger independence in her marriage choices. It was observed (but not measured) that the rate at which this occurs in the life span of women is increasingly rapid as one descends the socio-economic scale, and increases as well with the number of divorces per woman.

567 595 To complete the discussion of types of sexual unions, it might be well to digress slightly at this point to include a brief description of concubinage. A concubine (chir) is a female slave who obtains this status as a result of her birth as a daughter to a male slave (karliya); once having been ascribed the role of chir by her birth she is groomed for a life concubinage. She is considered part of the household property, the inheritable property of the agnatic lineage of her father's owner. She may be given away as a gift to someone (without a wedding) or she can be kept in the family of her father's master. Formerly she could be sold. Once she is sexually mature she is available sexually only to her master unless her master gives her permission to marry someone, for example, another of his slaves. Any children she has as a result of union with a free man, i.e. her master, are themselves free, for slave status is determined by that of the father. This means that the slave population in Bornu is reproducing itself only through the efforts of functioning male slaves who are producing children.

A concubine is primarily a sexual partner to her master and a mark of his high status. She is also a servant to her owner's wife who may use her to do household work, carry water, etc. In several cases slave owners told of using both male and female slaves for farm labour. There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with concubines as there

1. Age Differences

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[582]
[581]

It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her [183] husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

888 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more
592 highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in
183 their old age.

Inheritance

428 The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law,(1)
and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases
[613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lin-
eage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex.
The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to
the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife
is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if
present) are entitled to one-third of the warata (inheritance) of her
(their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the ag-
natic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is
entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the
estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables,
excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are
children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, al-
though it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being
[587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If
none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any liv-
ing connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother,
which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the
closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the lar-
gest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving
children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Ruxton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its [829]
landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

888 on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women.
565 If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age,
• 589 and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in
[434] society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some
notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a uni-
[788] versal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to
775 achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many
621 religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who
621 teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own [595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

• 589 [115] Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an example of an adult female who had never married. 583 836 Common-law marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nomgamtom, and is quite distinct from 587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse. 581 887 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

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429 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the
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565 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate.(conceived out
[848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest.. Marriages with parents or their siblings, own full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

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•589 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older, a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

836 [589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a woman 582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society. 885 581 264 437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b) 581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

As a man and woman grow older they demand 582
and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters [561]
including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here 587
second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, 565
strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom 557
it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more
likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and author-
ity of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who
is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although [589]
not in purda during her divorced status must be such more delicate and
restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appear-
ance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper
class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does
the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an
extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little
freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early
divorce are rare.

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced 581
women (gower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the tem- [585]
porary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined [221]
but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless
their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few [595]
exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable
and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The excep- [589]
tions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and
thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/
or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These
factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the ex-
pression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

595 irem to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-irem), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

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[589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are a-typical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of
[125] the population than is commonly the case. The following table on num-
[361] ber of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Nguburu, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

[585] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

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available only to her husband and this turns to sexual freedom and experimentation when she is a divorced woman.(1)

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This results in much marital infidelity on the part of married men and women. As we have seen, this can take a sanctioned and an unsanctioned form for men, while for married women any extra-marital sexual intercourse is considered to be adultery. Thus X, a Magumeri man, well known for his extra-marital sex relations woke up a local official late one night and asked him to come and see the woman whom X had brought to his compound. This was to ensure public recognition of the fact that he was sleeping with a nower (divorced [593] woman) and not someone's wife. When asked what his wife thought of his behaviour X replied that she did not like it. He added that it was none of her business and she could leave him if she wished.

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On the other hand, Kamuri men are usually extremely suspicious of their wives. One man whose wife attended local dances used to come to these evening celebrations to make sure that no one shone a flashlight on his spouse while she was dancing. The only time that this did occur the husband reported the incident to the Village Head who in turn locked up the voyeur for the night. This same woman was observed on several occasions entering single men's sleeping huts while her husband was away on trading trips.

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Even one seemingly submissive woman, the wife of an upper class man, was observed to blossom out suddenly and visit strange

[589] (1) This is not meant to imply that the woman has complete freedom, even when divorced. A woman may have one or two men supporting her and sleeping with her while she is divorced (one at a time is more common), often for only periods of a week or two at a time. Women who sleep with too many men at the same time while divorced are considered bad marriage risks and tend to be regarded as acting somewhat more like a prostitute, rather than a divorced woman, who should really be going through a series of "trial" marriages, one of which will eventually lead to the real thing.

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 [369] Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatised occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognised, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a sower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 582 871 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri culture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the [586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 595 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, supposedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. 571 576 578 602 [182] Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

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Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its [829]
landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

000 ousies between his wives.

• 59 The separate nuclear families which make up the larger polygamous Kanuri family demonstrate an overall unity when one focuses attention on the household as a structural group. At the core of the household is the polygamous family, but the household may include many other individuals, both kin and non-kin.

595 855 Polygamous families also appear much more unified when one attends to the behavior of adults towards children within [152] the household. Though the presence of children is potentially the greatest source of jealousy between co-wives, particularly when one wife has borne one or more children while another has never borne a child, Kanuri attitudes and treatment of children within the household minimizes these jealousies. All women within reach of a child play with it, feed it, and watch over it. Children wander freely in and out of the houses of their father's wives (their ya chinta), and differences between co-wives are not permitted to extend to their children. In effect, children bridge rather than emphasize the gaps between co-wives and between nuclear families.

5. The Household.

592 It is a natural step to move from a consideration of the polygamous family, the central kin group in Kanuri society, to that of the household. However, though the household has the polygamous family at its core, it is not primarily a kin group.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to 577
their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Al- 571
though men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and 593
respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality [828]
to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and [861]
his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior 571
called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, 576
especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very 571
friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. 576
His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and 593
never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of 571
father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as 576
older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young 593
nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are 602
greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri [591] •
girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, 571
the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* 576
or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households [329]
through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 185
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Political Organization

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THE POLITICAL LIFE of Bornu ties togther the entire society into one overall unit so that it has an identity. As far as we know this has been the case for centuries and still is today, so that, although the Kanuri people see themselves and their society as many things, they view it primarily or basically as a political entity. To the people who live there Bornu represents a culture, a language, an ancient history, but more than anything else it represents a kingdom, or sovereign realm whose definition is political. Thus whether anyone belongs to it or not, and how one should behave within its boundaries depends first and foremost on its organization as a polity, that is, as a system in which there are recognized and legitimate means of distributing authority and making decisions at all levels of the society.

Authority distinctions are present in all organizations, and from this point of view all organizations have a political aspect. However, for our purposes it is easier to limit the discussion to the means by which decisions are made and carried out in those particular sectors of social life having some territorial or bureaucratic identity as sub-parts of the emirate government of Bornu. This excludes such things as trade groupings, like that of Ajimi's uncle described in the last chapter in which there is some hierarchy of authority, but which may not be, and often is not, located in one place. It also means that what we are discussing is a system, since each of its parts is clearly connected to the other to form a working whole. Like most other aspects of Bornu life, this system starts with the household as a basic particle and then builds onto it. It is a complicated and interwoven structure of an ancient, majestic, and yet contemporary kingdom whose stability and adaptability are monuments to men's striving for these illusive goals.

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Households, Wards, and Hamlets

As we have seen in Chapter 3 a household can expand and become a group of linked households under the superior authority of a senior man. When a young man, or a man's younger brother, or his apprentice or client, wishes to get mar-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

582 369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.

582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-[833] sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy [591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
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152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
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369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is considerable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of younger people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

h. The Family.

As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

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602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kasai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kasai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kasai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different [591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the [428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on [671] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanum (your [603] mother) or yanzé (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Buxton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

171 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers (1) 66.
602 for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system.

602 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent sys-
433 tem would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organization for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations
571 in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is
[433] quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organization of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organization in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her rela-
[591] tives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom
[572] of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

571 602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-anan.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalized pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their mother just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most int[illegible] and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if t[illegible]erson lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no preference to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

855 591 553 553 602

553 602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bèrzum) because there is no bèrzum, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of some respect (bèrzum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocality of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the yeiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

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It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

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[241] These three compound heads all farm near one another on the split-up land of their Mo-Bro (they also have cleared other plots), often helping one another in farming duties. They present a united front to the community at large and if one appears in court, the others will also be present.

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593 The youngest half-brother also learned the butcher's craft, but he has married and moved away to another section of the butcher's quarter and today has virtually nothing to do with his three half-brothers. Some of this half-brother's statements indicate the background of disunity among siblings. He had been raised until puberty in the house of X who was married to his Mo-Sis in the capital. After puberty he came to the house of his Mo-Bro in Magumeri, who was now dead and whose place as compound head had been
592 taken by the eldest of the half-brothers. This brother "taught him
593 the knife" (i.e. instructed him in butchering) and he in his turn
874 gave bárzum (respect) to the half-brother, who was now also his compound head. Here is a paraphrase translation of his own attitude to the relationship:

> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother, who was head of the house — therefore I had to give to my brother the same respect as a father and keep myself under his orders. I wanted a wife (all my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my eldest brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation properly — he said — continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse, and learn the butcher's trade and I will feed you and give you money for spending and buy your clothes. But I was not happy and saved my money in secret and saved enough to take a wife of my own — they were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage but he still wished for me to stay in the compound — but I did not wish to do this and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my Mo-Sis in Maiduguri, owned here in the butcher's quarter.

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He has now obtained some farmland from a friend and all his primary relationships are with non-kin members (X is dead). His extreme youth, plus his absence at the time of the Mo-Bro death as compared with his brothers' presence in the compound, left him out of the inheritance and allowed the three half-brothers to parcel out the farmland among themselves. He feels today that there is gadena mbeji, a difference or bad feeling between him and his half-brothers.

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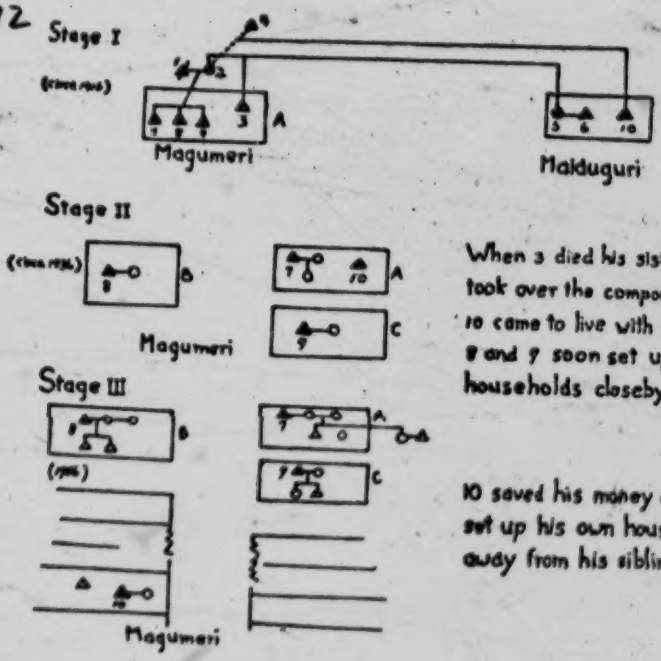
The following diagram illustrates the processes of the above example.



Legend:

(1) Mo-dead-husband: (2) Mo; (3) Mo-Bro: (4) Mo-next-husband (divorced later): (5) Mo-Sis: (6) Mo-Sis-Hu: (7), (8), (9) full siblings: (10) half-sibling to 7, 8, 9.

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Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs [591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up [621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of bərzum its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

CHAPTER V [p. 99]

Marriage Relations

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Kanuri marriages are virilocal from the point of view of the woman, which means that she always leaves her residence to live in the compound of her husband. From the point of view of the man, marriages are patrilocal or neolocal. Thus a man either brings his wife to the compound of his father or very close to it, or else takes his wife to a new residence away from the residences of both their kin groups. Thirty-eight out of sixty-one informants in Magumeri reported bringing their first wives to the house of their own father or setting up a contiguous compound. For successive wives the number dropped to about one-half of those asked.

584 429 The inception of the first marriage for young girls is decided upon by her family and chiefly among these her luwali or guardian,(1) who is most commonly the head of the household in which the girl is living at the time of her marriage. A luwali can stand in various relational positions to the young girl - he may be her father, her elder brother, her cross-cousin, or patrilateral parallel-cousin, or adoptive parent. When the household head is not the luwali, which can occur for example in the case of cousin wardship, then the luwali still has the rights of marriage dispensation over the girl. Indeed he would take anyone to court who tried to inveigle these rights away from him. Although such cases are known they are quite rare.

581 429 The luwali's choice of potential husband is based on the availability of males seeking virgin wives plus his desire to create profitable relationships for himself. If he is a high status person, his wife-giving rights will be used most commonly to tie political and/or

(1) C.F., "lugali" in Ellision, R.E., Marriage and Childbirth Among the Kanuri, Africa; Vol. 9, 1936, pp. 524-535.

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 601 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bawa (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

• 591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 571 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance —— no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif- 881 582 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (bèrzum), joking (suli), and friendship (nunkam). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the bèrzum relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of bèrzum and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

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591 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time, birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

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592 These structural features are in their turn functions of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali,* (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household) and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its [829]
landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households
through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in
terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages,
cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty
percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his
wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's
compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by
after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own
children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring
their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself
the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in
Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the
male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the
land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man
with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he
kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a
special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power.
The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually
one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the
household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful
upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much
junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that
some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change
hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated
by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 uses it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather
593 than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for
592 more than one generation.
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> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, ". . . continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances. An-
554 other informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of
592 people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

592 About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two un-
571 married adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

000 The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bər-*

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 takes place. Here an individual learns the modes of behavior towards others that he
571 requires for an adequate and successful social life in Kanuri society. The kinship
601 system, the family, and the household produce individuals who can live in other
182 households; and using the basic modes of behavior from household life they can participate in the widely ramified political and economic organization of their society. Thus kinship, family, and household—but most importantly the household and the superior-subordinate relations within it—provide a basis and a locus for maintaining the society and its values in their present form.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

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192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[8] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

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888 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
[826] though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[8] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

5

The Economic Life

121 433 NO MATTER WHERE or who they are the members of every human society must have some means by which they obtain the material goods and services deemed valuable and important to their way of life. How these goods are produced, distributed, and consumed forms the basis of the economic system of any society. However, for our present purposes the details of production are beside the point, for they deal with the local technology rather than the economy in the sense that this economy is part of the social system. Therefore, I will restrict the present chapter to the various units of Kanuri economy and its interrelationships which provide the means by which economic life is successfully carried on in Bornu.

433 The Kanuri do not have factories to produce goods, there are only a few large trading companies, and there are even fewer large institutional consumers of goods and services such as hospitals, schools, factories, armed forces, hotels, and so on. The bulk of the people is spread out over the entire area of Bornu in small [162] towns and hamlets, and even in the few cities the basic economic facts of life for most of the households are very similar to those throughout the entire area. Villages and hamlets are only economic units to the extent that they have boundaries, and all the land is held by virtue of one's residence in a particular village or hamlet. However towns do not act corporately for most economic purposes. That is to say they do not buy and sell things as units, they do not organize the production of goods as units, nor do they organize the distribution of goods and services within or between villages as units. The only level at which this is done consistently [592] throughout the society is at the level of the household whose members do form themselves into a unit of production and consumption.

592 It is important to remember from Chapter 3 that a household is not the same thing as the family. Very high divorce and fairly high mobility of the household members in general means that the people living in a Kanuri household can and do change a great deal over time. The economic life of the household, however, may not have changed at all. Just as personnel turnover does not change the basic nature of a business firm in western society, so does it have little effect on the jobs to be done and how they are carried out in a Kanuri household.

[433] There are other units in the economy, and as we describe the major features

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

592 462 the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the house-
[434] hold. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

592 511 Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously
[184] from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those
[264] in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their
[369] male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among
[264] salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish
[262] the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

592 261 To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He
571 would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have com-
576 plained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

000 Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[436] [1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from
434 village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
571 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's
[123] client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can farm; he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land may be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer, simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings. As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering. These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers. 463 467

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity. 463 591 621

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even international competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 463 465 438 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craftworker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one section of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and affords them some means of livelihood in the community. 463 433 [412] [592] [438] 463 [732] [443] [434]

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that 438 439 [433]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

463 592 158 57 [253] [554] [171] their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. [428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the [241] other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] [964] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also [434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

463 592 571 253 159 434 The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have [221] [572] markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

[221] Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 443 43 [455] in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 443 445 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 [192] [103] Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week [796] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you 443 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one 484 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy 438 trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

1: Cohen E-4.5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household. 441 466 452 472 571 592 159

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities. 441 439 471 177

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block. 433 178 [258] [253] [556] [342] [339]

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States. [454] [472]

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Political Organization

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THE POLITICAL LIFE of Bornu ties togther the entire society into one overall unit so that it has an identity. As far as we know this has been the case for centuries and still is today, so that, although the Kanuri people see themselves and their society as many things, they view it primarily or basically as a political entity. To the people who live there Bornu represents a culture, a language, an ancient history, but more than anything else it represents a kingdom, or sovereign realm whose definition is political. Thus whether anyone belongs to it or not, and how one should behave within its boundaries depends first and foremost on its organization as a polity, that is, as a system in which there are recognized and legitimate means of distributing authority and making decisions at all levels of the society.

Authority distinctions are present in all organizations, and from this point of view all organizations have a political aspect. However, for our purposes it is easier to limit the discussion to the means by which decisions are made and carried out in those particular sectors of social life having some territorial or bureaucratic identity as sub-parts of the emirate government of Bornu. This excludes such things as trade groupings, like that of Ajimi's uncle described in the last chapter in which there is some hierarchy of authority, but which may not be, and often is not, located in one place. It also means that what we are discussing is a system, since each of its parts is clearly connected to the other to form a working whole. Like most other aspects of Bornu life, this system starts with the household as a basic particle and then builds onto it. It is a complicated and interwoven structure of an ancient, majestic, and yet contemporary kingdom whose stability and adaptability are monuments to men's striving for these illusive goals.

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Households, Wards, and Hamlets

As we have seen in Chapter 3 a household can expand and become a group of linked households under the superior authority of a senior man. When a young man, or a man's younger brother, or his apprentice or client, wishes to get mar-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
[578] are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
[627] outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
[692] in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in
all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
[103] either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
[651] present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken
by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
622 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
159 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
62 that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
[627] tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not ac-
[692] cepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such
discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
[592] named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few
[571] unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these com-
[651] pounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he
recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always
[692] consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link
[592] the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

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622 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such
[633] as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced. 632 [62] [622]

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan. [651] [692]

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge. 632 622 621 592 571

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate. 632 571 621 [642]

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government. [692] [166]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waziri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by 634 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors 662 who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of 592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound [342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in [361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to 634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol- 592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men 571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants 571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci- 634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully 571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis- 578 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize 634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci- 571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan 578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil- 632

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

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7

Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the
121 trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business en-
182 terprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same house-
• 592 hold. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks
829 in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live
44 there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to
571 behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of
121 Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle
178 the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators
[648] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding
[177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

369 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists
632 of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at
121 the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less
[622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village.
[463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors.
[622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger,
[565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are
[595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and
[592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and
342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sagdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

000 near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth
591 differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is consid-
369 erable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out
166 on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of young-
183 er people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

591 When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter
888 can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may
[592] build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

4. The Family.

596 As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital
592 residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zəgəsə (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zəgəsə are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband 422 593 usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household possessions. [586] He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

ousies between his wives.

59 The separate nuclear families which make up the larger polygamous Kanuri family demonstrate an overall unity when one focuses attention on the household as a structural group. At the core of the household is the polygamous family, but the household may include many other individuals, both kin and non-kin.

595 855 Polygamous families also appear much more unified when one attends to the behavior of adults towards children within [152] the household. Though the presence of children is potentially the greatest source of jealousy between co-wives, particularly when one wife has borne one or more children while another has never borne a child, Kanuri attitudes and treatment of children within the household minimizes these jealousies. All women within reach of a child play with it, feed it, and watch over it. Children wander freely in and out of the houses of their father's wives (their ya chinta), and differences between co-wives are not permitted to extend to their children. In effect, children bridge rather than emphasize the gaps between co-wives and between nuclear families.

5. The Household.

592 It is a natural step to move from a consideration of the polygamous family, the central kin group in Kanuri society, to that of the household. However, though the household has the polygamous family at its core, it is not primarily a kin group.

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It fol-
[595] lows, too, that under those circumstances the household is small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

592 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extend-
565 ed discussion will be reserved for a later point.
369

351 To this point the compound has been described as an area
392 enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanə fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zogəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zogəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty
567 (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population
[565] do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

592 567 particularly acknowledges the relationship between them, unless the slave should be in the direct presence of the man who he knows is his master. However, the relationship between master and slave determines the behavior of both at all times, when
592 567 595 the slave is part of his master's household. A female slave may be chosen as a concubine (chir) by her master. She then becomes part of his household. Though a man may have no more than four wives, he may have any number of concubines. A chir enters into a special class of concubines when she becomes a <u>murshe</u>. She is then given a house of her own, and has a distinct legal status, slightly different from that of a wife, but with its own strictly defined rights and obligations. Like a wife, a murshe must have her own house. A husband spends one night with a murshe, and two with a wife, in regular rotation. However, here the husband has an option--he may spend no more than one night with each murshe, but if angry at a particular one, he may pass her by. The murshe prepares the master's food on the day when it is her turn to sleep with him, just as a wife would do. She also shares in all the economic tasks which fall to the woman in a household.

592 567 565 The household of aristocracy, therefore, may include slaves, both male and female. Male slaves (<u>kelya</u>) may be young boys and youths who live in the forok area of the compound, or they may be married men who live with their own nuclear families in areas of the compound alotted to them, and are included, along with their families, as part of the master's household. Female

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's chibuna). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

592 In addition to the formal relationships between master and slave, and between adopted son and chibuna, described above, there are informal ways through which an individual may become attached to a household. Every adult must be attached to some 592 household. Since the minimal household is represented by a man 586 and his wife, a divorced couple marks the end of their household. Each of them, man and woman, must now attach himself to another household. The primary reason for this is economic--and it makes itself felt immediately in the problem of food. [462] A man without a wife has no one to cook for him. Since no Kanuri man would ever cook for himself (cooking and preparation of food are tasks confined to women), he must attach himself to the household of a friend, neighbor, or close relative, [156] and regularly take his meals there. However, it is somewhat shameful to continue on in this position, and a man who had recently divorced his wife tends to take another wife before long, thereby re-establishing his own household. The woman, after a divorce, goes back to her luwali, and becomes a zogor who lives in his household until she remarries. She, too, becomes a temporary member of her luwali's household and takes her meals with the women of that household. The luwali has the responsibility of offering a roof to his ward after her divorce, and it is not uncommon to find a zogor living for a time as a part of a large household. Men will regularly come to court her, and in time she will remarry and leave her luwali's household.

000 There is still another way to become part of a large house-

There is still another way to become part of a large house-
592 hold. This is the most informal of the various sets of rela-
369 tionships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is ex-
369 tremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
874 some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
463 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector,
571 and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as tata njima, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the kəmanzə fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with shelter and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce, both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

592 pected to provide for the larger needs of members of his house-
571 hold--to provide education for the gifted, or to give a donkey or horse to a particular household member so that he may more effectively perform his tasks. The obligations of one set of the pair, the master of the house for example, becomes the expectation of his counterpart, the tata njima. Conversely the master expects that the tata njima will fulfill his obligations
[567] to the household. In the case of slaves, obligations are more binding on both sides than in the case of tata njima. A master who recognizes his obligations to a slave is ultimately bound to provide for him. A tata njima who fulfills the expectations of his master can expect to be given greater responsibilities, in accordance with his master's position. However, a tata njima who does not fulfill his master's expectations (i.e., does not properly perform his obligations), can expect to have responsibilities taken from him, and less desirable tasks thrust upon
592 him. Should he radically violate his master's trust he may be
571 expelled from the household, and the relationship between tata
464 njima and master of the house is abruptly ended. This is far
[626] more serious than merely being unemployed. An adolescent who finds himself in such a position attempts to become attached to another household, that of a less important man, in which he occupies a more lowly position. It is imperative that he be attached to some household, particularly if he is a young man with not enough savings set aside to provide for a decent luwaliram. Should he be unsuccessful in finding another household for him-

592 464 571 self, he may become part of the small but growing proletariat in the cities, who work for wages for a European company.

592 571 It is interesting to note that under normal circumstances the relationship between the tata njima and the head of a household can be perpetuated after the tata njima has married and has set up his own small household--with his wife and children. The master of his household provides him with a bride since he has paid the luwaliram, and though the tata (son) has left the compound itself, he continues to acknowledge the relationship. He does this by returning regularly to eat at his master's house. [264] Patterns of eating form wide circles encompassing many households at times, and delineating a wider network of relationships. 592 571 182 The nature of the relationship between individuals outlined here is at the core of Kanuri social structure. It characterizes a social relationship, as well as an economic and political relationship; it is repeated at every level of Kanuri society, and in slightly different form it epitomizes the nature of political relations at the state level as well.

592 To recapitulate briefly, the household as a social unit may include the following classes of people:

1. An adult married male--master of the household.
2. Remainder of the nuclear family--his wife or wives and their children.
3. Members of the extended family--elderly parents.
4. Adopted children--either given to relatives (and therefore also part of the extended family), or given to chibuna.

• 592

5. Slaves--both male and female; chirs and their children.

6. Zogors and bachelors, as temporary members.

7. Tata njima--non-kin.

8. Malams of the Koran--taken in, and provided with a house and food, as an act of charity.

592 The term yal is used for members of the household who are not
571 close kinsmen of the household head. This group, some of whom
554 are necessarily present while others are occasionally found, some permanent and others temporary, some kinsmen and others not, forms the central social unit in Kanuri society. Its size and its composition reflects the status of the household head in the larger society, in terms of both the old and traditional system of social stratification, and in terms of present-day
[156] realities and opportunities. The solidarity of the household as a unit also reflects the ability of the household head to satisfy the expectations of the various members of his household, and consequently to live up to his own view of himself and his status in Kanuri society. In order to satisfy his wives, his slaves, his tata njima, and to induce people to name sons after him, he must be in a position, economically and politically, which will permit him to meet expectations. They, in turn will labor for him, and by their labors, as well as by their very presence as part of his household, the members of his household will help the household head to validate his status in the society.

565
556 The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of
436 money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money
437
[425] is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.
46 Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to
556 Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through eco-
565 nomic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at
46 a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri
556 household, is what one must do for one's household head; the
• 592 head in return must provide for household members in various
565 ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

554 Respect or prestige (Kanuri: <u>barzəm</u> or <u>dareja</u>) is a qual-
565 ity assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

175 554 565 [642] [556] [651] 175 554 565 567

their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But, interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.

554 565 592

Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which determine social position are shared by an entire household, and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

175 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The <u>gawi</u>
567 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
554 new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
[304] was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
175 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
567 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The
554 susana of an important noble shares some of that importance
592 by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
428 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
567 free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
567 themselves free. A slave says "<u>kəmanyi</u>" (my lord) to his mas-
576 ter, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to
178 Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

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425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for 425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal 695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 565 592 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head [465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment 241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some 565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and 464 [178] may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap- 241 proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm 427 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced. 241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him. 634 [423] Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to

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44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438
439 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
563 Kanuri-style gowns, bajis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
[415] ly, Buduwal, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439
177 process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439
177 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
952 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balosma in Kanuri terms.
[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[971] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

44 439 remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The
276 Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his
• [582] household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle.
439 Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since
[233] large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in
439 importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos
563

have an adequate home at the time.

634 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima
351 Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table
592 XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zagosa of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 The principles of household affiliation have been de-
565 scribed in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual
554 composition of forty-three households is presented. In each
463 row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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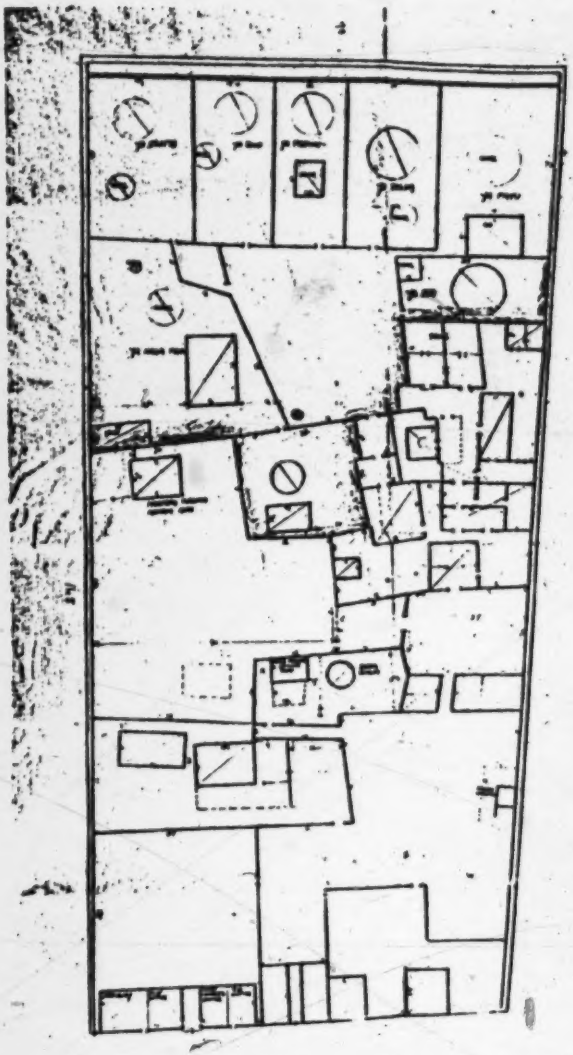

Figure 4 - Diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha.

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Table XIIa

Household Composition

	wives	children	tata nlima	relatives	wife's relatives	sogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Aristocracy (minus Yerima)	2	1	1	-	WiYoSi	ElBrDa	1	-	4	8
	1	1	2	Fa cou	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 friend's children	3	7
Koranic Malams	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7
	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	student	2	7
Canteen Traders	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	-	0	5
	2	0	-	YoBr + Wi	-	-	-	-	6	9
	3	1	2	YoBr+Wi+Da	-	-	2	-	4	9
	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
	2	0	5	-	-	-	-	friend+Wi	7	10
	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	malam+Wi: 5 students	11	19
NA Malams	1 (1 chir)	1	7	YoBr;YoSi	-	1	-	-	10	14
	2	2	-	YoBr	-	-	-	Fa's chibuna + Wi	3	8
	1	1	-	2 YoBr	WiYoSi	-	-	-	3	6
	2	2	2	ElBrSo	(ElWiYoBr (ElWiYoSi	1	-	-	6	11
	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
	1	-	1	FaBrSo	-	cousin	-	-	3	5

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Table XIIa (continued)

	wives	children	tata hlima	relatives	wife's relatives	sogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Kabuna	2	0	1	-	-	YoWiYoSi	-	YoWi's chibuna	3	6
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	0	0	-	-	-	YoSi	-	-	1	2
	2	3	1	ElBrSo	-	-	-	-	2	8
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	1	0	2	Mo	-	-	-	-	2	5
Craftsmen	1	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	2	0	-	MoBrSo	-	-	-	-	1	4
	2	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
Talaka	1	0	-	-	-	-	ElBrSo	-	1	3
	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	0	0	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	Wi's gr.so	-	-	-	1	3
Low-status	0	0	-	(lives in ElBr's house)					-	4
	1	0	-	-	WiElBrDa	-	-	-	1	3
	1	0	-	2 YoSi cousin	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3

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Table XIIb

Summary of Household Composition Table (XIIa)

Totals for 43 households:

38 Tata njima

21 relatives of household head: 3 Mo; 6 YoBr (2 with wives, 1 YoBrDa); 3 YoSi; 2 ElBrSo; 4 cousins

6 relatives of wife of household head: 3 WiYoSi; 1 WiYoBr; 1 WiElBrDa; 1 Wi's grandson.

7 zogors: 4 relatives; 3 not family.

6 chibuna

16 others: comprising - Wi's chibuna; Fa's chibuna + Wife; malam + Wi and 5 students; friend + Wi; 3 friends' children; student of Koranic malam.

Mean Number of Tata Njima and mean number of Non-nuclear family in Household

	Tata Njima	Yal Members	Mean size of Total Household
Aristocracy (- Yerima)	1.8	3.5	7.0
Koranic Malams	0	.67	6.67
Canteen Traders	1.5	4.67	10.2
NA Malams	1.8	4.3	8.2
Kabuna	.67	1.3	4.5
Craftsmen	1.0	1.2	3.5
Talaka	.13	.5	2.75
Low-status	0	1.0	3.75

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592 of Yerima Mustapha is not included.)

565 554 463 Household composition has been broken down into the following categories: wives and children (which have already been discussed), tata njima, relatives of the household head, relatives of the wives of the household head, zogors, chibuna named after the household head, and miscellaneous others. The term yal refers to members of the household who are not part of the nuclear families of the household head. The final column gives the total size for each of the forty-three households in the table. It may be seen that household size ranges from two to nineteen members.

Table XIIb presents a summary of the information in Table XIIa. There are 38 tata njima attached to the present 43 households, but in looking at the mean number of tata njima in the various categories, it is apparent that they are found largely in four categories: those of the aristocracy, the canteen traders, the NA Malams and the craftsmen. Tata njima included in Table XIIa are only those actually living in the compound of the household head. The canteen traders in particular have a number of tata njima who are married and live in their own compounds but return to their "master's" house to eat their meals. These have not been included here. Relatives of the household head are primarily younger siblings (6 YoBr; 3 YoSi) and some even have their wives and children with them. There are three cases of mothers living with mar-
592 ried sons, but no fathers. In no case of the present 44

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592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson. 592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat- 586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away 597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are 565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in 463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named [553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one 592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that 597

592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads. 597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that 592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals 565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household 554 463 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of [162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

593 over the leadership of the compound then for all intents and purposes the older brother must be treated by his younger siblings in a very similar manner to a parent. If the age disparity is not very great then the situation may be ameliorated although here [592] personality factors may enter into the situation. In one case of male twins the father had died, and because of a dominance-submission interaction between the two men, the second born but dominant twin had become the accepted head of the compound. Later when the submissive twin left to form his own compound nearby, he remained in close economic subordination to his brother.

Many informants felt that the discipline-respect relation of junior and senior siblings, real and classificatory, was at best a tenuous one, especially between males. The following example illustrates how culture contact can operate to increase the fragility of the sibling relationship. An informant who was employed by the N.A. obtained a job for his Fa-Bro-So as his assistant in the bush. The senior in the relationship was finding it extremely difficult to make the junior do any work, or take any instructions seriously. The junior complained privately that he was being mistreated and poorly used by the senior, who he said was not giving him enough to eat. Finally the relationship was severed and the junior (classifi-
593 465 catory) sibling left to go to the provincial capital. These difficulties were accentuated by the differences in remuneration patterning between European and Kanuri cultures. The senior had been getting monthly pay and an allowance for his sibling assistant which he turned over to the boy. The youngster promptly spent the money and expected to be supported all through the rest of the month

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In interpersonal relations in the society at large aman or trust is most often used in the patrilateral sense of the word when social organization is involved. Thus, in the anthropologist's household, one of the members who developed yearnings for the women of the other household members, and was suspected of taking ways, became increasingly estranged from the general corpus of the household personnel. The comments about him, most often muttered under their breaths by the others, were "aman ba", no trust, and "shim ngumdu" narrow eyes, i.e. no proper feelings of shame and respect. That is to say, he neglected or rejected the proper rules of trust behaviour which should be practised by a person living in a household unit. Thus aman (trust) in the patrilateral sense is the working mechanism of bàrzum (respect). Bàrzum as a formal or structural behaviour norm can often be tied to nona, to pay one's respects to a superior, but when it includes aman it is a more functional and purposeful interaction and is tied into the successful or unsuccessful operation of interpersonal relations. Consequently, when the two are linked together, i.e. when a respect relationship also involves patri-aman, its neglect or infringement causes a judgment of lack of "proper" respect to be placed on the head of the individual offender who breaks faith. To the Kanuri then, the best respect, the real respect relationship involves aman, and without this essential feature the relationship is more formal than functional. Here again the concept of a continuum is useful in filling out the complex variability of the respect relation. In terms of utility, the respect relation runs from extremely little, which is symbolized in nona, (paying one's respects to a superior), through to aman, (trusting a superior and being loyal to him), in return for the support and maintenance he can bestow. The value of these different aspects of respect both functionally to the

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829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendship relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalised recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealised Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

592 Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion
[571] that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal rela-
[602] tions in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realized that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily
592 identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass
351 matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

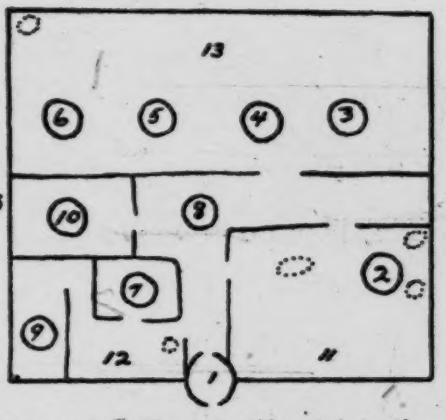
592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

592 181 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri household, although it is an example which was actually observed.(1) It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
[595] 4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
[343] 11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area
dotted lines show granaries



592 Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the [736] wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

[595] [823] (1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magumeri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organization with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents, will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for pol-
125 itical reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

592 571 [593] because of the eventual high status position he can look forward to upon the death of his father. Again he has a strong affective tie with his mother, i.e., his father's senior wife. In this case the compound split is merely a segmentary process which is reproducing the pattern. The son will attempt to set up a similar household to that from which he came.

592 593 571 Another alternative takes place when a household head dies leaving several sons or heirs. The sons may remain in the compound area with the senior as the nominal head. However, as soon as each of the brothers begins creating his own nuclear family the original pattern begins to reassert itself, and hiving off takes place which is commonly noticeable in the re-arrangement of compound walls, or the emergence of new ones. The degree to which the brothers remain together is very often a measure of the genealogical distance between them through the father's line. Informants state that full brothers have a much greater chance of remaining in the same compound or near one another than other types of siblings. [578] The conflicts over inheritance and the loyalties to different widowed mothers tend to create a somewhat stronger fissionable force in the case of half-siblings of the same dead father. In the opposite case where the widowed mother is the same, but the co-resident siblings are of different fathers, then only the offspring of the dead father have any claim to the inheritance. The half-siblings of this variety generally do not remain together since they have different patrilateral kinship affiliations. This does not mean to imply that half-siblings of different fathers are unfriendly to one another. In actual fact the reverse seems to be the case. However, ego's interests and sense

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by [587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his [554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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[241] These three compound heads all farm near one another on the split-up land of their Mo-Bro (they also have cleared other plots), often helping one another in farming duties. They present a united front to the community at large and if one appears in court, the others will also be present.

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593 The youngest half-brother also learned the butcher's craft, but he has married and moved away to another section of the butcher's quarter and today has virtually nothing to do with his three half-brothers. Some of this half-brother's statements indicate the background of disunity among siblings. He had been raised until puberty in the house of X who was married to his Mo-Sis in the capital. After puberty he came to the house of his Mo-Bro in Magumeri, who was now dead and whose place as compound head had been
592 taken by the eldest of the half-brothers. This brother "taught him
593 the knife" (i.e. instructed him in butchering) and he in his turn
874 gave bárzum (respect) to the half-brother, who was now also his compound head. Here is a paraphrase translation of his own attitude to the relationship:

> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother, who was head of the house — therefore I had to give to my brother the same respect as a father and keep myself under his orders. I wanted a wife (all my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my eldest brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation properly — he said — continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse, and learn the butcher's trade and I will feed you and give you money for spending and buy your clothes. But I was not happy and saved my money in secret and saved enough to take a wife of my own — they were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage but he still wished for me to stay in the compound — but I did not wish to do this and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my Mo-Sis in Maiduguri, owned here in the butcher's quarter.

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[428]

He has now obtained some farmland from a friend and all his primary relationships are with non-kin members (X is dead). His extreme youth, plus his absence at the time of the Mo-Bro death as compared with his brothers' presence in the compound, left him out of the inheritance and allowed the three half-brothers to parcel out the farmland among themselves. He feels today that there is gàdena mbeji, a difference or bad feeling between him and his half-brothers.

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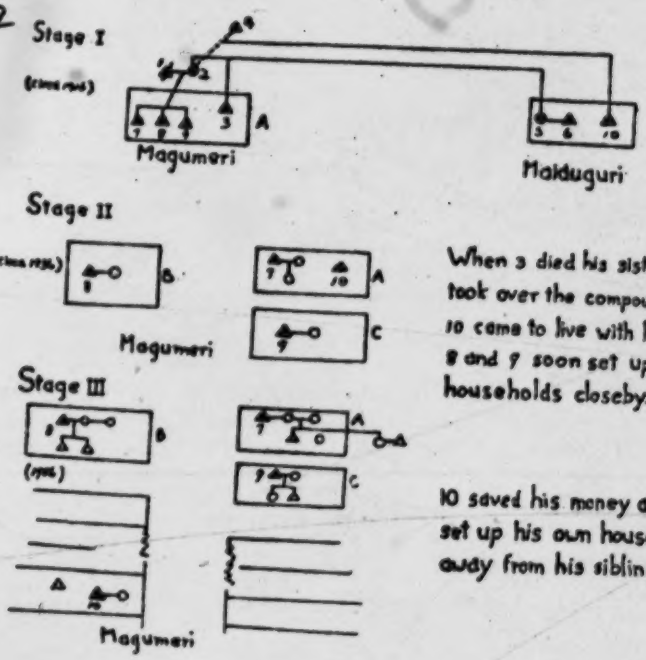
The following diagram illustrates the processes of the above example.



Legend:

(1) Mo-dead-husband: (2) Mo; (3) Mo-Bro: (4) Mo-next-husband (divorced later): (5) Mo-Sis: (6) Mo-Sis-Hu: (7), (8), (9) full siblings: (10) half-sibling to 7, 8, 9.

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Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs [591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up [621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of bèrzum its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

592 593 602 als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensitivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms 592 593 of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the fatherhead of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

593 596 591 Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal extended family grouping,[1] the son (7) will soon be moving out to form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

[1] [cf. p. 86]

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557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is
[554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

556 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to
592 have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large
621 group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
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571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

3. Length of Marriage

593 The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leaven gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

593 With the longer term of residence in the husband's com-
592 pound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the
602 patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

593 This variety of long term marriage is more common among the
[565] upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with
[595] their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
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454 into old age.

888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
• 592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
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[596] for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

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592 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more
183 highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in their old age.

Inheritance

428 The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law,(1) and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases
[613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lineage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex. The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if present) are entitled to one-third of the warata (inheritance) of her (their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the agnatic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables, excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, although it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being
[587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any living connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother, which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the largest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Ruxton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

[p. 265]

Chapter IX

The Economic Life

• 592 For purposes of consumption and production the basic unit among the Kanuri is the household group consisting of a man, his wife 128 or wives, and their children. Since the external and internal social relations of household groups has formed a major part of the study up to this point these data are omitted from the present discussion. This allows us to deal with the "bare bones" of economic activity and to ask questions about the patterns of consumption, production and distribution of goods and services. Where economic activities are set into heretofore unmentioned forms of social organization such as occurs in the distributive sector, then these structures are described and related to the economic activity being analysed.

121 For purposes of the present analysis, consumption is operationally equated with all behaviour pertaining to those things acquired through the expenditure of capital resources as these are known to the Kanuri; production refers to those activities from which income is derived in cash and kind, excluding trade; and distribution includes those activities by which the movement of goods and services is accomplished from producers to consumers.

829 It should be noted here that this classification is an arbitrary one in terms of Bornu culture. To the Kanuri, consumption comes under the linguistic rubric of swo manyen (things we need), while production and distribution are lumped together as sanya (occupations). Where an individual has two occupations such as farmer and craftsman, or farmer and trader, he most often reports his non-farming activity as his sanya.

000 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant

12 in choosing households.(1) An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of • 592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Its economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

462 592 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking [434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

[114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labour-
[463] ers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics,
[177] clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European
562 origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say
592 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving
562 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery
323 production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/
000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>serwa</u> (co-

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kagumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fèlongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two 433 calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

461 on the gourds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

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415 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

• 592 <u>Ka'anami's Compound</u>
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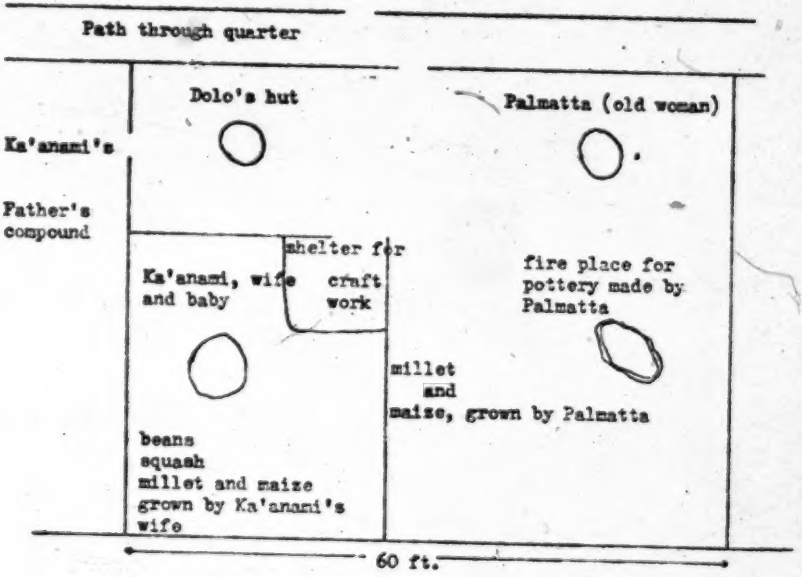

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as muhh respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the Kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential

592 461 in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Mukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists (1) provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups (2) reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

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511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).
(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (bèrzum), joking (suli), and friendship (nuskam). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the bèrzum relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of bèrzum and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

602 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent
571 in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time,
591 birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

602 These structural features are in their turn functions of
571
592

602
571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
• 592 groupings. This brings us back to bèrzum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the subordinates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
[426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories, virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life,
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus, to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are
592 heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592• [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali*, especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali*.

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style [582]
schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
58 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[835] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

58 often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and
159 so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose
[832] magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali,* (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

183 The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in
586 and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

592 By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great
593 deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their
512 friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

593 In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household)
562 and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave
565 the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

For the most part relations between husbands and wives are highly formalized. They avoid using one another's names in conversation. In public only the most necessary interaction takes place between them when other people are around. Women walk generally behind their husbands when the two are going somewhere together, and even in the household the woman remains or should remain inside the compound. When he is not working, the husband sits most often in the entrance hut or in front of his household. A visit to a Kanuri household brings the husband to the entrance hut if he is inside, and at the same time the wife retreats out of sight. For the most part women remain in the company of women, and men with men. Only in a few rare cases have I ever observed public expressions of friendliness between a husband and a wife. 593 576 562

Cultural tradition has ordained that men are the dominant members of society, and women, more specifically wives, are to be submissive. This is both Islamic and Kanuri. It is good and seemly for a woman to obey her husband and to appear humble in his presence. Men decide where the family is to live, who a daughter is to marry, and a multitude of day-to-day questions on every aspect of family life. For a wife or indeed any family member to make a decision without consulting the husband-father is asking for trouble. Disputes between a husband and a wife, in which a man can refer to a breech of his authority as the cause of the disagreement, are invariably settled in his favor and might include physical punishment by the husband if the wife is very young. Thus a district head ruled against the plaintiffs in a case in which the husband had been accused by the wife's relatives of a beating which he had administered to her. The district head stated that the girl had been grossly disobedient and that it was the husband's right to punish such acts, especially in one so very young who was still learning how to be a proper wife. 593 [562]

One out of every two Kanuri marriages is a polygynous one. Thus a woman is very likely sometime during her life to be in a situation in which she is one of two or more co-wives. Relations between co-wives is governed by strict codes of procedure. Each wife has her own hut in the back area of the compound farthest from the entrance hut or gate. Each wife cooks her own food and raises her own children who sleep in her hut while they are small. When co-wives go abroad as a group to the wells or to a ceremony, the senior wife—the one married to the husband-in-common for the longest time—takes the lead with the other wives behind in a single file. Then come the female children in terms of their own relative ages. During a family ceremony the senior wife is the authoritative head of the women's section and directs the work of the others. Relations with the husband are strictly regulated. The general rule is that each wife performs her duties from sunset to sunset and the evening meal is taken after sunset. Every wife takes her own turn cooking the husband's food and that night she visits him in his hut. He may or may not have intercourse with her, but he must try to share sexual favors as equally as possible or else word about it will spread around in the family and cause tension between wives. 595

Although it is very rare to observe cases of long-standing co-wife relations because of the high amount of divorce in Bornu, the Kanuri always say that co-wives can become very good friends if they remain married to the same man for a long period of time. On the other hand it is fairly easy to observe co-wife relations that are stiff, formal, and even tense and hostile. One woman whom I know actual-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very 597 common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' com- [562] pound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed 837 this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes [521] about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their 593 own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband 586 and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

rare circumstances women themselves initiate the proceedings by announcing the divorce, although this is usually done with a circumlocution such as when she says, as one woman did, "There is nothing holding us together but these gifts that you have given me. Take them. I wish to go." 593 586

About eighty to ninety percent of all marriages end in divorce, probably because it is such a simple affair. The husband in most cases simply tells the wife to go, saying "I divorce you." He does not say it three times, as is usual in Islamic countries, because the wife may return, for the Kanuri practice of Muslim marriage is such that, after saying "I divorce you," three times there should be no reconciliation or remarriage. Once a pronouncement of divorce has been made the woman leaves her husband's household and the marriage enters a special hundred-day period in which the woman cannot remarry although the man may do so. This is defined as a waiting period to see whether or not the woman is pregnant so that the man can claim the child. The woman generally returns to her *luwali* at this time and there is always some negotiation between the man and the *luwali* to see whether or not the marriage can be patched up. About one-third of all divorce pronouncements do end in reconciliation even though the husband most often divorces her again later on. It is interesting to note that unlike western society, practically no Kanuri divorce cases (perhaps one percent) go to the courts; thus it is impossible to get the records of divorce except through field study of actual cases. [779] [114]

When a divorce occurs children remain with their father unless they are still nursing. After nursing they are generally sent back to the father's household, although the period is sometimes stretched out for young girls who are trained by their mothers. Children of broken unions are cared for by a father's co-wife or by some other close relative of the father. Contacts with a divorced parent are always maintained and the child visits his or her mother regularly. This is especially true for boys who expect to take care of their mother when she is an elderly unmarried woman. Conflicts sometimes arise because a man's daughter does not return and the mother's relatives or one of her subsequent husbands might try to arrange a marriage without consulting her own father. If such consultations take place, however, no one feels put out and the man who arranged the marriage takes a portion of the bridewealth in payment.

Each spouse in a marriage maintains very close contacts with his or her own relatives. Presents are exchanged and visits back and forth between members of kin groups are very common. Children are named after relatives, especially grandparents, and in many cases go to live with them after weaning, or before the birth of a new baby in the family. Only in cases of long term marriage does a wife finally come to feel a part of and fully accepted by her husband's family. However when this does happen the wife can become a very powerful voice in the family, and her long and intimate association with her husband often means that she has become a permanent authority in the household. In one such case a senior wife had never been married to anyone else and had been married to her husband, a powerful man in the village, for thirty years. The man remarked that he made very few decisions without consulting this woman, and people recognized that she had a powerful position in village affairs. Such cases, however, are not common. Kanuri marriage involves a separation of the sexes not only by custom and tradition but as a result of the conflicts in marriage relations which produce tensions between husbands and 593 602 [553] 593

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

• 593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 577 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to 577
their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Al- 571
though men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and 593
respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality [828]
to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and [861]
his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior 571
called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, 576
especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very 571
friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. 576
His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and 593
never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of 571
father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as 576
older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young 593
nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are 602
greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri [591]
girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, 571
the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* 576
or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. 571 576 578 602 [182] Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its [829]
landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households
through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 uses it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather
593 than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for
592 more than one generation.
593
159

> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, "... continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances. An-
554 other informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of
592 people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

592 About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two un-
571 married adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

000 The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bər-*

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The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors. 105 593 867

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage. 881 [582]

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village. 884 585

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men. 882 883 581 156 [302]

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full. [192]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers, all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social relationships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
571 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
626 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the
[692] contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the
632 action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
182 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu, especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [577] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 177 554 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

779 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple
• 593 matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Is-
779 595 lam. The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than
595 567 four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (cbir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse.
[654] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or
582 specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is per-
779 58 mitted under Islamic law. Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the
[595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

779 marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights
58 of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support
• [593] of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does
not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement;
[182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All
of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies,
are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in
Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million peo-
[161] ple. About one-third live in towns with a population of more
than 7,000 (see Table 1). Following Maiduguri, the capital,
which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying
villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten
towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of
these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu
Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26
towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost
a third of the population.

369 Although there may be some question whether a town with a
632 population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear
121 that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly ap-
proaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

583 Marriage is effected through the payment of a bride-price, the luwaliram, before the marriage proper. There can be no marriage without payment of the luwaliram. The luwaliram is conceived of as money for buying a wife. One informant stated, "It is just like buying a ram. Your children are the profit [85] (riba) of your investment." It follows, of course, that among [436] the Kanuri, children belong to the father. At present, the luwaliram is always paid in hard currency--pounds and shillings, though in former times it was paid in Maria Theresa dollars (gursus) which served as currency in the area.

The amount of the luwaliram varies with a number of factors. Luwaliram varies with social class, with urban and rural differences, and with the qualities of the bride-to-be. For common folk (talaka), it may run to five or six pounds. In the smaller, isolated villages it runs higher, occasionally over ten pounds. A Lowan may pay as much as ten to twenty pounds for his son's bride; very poor folk in the towns may pay as little as three pounds. Luwaliram for a very pretty girl, for the daughter of a kantuoma (aristocrat), or of a very wealthy man, is naturally high; while that for an ugly girl, or one who has undesirable traits, or who is no longer a virgin (bati) is conversely low.

583 If the boy is old enough to have accumulated money of his 593 own, that will go towards his luwaliram, but the bulk of it is given by his father. The boy's father, or the head of the house in which he grew up, should he have grown up in a household

583 593 other than that of his own father, is the basic contributor to
583 604 the luwaliram. His abakura (FaElBr) and abagana (FaYoBr) may contribute a share of the luwaliram, but his bawa (FaSi) is more likely to help in building a house for the boy rather than give to his luwaliram. His yakura (MoElSi), Yigana (MoYoSi), and Rawa (MoBr) only would give money to the luwaliram if their nephew grew up in their house. If not, they have no responsi-
583 593 bility towards paying a share of his luwaliram. Since it typically happens that a boy grows to maturity in his father's house, his father has the primary responsibility for providing the luwaliram. A poor man would not ask a wealthy friend of his for luwaliram money which he, the poor man, must provide for his son.

If the father of a girl sees that his daughter is getting older, and that her prospects for getting married are not good for one reason or another, he may give his daughter away as a sadaka (alms) marriage. If he can, he gives his daughter as wife to an important malam, along with many presents and clothes. If he cannot afford to give presents, he just gives the girl. In such a marriage there is no bride-price, the only permitted exception to the general rule. The girl's father acts as her luwali, assuming responsibility for her conduct. Though she may be unattractive and bad-tempered, the man to whom the girl is given cannot refuse her if she is given as a sadaka marriage.

583 Other forms of marriage which avoid payment of a luwaliram are specifically not permitted. Exchange marriage is forbidden

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
578
152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
593 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
369
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zogoso (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zogoso are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household possessions. He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

422 593 [586]

•593 595 The husband has absolute claim to the sexual rights of his wife. Should he have more than one wife, he must regularly alternate his stay at the house of the wife with whom he sleeps, spending one night in turn with each of his wives. Though he might not have sexual intercourse with her, he must spend the [692] night in her house. Should he, for any reason, break the regu- [684] lar alternation, his wife can bring him before the Alkali who would force him to observe the rule or dissolve the marriage. In this way, although the husband has absolute rights, the law once again helps to protect the wife. It can, and frequently does happen that a man will have preferences among his wives. He may recently have married a young girl whom he finds more attractive than an older wife, but he may not allow his attraction for her to cause him to favor her by sleeping with her, at night, [846] more frequently than he does with his other wives. After a woman has borne a child, her husband must not have intercourse with her for forty days, but he must sleep in her house when her turn comes despite the fact that he may not have intercourse with her.

595 Where there is more than one wife, the wife who has been married to the household head for the longest period of time is senior wife in the household. This is a position of authority in the household. Though she may not curse or beat the other wives, she does give orders which are obeyed by the other wives. Disputes between lesser wives are settled by the head wife. If one lesser wife will not cease making trouble after being warned, the head wife may tell her husband that the lesser wife is a per-

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

• 593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [581] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house- [252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (<u>fale</u>) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

593 595 for weekly household expenses. If one is given a gift, the other must also be given a gift of equal value. No sign of preference of a public nature may be shown. Finances of husband and wife are maintained separately. Money earned by the wife through her own activities (for example, through trading) belongs to her, and she may spend her own money as she wishes.

Though the polygamous family has a certain overall organization, particularly in the structuring of relationships between co-wives, with a senior wife as head wife, it is also evident that each nuclear family within the household exists as a separate entity. The individual distinctiveness of the nuclear family can be seen in the emphasis on separate and isolated houses for each wife, in the discreet units of time which the husband is required to spend with each wife (he sleeps with each in turn and she cooks for him on that day), and in the separate and equal treatment which he is required to give each wife (equality of market money, equality of gifts). Emphasis on the distinctiveness of each nuclear family functions to preserve the identity of each wife and to stress her worth to her husband, the head of the household. It thus serves to inhibit jealousy, a divisive force which, if permitted direct expression, would shatter the unity of the household. Jealousy between co-wives finds expression in a number of less direct ways; it is not permitted to erupt into quarreling, cursing or fighting (though these certainly occur), and above all the husband must do everything in his power to avoid actions which might encourage jealousies between his wives.

593 595 152

[GEIDAM]

582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565
554 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
463 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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565
554
463

Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

593 562 565 564 463 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower categories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives secluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75 (mean is 4.88). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-

586 565 554 463

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205]

[GEIDAM]

her husband (the respondent) and this would subvert his authority within the family. This is expressed as a fear that through her superior knowledge she would be able to commit adultery, while her ignorant husband would be powerless to stop her. The groups hardly differ among themselves at all in their answers to this question, except that the Canteen Operators are the sole group which unanimously indicated a willingness to marry an educated woman.

A related question asks if a wife would be permitted to work as a school-teacher or a dispenser (Table XXXVII). The question implies, of course, that one is married to an educated woman, Approximately the same number of people responded that they would permit their wives to work (70 per cent) as had said that they would marry an educated woman (Table XXXVI). Several mentioned the wife's salary as an advantage in having a working wife (*f, *g); one brought up the issue of adultery again (*d) implying that an educated woman who worked would be less under her husband's control. Eleven individuals (25 per cent) said that they would refuse to allow their wives to go out and work. Some stated simply that they would not allow it (*e), while others claimed that she would not be as good a wife if she went to work (*c). Two others noted that they would allow their wife to work under certain circumstances and would forbid it under other circumstances (*a, *b).

In discussing this matter, the idea of keeping one's wife secluded (kule) must be taken into account. Though only a rel-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 326]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXXVII

*17727. *593 *829 *565 *554 *463

27. Would you let your wife work as a school-teacher or dispenser?

	a. yes	a. no	a. depends on circumstances	b. (see Table IX) Are present wives secluded? yes	no
Aristocracy	3	1	1*a	4	1
Koranic Malams	1	1	1*b	2	1
Canteen Operators	1	5*c		6	-
NA Malams	4*d	2*e		6	-
Kabuna	5*f	1		1	4
Craftsmen	5	1		-	6
Talaka	8*g	-		1	6
Low-status Individuals	4*h	-		-	3
Totals:	31	11	2	20	21

*a Aristocracy: "If I had the money, I would keep my wife in the house. If I had no money, she could go to work."

*b Koranic Malam: "If she doesn't understand English, I would allow it. If she understands English, I would forbid it." (He had previously said that he would not marry a woman who had gone to school and spoke English.)

*c Canteen Operator: "Wouldn't permit it. If she goes to work, she won't cook food."

*d NA Malam: "It's alright with me, so long as she didn't commit adultery."

*e NA Malam: "I would forbid it, if I had the money."

*f Kabuna: "I would allow her. We would have two salaries."

*g Talaka: "I would allow it. She would bring home her salary, and I could eat."

*h Low-status Individual: "I would allow her. I would say, 'Go, I can't stop you. I'll drum my drum.'"

[GEIDAN]

*177 *593 *565 Though only a relatively small part of Kanuri society keeps its wives secluded, there is a strong tendency for upper class individuals to do so. It can be seen from column b (Table IX) that almost all individuals in the 4 upper groups do keep their wives secluded, while very few in the 4 lower groups do so. It might be predicted that members of a group which had but recently risen into the upper strata of Kanuri social structure would be especially strict in keeping their wives secluded, thereby indicating to all the manner in which they fulfilled the expectations of someone of high status. In examining the responses *177 593 *565 *829 [554] of each of the groups to the question of allowing one's wife to work, several groups appear particularly permissive. Not one individual in either the Talaka group or the Low-status group would object to his wife working. This is undoubtedly because husbands in these groups do not keep as tight control over their wives as do husbands who keep their wives secluded. [441] Among the four groups who do keep their wives secluded, only one has serious objection to allowing their wives to work, and that is the group of Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators stand out in comparison to the other groups in this respect. *[634] Most of the Aristocracy and the NA Malams would allow their wives to work, even though they keep their present wives secluded. *177 593 *829 441 *554 The Canteen Operators differ radically from the other groups in their response to this question, and furthermore their attitude seems strikingly inconsistent with that expressed in the previous question (Table XXXVI). There it was noted that they were the only group who were unanimously in favor of marry-

#177 ing an educated woman, whereas they are almost equally unani-
• 593 mous in not being willing to allow her to work. The explana-
#829 tion for this inconsistency is to be sought in the poor defini-
441 tion of their roles. It has been noted that they are a rising
#554 group, emerging as a wealthy and powerful segment of community social structure. They actively seek means to increase their prestige, and one way of doing this would be through marriage with an educated woman (particularly since many well educated young women come from aristocratic families). Still another way of increasing their prestige is to be strict about religious observance, and keeping wives secluded falls into this category of behavior. They therefore indicate that they would all be willing to marry an educated woman, but would not permit her to work as a school-teacher. What appears as an inconsistency in their behavior is explainable in terms of the nature of their roles in the social structure. In fact, it becomes possible to characterize the roles of this particular group in terms of the inconsistencies which they exhibit.

B. Age as a Variable in Acculturation.

128 The introductory paragraphs to the present chapter pre-
#177 sented the mean age of the sample of individuals on which the study is based, and compared the means of the ages of the eight groups in the sample.[1] Two of the groups were found to vary somewhat from the sample as a whole, and the effect of relative age was considered briefly in that context. We may now return

[1] [For the age distribution of the sample, see category 116, page 250. - Analyst]

Firstly, shame-avoidance

602 whose criterion is whether or not the incumbents may eat food to-
264 gether or in the presence of one another, and secondly, shame-respect wherein food may be shared but ego must sit with eyes downcast and only the most necessary conversation passes between the parties. As a general rule the first holds between affines, although Table I illustrates the variability in this respect, and the second holds among consanguinal kin. There is a strong shame-avoidance relation between ego and his senior in-laws (kàsai); that is to say he will not eat in their presence, and he will not enter a hut alone with any of his female kàsai unless he has been in the habit of doing any of these before marriage.(1) This latter refers to the case of a preferential cousin marriage or marriage with the daughter
606 of a close friend. A polite person (male speaking) would manifest signs of shame-avoidance behaviour, no matter what his previous relationship with his future father-in-law, around the time of the marriage. It is then up to the in-law in question to remind him of their prior relationship and to persuade him that there should be no nungu between them now that they are son-in-law and father-in-law to one another.

593 Ideally, ego should show shame-avoidance in the presence of his wife when they are in public and only the most necessary conversation should pass between them. After many years of marriage or in the case of a barren marriage depending on the wishes of the couple involved, much of the formality of shame-avoidance (except

(1) An upper class informant claimed that a man should never even visit his in-laws alone but should always go in the company of friends.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 565 In some cases, more oftsh among the upper classes, if a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela- [577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper [834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass 576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem- [515] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class [264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

576 moved in the presence of social superiors, and if the gap between them is great shoes are removed even when passing in front of the superior's compound. A person who continually avoids or breaks moral rules and rules of etiquette and good conduct is described as nungu ba (having no shame) or shim ngumdu (narrow eyes) - the latter from the saying " a man of narrow eyes has no shame."

Respect (bàrzum)

Respect (bàrzum) is a general category of behaviour in interpersonal relations which has to do with the response to power and authority. It ranges from shame-respect, described above, to friendship-respect in which there may be a more affective relationship that involves discipline and a superior-subordinate relation along with the possibility of partial intimacy depending upon factors of personality, age, generation, and sex differences of the actors.

593 604 Generally speaking the shame-respect relation is most stringently practised with own parents, being transferred to parents' siblings if any of these has taken on the parent's role toward ego. There is a significant difference in shame and friendship responses given to parents and to their collaterals. In the table below respect responses are not indicated because all informants gave a bàrzum response to own parents and parents' collaterals.

TABLE II

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Responses to the Category

	shame	friendship
own parents	99.5	0
pat. coll. (Parent's)	23.8	20.4
mat. coll. (Parent's)	23.2	20.2

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In qualitative terms the table indicates that there is a relaxation of the shame-respect relation between ego and his parent's generation members of either sex as ego moves outward from own parents to their collaterals. One informant expressed the difference in behaviour towards own parents and their collaterals in the following manner:

> If I have matters to discuss about needing things, I will talk to my father; but if I wish to talk about marrying a girl - I will not talk to my father or my mother - there is shame in this - I will talk to my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) or my abakura (Fa-Ol-Bro) if I have one - then I will tell to my sister or my brother (real or classificatory) or my friends to go and tell my father and mother for me. I must never talk directly to my father and my mother about anything about my marriage.

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After a marriage is joined any trouble between a man and his wife should ideally never get back to a man's parents if the man and his wife are not of the same family. However, such matters can usually be arranged through intermediaries.

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There is a respect relationship between a husband's parents and his wife's parents, with tradition leaning over on the side of the wife's parents as to who receives more respect. That is to say, tradition directs that the bride's kindred are in a higher social status position than the groom's. However, the comparative social position of the two families in the society at large is a very real consideration in this matter. This respect relation overlaps into shame avoidance between the in-laws of opposite sex.

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There is a variable discipline-respect relationship between ego and his older siblings of the same sex depending upon age disparity, presence or absence of real or adopted parents, and consideration of power and authority. If an older brother has taken

593 over the leadership of the compound then for all intents and purposes the older brother must be treated by his younger siblings in a very similar manner to a parent. If the age disparity is not very great then the situation may be ameliorated although here [592] personality factors may enter into the situation. In one case of male twins the father had died, and because of a dominance-submission interaction between the two men, the second born but dominant twin had become the accepted head of the compound. Later when the submissive twin left to form his own compound nearby, he remained in close economic subordination to his brother.

Many informants felt that the discipline-respect relation of junior and senior siblings, real and classificatory, was at best a tenuous one, especially between males. The following example illustrates how culture contact can operate to increase the fragility of the sibling relationship. An informant who was employed by the N.A. obtained a job for his Fa-Bro-So as his assistant in the bush. The senior in the relationship was finding it extremely difficult to make the junior do any work, or take any instructions seriously. The junior complained privately that he was being mistreated and poorly used by the senior, who he said was not giving him enough to eat. Finally the relationship was severed and the junior (classificatory) sibling left to go to the provincial capital. These difficulties were accentuated by the differences in remuneration patterning between European and Kanuri cultures. The senior had been getting monthly pay and an allowance for his sibling assistant which he turned over to the boy. The youngster promptly spent the money and expected to be supported all through the rest of the month

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593 465 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 604 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bàrzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a
571 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a
607 reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bàrzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalized inter-

553 602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bèrzum) because there is no bèrzum, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of some respect (bèrzum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocality of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the yeiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

603 [591] [593] [867] [602]

It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

603 the difference in generation of the parties, there is a higher secondary content of fondness on the grandparent's part, while the slight lessening of this dimension is associated with a corresponding rise of the respect relation on the part of the grandchild. It does not show up in the questionnaire data summarized in Table I, because the joking relations (suli) with grandparents already includes friendship behaviour within its meaning content for this particular category of relative. Therefore when subjects were asked how they behaved towards grandparents, their suli responses included the kind of affective behaviour covered by this relationship.

• 593 The same thing is true for the relationship to own mother, although for different reasons. No friendship responses were given to own mother, because the cultural ideal of shame-respect is so strong here. Thus there was a blanket response pattern from all subjects in accordance with the traditional value of shame-respect.

[612] Nonetheless, there is the possibility and indeed expectation of an affective fondness and friendship relation between ego (male or female speaking) and own mother, which is extended in theory to

[586] include the mother's kindred. When asked what was the worst thing that he could remember ever happening to him when he was young, an informant replied without hesitation that it had occurred when he had to stay in his father's house on the occasion of his mother's divorce of his father. Another informant related how he had gone to the Jos Plateau to learn something about geological survey work, as part of his training for a job with the Bornu N.A. However, after three months he claims he had strong yearnings to see his mother and subsequently walked off the job and returned to his

573 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 602 There is much friendship practised between ego and his collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzá (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate [476] friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sárwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sárwa contributions, and his ashirmanzá.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-

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ship developing in the husband-wife relationship depending upon
[565] the stability of the union. Such friendships are aided and abetted
[586] by cousin marriage as well as by upper class position where the divorce rate does not seem to be as high.

572 Finally, an examination of the nature of friendship in
156 general excluding the grandparent-grandchild, and mother-child relations reveals some unique features which arise from its setting in the total social organization. The question can be raised as to why it is that friendship is not formalized or structured to the same extent as the other behaviours associated with the kinship system. Certainly, an immediate answer lies in the universal nature of this kind of interpersonal relationship, i.e., its affectivity and expressive content, and the concomitant emotional satisfactions which people obtain from such associations. These tend to create a large area for personality characteristics to determine exactly who among the available persons, for example age-mates in the kindred, ego will move toward in expanding and contracting his friendships. As in our society, social factors such as socio-economic status, occupation, residence patterns, ethnic background, and norms of upward mobility all enter into such choices as well. But there is more to Kanuri friendship relations than a mere addition or interaction of these idiosyncratic features of personality attraction and repulsion on the one hand and sociological variables on the other.

572 Informants were forever telling the anthropologist that someone he mentioned was a friend of theirs, although no affective or emotional or for that matter any very real social relationship existed between them. They meant, of course, that they liked

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[593] because of the eventual high status position he can look forward to upon the death of his father. Again he has a strong affective tie with his mother, i.e., his father's senior wife. In this case the compound split is merely a segmentary process which is reproducing the pattern. The son will attempt to set up a similar household to that from which he came.

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Another alternative takes place when a household head dies leaving several sons or heirs. The sons may remain in the compound area with the senior as the nominal head. However, as soon as each of the brothers begins creating his own nuclear family the original pattern begins to reassert itself, and hiving off takes place which is commonly noticeable in the re-arrangement of compound walls, or the emergence of new ones. The degree to which the brothers remain together is very often a measure of the genealogical distance between them through the father's line. Informants state that full brothers have a much greater chance of remaining in the same com-
[578] pound or near one another than other types of siblings. The conflicts over inheritance and the loyalties to different widowed mothers tend to create a somewhat stronger fissionable force in the case of half-siblings of the same dead father. In the opposite case where the widowed mother is the same, but the co-resident siblings are of different fathers, then only the offspring of the dead father have any claim to the inheritance. The half-siblings of this variety generally do not remain together since they have different patrilateral kinship affiliations. This does not mean to imply that half-siblings of different fathers are unfriendly to one another. In actual fact the reverse seems to be the case. However, ego's interests and sense

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by
[587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his
[554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He Marr'-d and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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593 These three compound heads all farm near one another on the split-
[241] up land of their Mo-Bro (they also have cleared other plots), often helping one another in farming duties. They present a united front to the community at large and if one appears in court, the others will also be present.

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593 The youngest half-brother also learned the butcher's craft, but he has married and moved away to another section of the butcher's quarter and today has virtually nothing to do with his three half-brothers. Some of this half-brother's statements indicate the background of disunity among siblings. He had been raised until puberty in the house of X who was married to his Mo-Sis in the capital. After puberty he came to the house of his Mo-Bro in Magumeri, who was now dead and whose place as compound head had been
592 taken by the eldest of the half-brothers. This brother "taught him
593 the knife" (i.e. instructed him in butchering) and he in his turn
874 gave bèrzum (respect) to the half-brother, who was now also his compound head. Here is a paraphrase translation of his own attitude to the relationship:

> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother, who was head of the house — therefore I had to give to my brother the same respect as a father and keep myself under his orders. I wanted a wife (all my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my eldest brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation properly — he said — continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse, and learn the butcher's trade and I will feed you and give you money for spending and buy your clothes. But I was not happy and saved my money in secret and saved enough to take a wife of my own — they were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage but he still wished for me to stay in the compound — but I did not wish to do this and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my Mo-Sis in Maiduguri, owned here in the butcher's quarter.

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He has now obtained some farmland from a friend and all his primary relationships are with non-kin members (X is dead). His extreme youth, plus his absence at the time of the Mo-Bro death as compared with his brothers' presence in the compound, left him out of the inheritance and allowed the three half-brothers to parcel out the farmland among themselves. He feels today that there is gàdena mbeji, a difference or bad feeling between him and his half-brothers.

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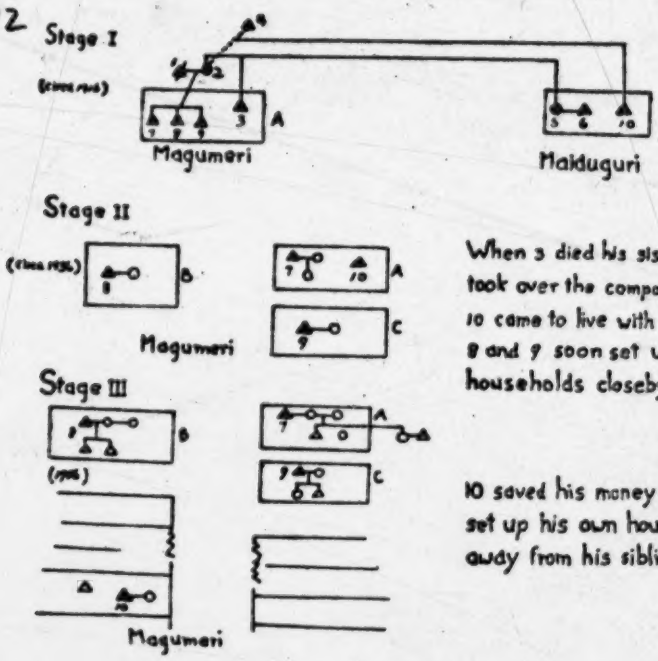
The following diagram illustrates the processes of the above example.



Legend:

(1) Mo-dead-husband: (2) Mo: (3) Mo-Bro: (4) Mo-next-husband (divorced later): (5) Mo-Sis: (6) Mo-Sis-Hu: (7), (8), (9) full siblings: (10) half-sibling to 7, 8, 9.

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Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs [591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up [621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of <u>bèrzum</u> its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

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593 als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensiti-
602 vity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms
592 of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the father-
593 head of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

593 Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal
596 extended family grouping,[1] the son (7) will soon be moving out to
571 form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

[1] [cf. p. 86]

593 complete autonomy even when his new residence pattern has been
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571 established. On the other hand, the father is only a lower link in
593 a large,complex political system, and the father's relationships to
557 those above him are carefully scanned by the son. If the father should fall out of favour in the total political organization of Bornu, then to that extent his degree of power over his son may diminish, for the son being desirous of eventually stepping into the father's shoes is also sensitive to higher authorities than those of his immediate residential grouping. The continued loyalty and subservience of the son is therefore a function of the father's beneficence and his total position in the society at large. Certainly the bonds of consanguinity enter to thicken the tie between them, but a continued violation of the above methods of making the relationship work, i.e. validating the relationship, would lead to the possibility of the son looking for a more beneficent superior, real father notwithstanding. The father-son relationship would then have more formal bàrsum (respect) than actual functioning power and authority involved. Because of the ascribed nature of the real father role, however, the relationship can never be totally divested of authority. He can always secure some little performance of action on the part of the son, which the culture sanctions, such as attendance at family weddings, funerals, etc. although his power, i.e. his ability to make decisions about action for his son's behaviour is more highly variable and requires more careful cultivation if it is to be as diffuse as is ideally desired in the patrilocal family organization.

571 If the foregoing description seems too mechanistic, it is
557 a result of the example chosen to illustrate the phenomena. In this

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586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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593 In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment
602 of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed
586 into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with
[603] whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with
[691] him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
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586 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
[695] wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bridewealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

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593 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

[691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
[184] with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

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593 movement of the bride and her dowry from the husband's residence angered him. This should not be taken to mean that the husband feels he owns the dowry. His claim to the dowry is similar (not identical) to his claim to the woman, i.e. he has certain privileges over her use which are conditional upon his living up to her expectations and those of her family (if she is a young girl) of being a good husband. Dowry and bride are called the same thing (laruma) and are related in people's minds as a unitary phenomenon which comes to a man's house as the result of his marriage negotiations and the payment of bridewealth. Therefore, loss of dowry implies partial loss of bride. Usufruct of bride and dowry by the husband is however different, for use of dowry is dependent not upon the formation of a marriage but upon husband-wife relations. The husband may in time gain access to the dowry as a source of capital, if his wife trusts him. This occurs however only after long periods of marriage. Even then the wife merely loans him some of her capital rather than giving it to him outright, and if he is clever he usually returns a little more than he takes. This is because the woman considers her dowry as part of her marriageable self; it helps define her social value as a wife or potential wife. A woman who had been married many years to the same man, when given a small gift of an enamel dish, put it among her possession and called it laruma (in this sense, woman's possessions). The man who gives bridewealth for a wife gains her services as a human laruma (a bride) but her will and partial independence is recognized in that he cannot take over her dowry carte blanche but must wait until the relationship between them is sufficiently durable and trustworthy so that his use of her possessions is not open to suspicion of fraud. Since durable marriages are not very common, neither is husband use of dowry. A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-

583 A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-
593 sent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most prob-
[586] ably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son
[685] over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates
156 from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal
583 worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value
[595] in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

581 The Kanuri recognise different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kamu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is
[832] good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

581 than high ranking men, if they had to choose between these two attributes
581 in a husband. This type of distinction was more easily elicited from
369 urban persons or upper class informants than from rural peasants, who only
565 discuss such a question in a fantasy-like conversation which many are not willing to do. Lower class informants in the rural areas often refused to consider questions about whether they would like to marry wealth or rank answering only "andi tala" (we are peasants or commoners).

581 Crosscutting the foregoing classification of marriage with virgins or non-virgins are several subclassifications which describe in a somewhat sharper fashion the nature of the relationships involved in the contraction of the marriage.

581 According to custom any variety of marriage may be a nyia
593 kulle, a marriage of seclusion or partial seclusion. In practice, this
565 kind of marriage is almost totally restricted to the upper classes and usually implies only a partial seclusion. The woman may go out to visit under cover of darkness and escorted, or may even go out of the compound during the day, again escorted, for some very special reason such as a rite de passage ceremony which she is obligated to attend. One very high ranking District Head claimed that his senior wife, who had been married to him for many years, had never been out of his compound except when he changed Districts, and once when he had arranged an escorted trip to Mecca for her.

Women of this kind are exempt from any of the ordinary wifely duties which take them beyond the compound walls, such as getting water at a public well, or helping on the farm, etc. It is no wonder then that such marriages are almost totally restricted to the households of the higher ranks of society. No man wishes his wife to be seen excessively in public. However it is only the rich and powerful who can afford

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the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of loneliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practise preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe.). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.(1)

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For the most part the older men who had practised p[illegible]tial marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal[illegible] tended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.

(1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. If the young girl is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

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> 582 584 304 881 When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

587 567 [593] In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced woman who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kbrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
[602] would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
[606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

[178] (1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that
428 one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
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178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
281 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the <u>luwal-</u>

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five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[124] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who attempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for approaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master, and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad", causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
229 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment buildings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables operating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

1. Age Differences

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It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her husband. [183] The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

3. Length of Marriage

593 The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leaves gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

593 592 602 With the longer term of residence in the husband's compound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

593 [565] [595] This variety of long term marriage is more common among the upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

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565 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realizes that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

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156 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

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557 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

• 593 557 [558] wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities. Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female dominated household. [521] [837] Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power available to him to assert his rights. [183] Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function properly. 593 565 123 This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accordance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

•593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [289] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

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836 available only to her husband and this turns to sexual freedom and
562 experimentation when she is a divorced woman.(1)

837 This results in much marital infidelity on the part of
562 married men and women. As we have seen, this can take a sanctioned and an unsanctioned form for men, while for married women any extra-marital sexual intercourse is considered to be adultery. Thus X, a Magumeri man, well known for his extra-marital sex relations woke up a local official late one night and asked him to come and see the woman whom X had brought to his compound. This was to ensure public recognition of the fact that he was sleeping with a sower (divorced
[593] woman) and not someone's wife. When asked what his wife thought of his behaviour X replied that she did not like it. He added that it was none of her business and she could leave him if she wished.

593 On the other hand, Kanuri men are usually extremely sus-
837 picious of their wives. One man whose wife attended local dances used
684 to come to these evening celebrations to make sure that no one shone a flashlight on his spouse while she was dancing. The only time that this did occur the husband reported the incident to the Village Head who in turn locked up the voyeur for the night. This same woman was observed on several occasions entering single men's sleeping huts while her husband was away on trading trips.

837 Even one seemingly submissive woman, the wife of an upper class man, was observed to blossom out suddenly and visit strange

[589] (1) This is not meant to imply that the woman has complete freedom, even when divorced. A woman may have one or two men supporting her and sleeping with her while she is divorced (one at a time is more common), often for only periods of a week or two at a time. Women who sleep with too many men at the same time while divorced are considered bad marriage risks and tend to be regarded as acting somewhat more like a prostitute, rather than a divorced woman, who should really be going through a series of "trial" marriages, one of which will eventually lead to the real thing.

837 households when her husband was away. Several informants remarked that it was apparent, now her husband was away, that she wished to have some tum-tum (pleasure, with a sexual implication).

• 593 837 Whether or not the husband is away, women must leave the compound for ceremonies, water carrying, helping other women to prepare for ceremonies, going to market, etc. Only men with wives in seclusion can restrict, and then only partially, female activities beyond the household. Within this framework, all Kanuri men know from their own experience how easily liaisons can be set up with married women, and therefore become anxious and mistrustful of wives who leave the compound too often.

837 584 The covert subversion of marital fidelity norms is also illustrated in the role of the sersér. The sersér is an old woman who for a fee, acts as an intermediary between a man and a married woman in promulgating a future marriage between them, which presumes the divorce of the woman from her present husband. The relationship arranged between the man and the married woman by the sersér often (684) infers an adulterous sexual union as well. If discovered by the husband, the old woman is often taken into court with her male employer and fined heavily. However, among males who value their respectability, the old woman is usually warned at first to stay away from the compound, and the wife admonished not to have anything to do with her.

832 Another illustration that documents the social recognition of female desire for sexual freedom is the concept of tarwo which refers to walking about looking for a partner for sexual intercourse. Any man or woman walking about the town alone is suspect of tarwo. There are a few definitive signs such as man having his hat pushed for-

58 sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory subordination by the mallam to the luwali.

Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible or feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior/subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many men are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, there is a conflict
183 between the subordination that most Kanuri men expect of their wives and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in
[565] the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the
[586] man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are few divorces.

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[586] The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of [152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

826 Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari, 888 old men) and women (kamursu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists[1] provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups[2] reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

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511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

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(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).

(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

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571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bèrsum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the subordinates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
[426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories, virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

581 593 only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a re-
[565] lationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings.

581 557 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create
[582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt
[583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the luwali.

581 Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and dis-
[584] covery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

• 593 183 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of [565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper [586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

611 171 182 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 595 The most important social unit determined by kinship is the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 587 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It fol-
[595] lows, too, that under those circumstances the household is small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the [586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, sup-
• 595 posedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
58 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife. 581 562

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times. 58 159

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bride-wealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [887]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

For the most part relations between husbands and wives are highly formalized. They avoid using one another's names in conversation. In public only the most necessary interaction takes place between them when other people are around. Women walk generally behind their husbands when the two are going somewhere together, and even in the household the woman remains or should remain inside the compound. When he is not working, the husband sits most often in the entrance hut or in front of his household. A visit to a Kanuri household brings the husband to the entrance hut if he is inside, and at the same time the wife retreats out of sight. For the most part women remain in the company of women, and men with men. Only in a few rare cases have I ever observed public expressions of friendliness between a husband and a wife. 593 576 562

Cultural tradition has ordained that men are the dominant members of society, and women, more specifically wives, are to be submissive. This is both Islamic and Kanuri. It is good and seemly for a woman to obey her husband and to appear humble in his presence. Men decide where the family is to live, who a daughter is to marry, and a multitude of day-to-day questions on every aspect of family life. For a wife or indeed any family member to make a decision without consulting the husband-father is asking for trouble. Disputes between a husband and a wife, in which a man can refer to a breech of his authority as the cause of the disagreement, are invariably settled in his favor and might include physical punishment by the husband if the wife is very young. Thus a district head ruled against the plaintiffs in a case in which the husband had been accused by the wife's relatives of a beating which he had administered to her. The district head stated that the girl had been grossly disobedient and that it was the husband's right to punish such acts, especially in one so very young who was still learning how to be a proper wife. 593 [562]

One out of every two Kanuri marriages is a polygynous one. Thus a woman is very likely sometime during her life to be in a situation in which she is one of two or more co-wives. Relations between co-wives is governed by strict codes of procedure. Each wife has her own hut in the back area of the compound farthest from the entrance hut or gate. Each wife cooks her own food and raises her own children who sleep in her hut while they are small. When co-wives go abroad as a group to the wells or to a ceremony, the senior wife—the one married to the husband-in-common for the longest time—takes the lead with the other wives behind in a single file. Then come the female children in terms of their own relative ages. During a family ceremony the senior wife is the authoritative head of the women's section and directs the work of the others. Relations with the husband are strictly regulated. The general rule is that each wife performs her duties from sunset to sunset and the evening meal is taken after sunset. Every wife takes her own turn cooking the husband's food and that night she visits him in his hut. He may or may not have intercourse with her, but he must try to share sexual favors as equally as possible or else word about it will spread around in the family and cause tension between wives. 595

Although it is very rare to observe cases of long-standing co-wife relations because of the high amount of divorce in Bornu, the Kanuri always say that co-wives can become very good friends if they remain married to the same man for a long period of time. On the other hand it is fairly easy to observe co-wife relations that are stiff, formal, and even tense and hostile. One woman whom I know actual-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very 500 common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' com- 562 pound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed 837 this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes 521 about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their 593 own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband 586 and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its [829]
landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. 779 595 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse. [554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. 779 58 Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the [595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

369 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists
632 of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at
121 the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less
[622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village.
[463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors.
[622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger,
[565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are
[595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and
[591] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and
342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (<u>sagdi</u>). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

611 171 182 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 595 The most important social unit determined by kinship is the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 587 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
584 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
587 [548] of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
[831] ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive
several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution
which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them.
A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of
weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find
themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and some-
one else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
[626] new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her
status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the
freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the
attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage,
begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few
men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not
be expected to last.

• 595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a
zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing
this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him,
"What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer
that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is per-
fectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife.
However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

595 en, depending on a number of factors, and the husband would wish to determine his first wife's feeling on the subject before proceeding further. He might also want to examine his own feelings toward his first wife, should the possibility arise that she might refuse to accept a second wife in the household.

[837] Unlike the unmarried man, a married man is not supposed to sleep with a zogor before marrying her, since that would be adultery.

587 A man wishing to marry a zogor discusses the matter with her. If the marriage is acceptable to her, he pays the luwaliram money directly to her. Luwaliram for a zogor is much less than for a kalə yaskə. Whereas all marriages with a kalə yaskə involve the payment of sədagu, many marriages of a man with a zogor leave out the sədagu. Məri payment on marrying a zogor is no more than two or three shillings.

The husband-to-be buys kola nuts (goro) which he will distribute, while his wife-to-be begins buying and grinding millet which she will take with her to her new home. A zogor may buy six to eight shillings worth of millet which she pounds and grinds, and other foodstuffs such as wheat, rice, salt and pepper to take with her, but she brings less food to the new home than does a kalə yaskə.

The marriage ceremony itself is the same as that held when a kalə yaskə marries. Both husband and wife have a luwali who is responsible, in a sense, for the conduct of that person. The wedding takes place in the morning, and that evening women friends

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will [595] sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this [115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law 836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nomgamtam, and is quite distinct from 587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse. 581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no 887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zəgəsə (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zəgəsə are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband 422 593 usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household possessions. [586] He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

593 The husband has absolute claim to the sexual rights of his
• 595 wife. Should he have more than one wife, he must regularly alternate his stay at the house of the wife with whom he sleeps, spending one night in turn with each of his wives. Though he might not have sexual intercourse with her, he must spend the
[692] night in her house. Should he, for any reason, break the regu-
[684] lar alternation, his wife can bring him before the Alkali who would force him to observe the rule or dissolve the marriage. In this way, although the husband has absolute rights, the law once again helps to protect the wife. It can, and frequently does happen that a man will have preferences among his wives. He may recently have married a young girl whom he finds more attractive than an older wife, but he may not allow his attraction for her to cause him to favor her by sleeping with her, at night,
[846] more frequently than he does with his other wives. After a woman has borne a child, her husband must not have intercourse with her for forty days, but he must sleep in her house when her turn comes despite the fact that he may not have intercourse with her.

595 Where there is more than one wife, the wife who has been married to the household head for the longest period of time is senior wife in the household. This is a position of authority in the household. Though she may not curse or beat the other wives, she does give orders which are obeyed by the other wives. Disputes between lesser wives are settled by the head wife. If one lesser wife will not cease making trouble after being warned, the head wife may tell her husband that the lesser wife is a per-

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [501] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house-[252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (fəle) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

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595 for weekly household expenses. If one is given a gift, the other must also be given a gift of equal value. No sign of preference of a public nature may be shown. Finances of husband and wife are maintained separately. Money earned by the wife through her own activities (for example, through trading) belongs to her, and she may spend her own money as she wishes.

Though the polygamous family has a certain overall organization, particularly in the structuring of relationships between co-wives, with a senior wife as head wife, it is also evident that each nuclear family within the household exists as a separate entity. The individual distinctiveness of the nuclear family can be seen in the emphasis on separate and isolated houses for each wife, in the discreet units of time which the husband is required to spend with each wife (he sleeps with each in turn and she cooks for him on that day), and in the separate and equal treatment which he is required to give each wife (equality of market money, equality of gifts). Emphasis on the distinctiveness of each nuclear family functions to preserve the identity of each wife and to stress her worth to her husband,
593 the head of the household. It thus serves to inhibit jealousy,
595 a divisive force which, if permitted direct expression, would
152 shatter the unity of the household. Jealousy between co-wives finds expression in a number of less direct ways; it is not permitted to erupt into quarreling, cursing or fighting (though these certainly occur), and above all the husband must do everything in his power to avoid actions which might encourage jealousies between his wives.

000 ousies between his wives.

59 The separate nuclear families which make up the larger polygamous Kanuri family demonstrate an overall unity when one focuses attention on the household as a structural group. At the core of the household is the polygamous family, but the household may include many other individuals, both kin and non-kin.

595 855 Polygamous families also appear much more unified when one attends to the behavior of adults towards children within [152] the household. Though the presence of children is potentially the greatest source of jealousy between co-wives, particularly when one wife has borne one or more children while another has never borne a child, Kanuri attitudes and treatment of children within the household minimizes these jealousies. All women within reach of a child play with it, feed it, and watch over it. Children wander freely in and out of the houses of their father's wives (their ya chinta), and differences between co-wives are not permitted to extend to their children. In effect, children bridge rather than emphasize the gaps between co-wives and between nuclear families.

5. The Household.

592 It is a natural step to move from a consideration of the polygamous family, the central kin group in Kanuri society, to that of the household. However, though the household has the polygamous family at its core, it is not primarily a kin group.

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It fol-
[595] lows, too, that under those circumstances the household is small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

592 567 particularly acknowledges the relationship between them, unless the slave should be in the direct presence of the man who he knows is his master. However, the relationship between master and slave determines the behavior of both at all times, when 592 567 the slave is part of his master's household. A female slave may be chosen as a concubine (chir) by her master. She then 595 becomes part of his household. Though a man may have no more than four wives, he may have any number of concubines. A chir enters into a special class of concubines when she becomes a <u>murshe</u>. She is then given a house of her own, and has a distinct legal status, slightly different from that of a wife, but with its own strictly defined rights and obligations. Like a wife, a murshe must have her own house. A husband spends one night with a murshe, and two with a wife, in regular rotation. However, here the husband has an option--he may spend no more than one night with each murshe, but if angry at a particular one, he may pass her by. The murshe prepares the master's food on the day when it is her turn to sleep with him, just as a wife would do. She also shares in all the economic tasks which fall to the woman in a household.

592 567 565 The household of aristocracy, therefore, may include slaves, both male and female. Male slaves (<u>kalya</u>) may be young boys and youths who live in the forok area of the compound, or they may be married men who live with their own nuclear families in areas of the compound alotted to them, and are included, along with their families, as part of the master's household. Female

[GEIDAM]

582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 463 565 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief

595 565 554 463 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 199]

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[GEIDAM]

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[183]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

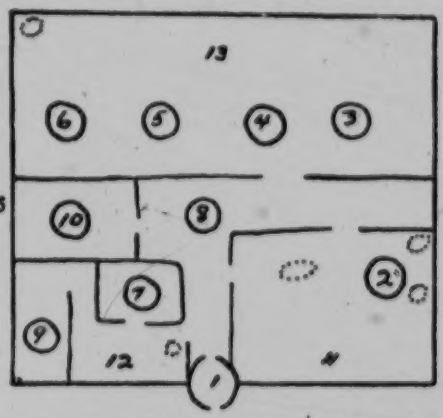
592 181 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri household, although it is an example which was actually observed.(1) It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
[595] 4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
[343] 11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area

dotted lines show granaries



592 Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the [736] wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

[595] [823] (1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magumeri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

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585 the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman,(1) and the total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

[128] Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

583
584 In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororam (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororam. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

[192] [595] (1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and consent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most probably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

The Kanuri recognize different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kamu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

As a man and woman grow older they demand and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

582 [561] 587 565 557 [589]

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced women (gower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the temporary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

581 [585] [221] [595] [589]

587 is still solemnized at a sada'a ceremony as at all weddings. With her
562 growing freedom in life a woman exerts a progressively stronger independence in her marriage choices. It was observed (but not measured) that the rate at which this occurs in the life span of women is increasingly rapid as one descends the socio-economic scale, and increases as well with the number of divorces per woman.

567 To complete the discussion of types of sexual unions, it
595 might be well to digress slightly at this point to include a brief description of concubinage. A concubine (chir) is a female slave who obtains this status as a result of her birth as a daughter to a male slave (karliya); once having been ascribed the role of chir by her birth she is groomed for a life concubinage. She is considered part of the household property, the inheritable property of the agnatic lineage of her father's owner. She may be given away as a gift to someone (without a wedding) or she can be kept in the family of her father's master. Formerly she could be sold. Once she is sexually mature she is available sexually only to her master unless her master gives her permission to marry someone, for example, another of his slaves. Any children she has as a result of union with a free man, i.e. her master, are themselves free, for slave status is determined by that of the father. This means that the slave population in Bornu is reproducing itself only through the efforts of functioning male slaves who are producing children.

A concubine is primarily a sexual partner to her master and a mark of his high status. She is also a servant to her owner's wife who may use her to do household work, carry water, etc. In several cases slave owners told of using both male and female slaves for farm labour. There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with concubines as there

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
• 595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[941] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593
428 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595
178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
281 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

• 595 iram to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-iram), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

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Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are a-typical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of the population than is commonly the case. The following table on number of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Wguburu, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

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[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

595 632 162 [361] [366]

five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

595 [128]

Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society. [184]

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his graharies, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

3. Length of Marriage

593 The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leaven gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

593 592 602 With the longer term of residence in the husband's compound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

593 [565] [595] This variety of long term marriage is more common among the upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

593 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a
565 higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realises that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

593 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the
156 husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and
557 return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and resp the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [709] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kagumeri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is considerable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of younger people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

4. The Family.

As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

596 592 in the household of the boy's father, or when an elderly parent is taken into his son or daughter's household, three generations are found living together. Most typically, no more than two generations are found living in the same household. These may be either nuclear families, or polygamous families.

595 Polygamy is preferred, though it is of course difficult to support two or more wives. Sororal polygamy is forbidden--a man may not marry two sisters; in fact, he is forbidden from visiting with two sisters who are both zogors (and therefore he would presumably be sleeping with them), since they are both potentially spouses.

A man's house is surrounded by the walls of his compound, and within these walls live all the members of his household. Each wife must have her own house with its small surrounding area. This is her zəgəzə (meaning a narrow area). It is preferable that the house areas of a man's co-wives be distinctly separated, so that one wife cannot hear her husband as he speaks to his other wife when they are alone. The zəgəzə are frequently walled off within the compound. Since the husband usually builds his house, or has it built for him by his father, he is the owner, and theoretically he owns everything which belongs to his wife as well, her clothing and her personal effects, and the cooking utensils, storage pots, and household possessions. He can demand these things from her should she leave his house, though this rarely happens and she normally leaves, taking these possessions with her.

422 593 [586]

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organisation with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents, will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for pol-
125 itical reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

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als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensitivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms

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of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the fatherhead of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

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Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal extended family grouping,[1] the son (7) will soon be moving out to form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

[1] [cf. p. 86]

593 complete autonomy even when his new residence pattern has been
596
571 established. On the other hand, the father is only a lower link in
593 a large,complex political system, and the father's relationships to
557 those above him are carefully scanned by the son. If the father should fall out of favour in the total political organization of Bornu, then to that extent his degree of power over his son may diminish, for the son being desirous of eventually stepping into the father's shoes is also sensitive to higher authorities than those of his immediate residential grouping. The continued loyalty and subservience of the son is therefore a function of the father's beneficence and his total position in the society at large. Certainly the bonds of consanguinity enter to thicken the tie between them, but a continued violation of the above methods of making the relationship work, i.e. validating the relationship, would lead to the possibility of the son looking for a more beneficent superior, real father notwithstanding. The father-son relationship would then have more formal bèrzum (respect) than actual functioning power and authority involved. Because of the ascribed nature of the real father role, however, the relationship can never be totally divested of authority. He can always secure some little performance or action on the part of the son, which the culture sanctions, such as attendance at family weddings, funerals, etc. although his power, i.e. his ability to make decisions about action for his son's behaviour is more highly variable and requires more careful cultivation if it is to be as diffuse as is ideally desired in the patrilocal family organization.

571 If the foregoing description seems too mechanistic, it is
557 a result of the example chosen to illustrate the phenomena. In this

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565 the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of loneliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practise preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe.). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.(1)

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596 For the most part the older men who had practised preferential marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal extended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.

(1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
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454 into old age.

888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
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[596] for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

592 slaves living within the compound as part of the household may
567 be children or young girls, or they may be chirs. Murshe who
565 bear children are freed by virtue of being the mother of their
[428] master's child, though they remain murshe. Such a child inherits equally with children borne to a wife.

592 At present there are many powerful and wealthy household
556 heads who are not members of the aristocracy or royalty. These
565 men, though they do not own slaves, are important men in the larger towns, and their households reflect their wealth and
592 their social importance. Included as part of their household
597 may be children who have been given to them and are their adopted sons. Children are frequently given by their parents to individuals in other households, where they grow up. There are two types of 'giving': a child may be given to a close relative, such as to one's childless brother or to one's mother, whose children are all grown and whose house is now empty. A man blessed with many children of his own will give a child to a
592 relative. Another sort of giving involves naming the child
597 after an important man (the child's chibuna). The chibuna then
557 has the option of asking for the child after it is weaned, or
[553] later, so that the child will grow up in his household as his adopted son. A child growing up as part of an important man's household will have many possibilities open to him, possibilities not available to the common man. The parents make the initial choice when they name the child, indicating that they would wish their son to grow up in his chibuna's household. The

592 important man then exercises his choice by asking for the child
597 should he observe it to be bright and attractive, or neglecting
557 to ask should he for some reason not want the child. The child is usually given at the time of weaning. If the child is given to his chibuna, he does not return to visit his real parents, as there is shame (nungu) involved, though he will not call his adopted parent "my mother", or "my father." A man treats his adopted son (his chibuna--a reciprocal term) just as he would
[428] treat his own son. However, the boy does not inherit from his
[583] chibuna. The head of the household does supply his adopted son with a bride-price when he marries.

557 Many boys are named after nobles, after Lowans and Ajias.
592 Some of these chibuna are taken into the aristocratic household,
597 though a good many are not and grow up in their true father's
565 household. Certain talaka household heads have become very wealthy in the recent years, and have three or even four wives and very large households. Neighbors and acquaintances may name their sons after these men, who may then take their young chibuna into their household. It is clear, therefore, that size and composition of one's household is related to the old system of social stratification (royalty, aristocracy, talaka, slaves), since slaves are part of the household of both royalty and aris-
[178] tocracy. It is also related to the rise of new classes of people, as a result of changing economic and political conditions, and this can be seen in the giving of children to household heads who are themselves talaka, but have become powerful and wealthy.

[GEIDAM]

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning	597 565
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning	554
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning	463
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning	
Kabuna	-		
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11	
	8		

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

163 163 165 [842] [164] 164 586 [842]

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
163 [192] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invari-
ably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are
high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

• 597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the
great love for children and desire to have children. How-
ever, those who have borne a child have indicated their abil-
ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
able to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen
that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the
child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.

[GEIDAM]

592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson.
592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat-
586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away
597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are
565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in
463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named
[553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one
592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that
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592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that
592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
554
463 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of
[162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

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as a term of reference. The terms given in the appendix for full and half-siblings are only very rarely used as terms of reference, and never in addressing the person involved. The polite and proper behaviour being the use of sibling terms, and if finer distinctions become necessary, the relationship is referred to descriptively, a very common practice in referring to kinship relations. Informants claimed that the "real" term for ego's father's other wives is ya chintu (far mother) and its reciprocal is tada chintu (far child, male). However, the term is considered derogatory, even in reference, and would only be utilized if there were well developed antagonism between the actors. Ego, in order to be polite, should use the terms of reference and address for Fa-Sis, when speaking of or to his father's other wives. On the other hand, these latter women will never speak of ego as tadanyi (my child, male) as the real Fa-Sis might easily do, but refer to ego as tada kwanyi (my husband's child). The only time the rule is broken is when ego's mother dies and he is adopted by one of his mother's co-wives. Then she is called either ya (mother) or the Fa-Sis term is kept in use, and ego may now be referred to as tadanyi (my male child) by his father's other wife. The same thing occurs between ego and his mother's other husbands besides ego's father. There are reciprocal terms which are derogatory and indicate bad feeling between the parties if they are used - aba chintu (far father) and again tada chintu (far child, male) - whereas rawa (Mo-Bro) is the polite term unless ego wishes to insult his mother's husband. The reciprocally polite term is tada kamunyi (my wife's child, male) or tada kàrsminyi (my Yo-sibling's male child).

[597]

It has been mentioned that siblings rather than use the

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm, 853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

Childhood

862 [858] [114] With the onset of childhood, which is formalized at eighteen months by weaning, the overt pressures of socialization begin for the young child. No systematic data were gathered on the effects of this formal change-over from breast-feeding. Everyone knew of a wide range of variation in reaction on the part of the infants; some babies wean easily, others require much more training. In the latter case, the more stringent techniques are utilized, but still with a matter of fact, unperturbed attitude towards the inevitability of the weaning procedure.

In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

597 It is just after weaning that most Kanuri adoptions take place. A very rough estimate of adoptions, taken from genealogical data, would put the figure at somewhere between 35-45% for the present

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 601 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bawa (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a
[565] good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her bawa (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they
[601] lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as baba or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it.
[842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

597 603 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 571 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

597 571 uity into his own generation of one link or agent of his parents' relational network in the society.

861 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training begins to be applied to the child.

863 Toilet training is geared to the acquisition of walking skills. As soon as the child is able to toddle on its feet the adult woman in whose hut it lives starts enforcing the rule that the child should go outside of the hut, stoop on the ground and use only the left hand for any function having to do with toilet activities. Failure to learn these skills is met with more insistent pressure as time goes on. A young child only recently weaned who cannot accomplish facile toilet functions may not even be scolded. However, with increased age and language skill, admonitions soon begin and are given with increasing frequency; the child is told that it is dirty, bad, and that it must not do such things as urinate on the hut floor. The severity depends upon the particular situation, the age of the child, and the mood and personality of the mother, grandmother, or other socializing agent who may be quite calm on some occasions and rather angry on others. The following excerpt from notes taken by the writer's wife describe a socialization situation:

> If Kachella gana (aged two) visiting my house makes a puddle on the cement floor, his grandmother will ask for a tin of water to pour on the floor and to wash the child, and this will be done either with no comment at all or, "Oh Kachella, look what you have done." On such occasions Kachella does not show much discomfort. But if the child is sleeping on his grandmother's bed and wakes up wet, he may hear, "Get up! get up! You dirty little boy" and so on for four or five minutes. During such an outburst Kachella is liable to be sitting on the floor howling piteously, which gives rise to increased consequences. Another child is told to bring a soft corn stock, which granny waves menacingly as she cautions Kachella to "Stop! Stop! Stop!" and having achieved the desired effect, puts down the corn stock beside her as a warning. We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Family and Household in Bornu

AFTER SUMMARIZING the historical background and the setting of Kanuri life, I can now proceed to analyze the society as a working, on-going whole, in other words as a process. Anthropologists generally do this by dividing the society up into what they consider to be its most significant parts. They then describe each part and try to show how these parts are related to one another, and to the functioning of a whole society. The manner in which such an analysis proceeds—what is left out, what is included, and what comes first or last—is the product of the author's "functional theory" of the society, his idea of how it works. 121 128

For Kanuri society I have chosen to start with kinship and the household as the first parts of the whole to be described and understood. First, the household is where the Kanuri themselves begin to learn of their own society and how they must act to become full-fledged participants. Secondly these parts, especially that of the household, form the basic units of Kanuri social structure such that almost all other social life in Bornu can be analyzed and understood once these particular parts are described. To start with a description of any other part of the society such as the economic or the political organization would require explanations and references to family and household life in order to make the material understandable to the reader. It is better to start the analysis at this point—that of kinship and household—then proceed to build up a picture of the society having first looked at what I consider to be its crucible, the kinship system, and its cornerstone, the household.

The Kinship System

The kinship system of any society involves three categories of behavior that may overlap one another but are always different from each other. They are as follows: 121 69 69

(a) Genealogical relations—the links between individuals which are based upon biological reproduction.

(b) Descent relations—the links between individuals which are based upon

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

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The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 takes place. Here an individual learns the modes of behavior towards others that he
571 requires for an adequate and successful social life in Kanuri society. The kinship
601 system, the family, and the household produce individuals who can live in other
182 households; and using the basic modes of behavior from household life they can participate in the widely ramified political and economic organization of their society. Thus kinship, family, and household—but most importantly the household and the superior-subordinate relations within it—provide a basis and a locus for maintaining the society and its values in their present form.

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

888 183 [565]

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

888 589 592 [601] 887 888 443 434 [565]

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

888 565 589 592 888 565 589 434

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

6. The Web of Kinship.

61 It was noted earlier that, according to Fortes, the rise of the state marks a decline in the importance of corporate descent groups. Fortes cites the Nupe as a case in point. Nadel, who has described the Nupe in detail, has this to say about kinship:

> "Let me say in conclusion that kinship structure in Nupe is not that dominant, all-enveloping structure which we know from many primitive societies. Although it bears upon religious life, education, and the organization of production, it is greatly overshadowed as a determinant of social behavior by the factors of political organization and, in economic life, by economic interests proper."[1]

This is even more true for the Kanuri, who have no kin groups, than it is for the Nupe, who are patrilineal in descent and have
61 patrilineages. The Kanuri recognize kinship as an ever-widen-
602 ing network of relationships. Behavior towards one's various relatives is structured and follows cultural rules of respect and joking as the case may be, but, as in most bilateral societies, only the personal kindred exists, definable for any given individual but without the formal properties of a group.

• 601 The word dur is used in referring to both family and relatives. The Kanuri distinguish between relatives linked through one's mother, referred to as dur chambe(family through milk), and relatives linked through one's father, called dur bube (fam-
602 ily through blood). They say that the dur bube (father's family)
627 is stronger than the dur chambe, and in explanation they offer the following example: if a child is killed by someone, the

1 S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 33.

Chapter IV [p.50]

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

Kinship Terminology (1)

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In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kèsai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouse's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

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602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kèsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kèsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kèsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different [591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the [428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on [671] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important. (1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanum (your [603] mother) or yansè (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

• 601 as a term of reference. The terms given in the appendix for full and half-siblings are only very rarely used as terms of reference, and never in addressing the person involved. The polite and proper behaviour being the use of sibling terms, and if finer distinctions become necessary, the relationship is referred to descriptively, a very common practice in referring to kinship relations. Informants claimed that the "real" term for ego's father's other wives is ya chintu (far mother) and its reciprocal is tada chintu (far child, male). However, the term is considered derogatory, even in reference, and would only be utilized if there were well developed antagonism between the actors. Ego, in order to be polite, should use the terms of reference and address for Fa-Sis, when speaking of or to his father's other wives. On the other hand, these latter women will never speak of ego as tadanyi (my child, male) as the real Fa-Sis might easily do, but refer to ego as tada kwanyi (my husband's [597] child). The only time the rule is broken is when ego's mother dies and he is adopted by one of his mother's co-wives. Then she is called either ya (mother) or the Fa-Sis term is kept in use, and ego may now be referred to as tadanyi (my male child) by his father's other wife. The same thing occurs between ego and his mother's other husbands besides ego's father. There are reciprocal terms which are derogatory and indicate bad feeling between the parties if they are used - aba chintu (far father) and again tada chintu (far child, male) - whereas rawa (Mo-Bro) is the polite term unless ego wishes to insult his mother's husband. The reciprocally polite term is tada kamunyi (my wife's child, male) or tada kèraminyi (my Yo-sibling's male child).

It has been mentioned that siblings rather than use the

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilised rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tile (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called nungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bèrzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and numkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarises the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin.(1)

[115] 602 124 128

(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

607 Informants
[587] say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded
[601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

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[601] There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his
605 joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior
601 in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunyi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings
605 into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only
[582] marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

601

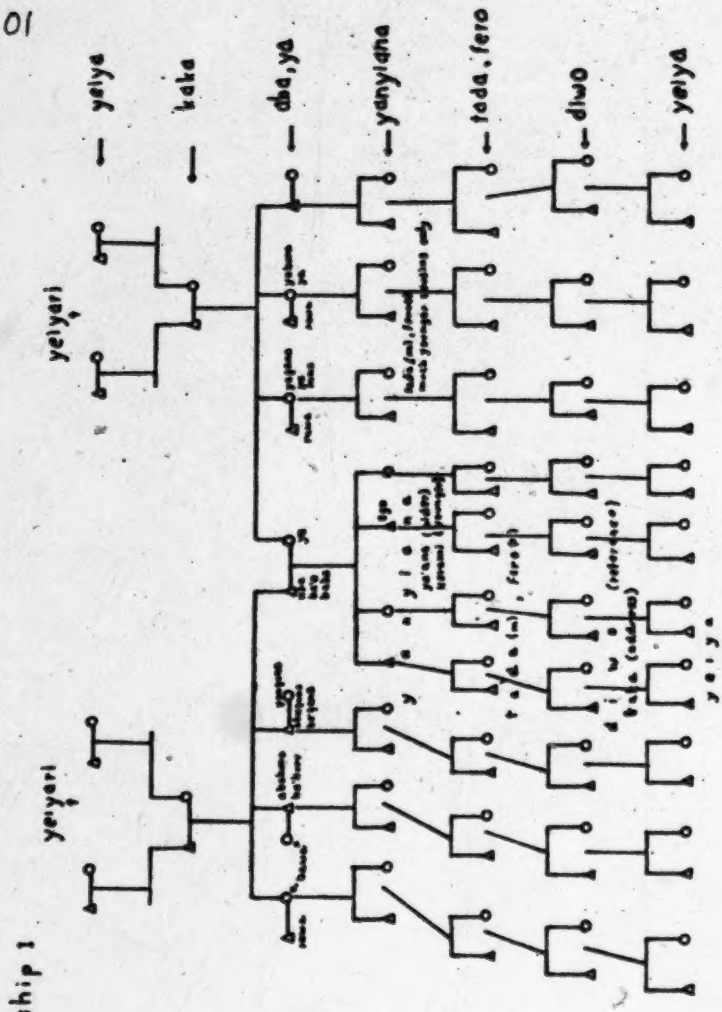
Kanuri Kinship Terminology

ya	Mo, Mo-Sis, Mo-Mo, Fa-Mo, any older female
yakura	Mo-Ol-Sis
yinna, yagana (rare)	Mo-Yo-Sis
rawa, raba	Mo-Bro, Fa-Sis-Hu, Mo-Hu, Mo-Hu (not own father), Mo-Divorced-Hu.
aba, ba'a, baba	Fa-Bro
abakura, ba'kura, babakura	Fa-Ol-Bro
bawa, baba	Fa-Sis, Mo-Bro-Wi, Fa-Ol.Bro-Wi, Fa-other-wives, M-co-wives
abagana, ba'gana, babagana	Fa-Yo-Bro
yangana	Fa-Yo-Bro-Wi
kaka, ka'a	Mo-Mo, Mo-Fa, Fa-Mo, Fa-Fa, any old person, Wi-grandparents, all sons and daughters of ego's own children, with less frequency - the sons and daughters of people ego calls son and daughter. For 2nd descendent generation, only as term of address.
yeiya	anyone on the 3rd ascendant and descendant generation of ego's kin relations.
yeiyari	Anyone of ego's kin relations beyond the 3rd ascendant generation.
yanyiana	Bro, Sis, Half-Bro, Half-Sis, Ol-cross and parallel cousins of either sex.
kàrami	Yo-Bro, Yo-Sis, Yo-Half-Bro, Yo-Half-Sis, Yo-cross and parallel cousins of either sex.
yabe	same as kàrami, not used often, also any person junior to ego.
shakik (rare)	full brother, sister.
aba'ana (rare)	Half-Bro, Half-Sis, same father
kalala (rare)	Half-Bro, Half-Sis, same mother

• 601

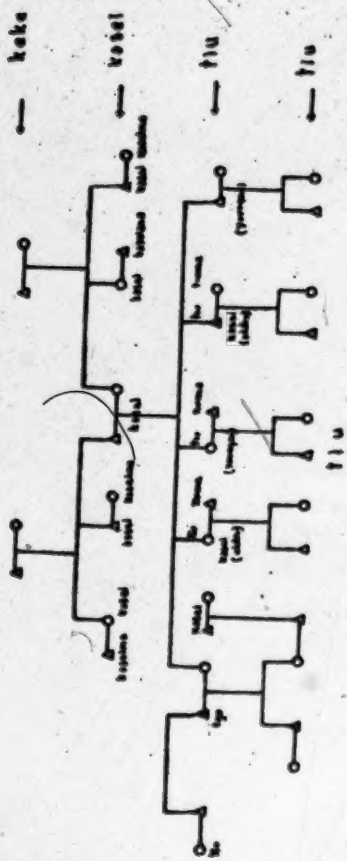
tada	own son, own children's sons, own children's male grandchildren, junior male cousins and their male descendants, general term for male child of any one.
fero	same as tada, only female.
diwe	grandchild (reference)
fèndi	child of a cousin marriage
kèsai	senior in-law, Wi-parents and their collaterals, Wi-Ol-Siblings (sometimes)
tim	junior in-law, Wi-Siblings real and classificatory especially juniors, all wife's junior relatives
kamunyi	my wife (reference)
kwanyi	my husband (reference)
tiuàma	spouse of wife's collaterals

• 601



Kinship 1

• 601



Kinship II

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child
601 is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bawa (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a
[565] good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her bawa (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at
[601] their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ba'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it.
[842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

597 603 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 571 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.*

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the 887
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the [582]
time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

rare circumstances women themselves initiate the proceedings by announcing the divorce, although this is usually done with a circumlocution such as when she says, as one woman did, "There is nothing holding us together but these gifts that you have given me. Take them. I wish to go." 593 586

About eighty to ninety percent of all marriages end in divorce, probably because it is such a simple affair. The husband in most cases simply tells the wife to go, saying "I divorce you." He does not say it three times, as is usual in Islamic countries, because the wife may return, for the Kanuri practice of Muslim marriage is such that, after saying "I divorce you," three times there should be no reconciliation or remarriage. Once a pronouncement of divorce has been made the woman leaves her husband's household and the marriage enters a special hundred-day period in which the woman cannot remarry although the man may do so. This is defined as a waiting period to see whether or not the woman is pregnant so that the man can claim the child. The woman generally returns to her *luwali* at this time and there is always some negotiation between the man and the *luwali* to see whether or not the marriage can be patched up. About one-third of all divorce pronouncements do end in reconciliation even though the husband most often divorces her again later on. It is interesting to note that unlike western society, practically no Kanuri divorce cases (perhaps one percent) go to the courts; thus it is impossible to get the records of divorce except through field study of actual cases. [779] [114]

When a divorce occurs children remain with their father unless they are still nursing. After nursing they are generally sent back to the father's household, although the period is sometimes stretched out for young girls who are trained by their mothers. Children of broken unions are cared for by a father's co-wife or by some other close relative of the father. Contacts with a divorced parent are always maintained and the child visits his or her mother regularly. This is especially true for boys who expect to take care of their mother when she is an elderly unmarried woman. Conflicts sometimes arise because a man's daughter does not return and the mother's relatives or one of her subsequent husbands might try to arrange a marriage without consulting her own father. If such consultations take place, however, no one feels put out and the man who arranged the marriage takes a portion of the bridewealth in payment.

Each spouse in a marriage maintains very close contacts with his or her own relatives. Presents are exchanged and visits back and forth between members of kin groups are very common. Children are named after relatives, especially grandparents, and in many cases go to live with them after weaning, or before the birth of a new baby in the family. Only in cases of long term marriage does a wife finally come to feel a part of and fully accepted by her husband's family. However when this does happen the wife can become a very powerful voice in the family, and her long and intimate association with her husband often means that she has become a permanent authority in the household. In one such case a senior wife had never been married to anyone else and had been married to her husband, a powerful man in the village, for thirty years. The man remarked that he made very few decisions without consulting this woman, and people recognized that she had a powerful position in village affairs. Such cases, however, are not common. Kanuri marriage involves a separation of the sexes not only by custom and tradition but as a result of the conflicts in marriage relations which produce tensions between husbands and 593 602 [553] 593

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 579 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Although men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast down-
576 wards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In-
[582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people
576 with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent,
602 although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex.
571 Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of
576 interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational
578 groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in
602 such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger,
[182] calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up
572 with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age
593 and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friend-
602 ship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving
867 are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale so-
626 cial relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59

Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bər-zum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ə is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

592 Relationships within the household are patterned after kinship
[602] relations, and kinship terminology is used in referring to these relations, but kinship is not the basis for establishing these relationships in the first place. The household is a corporate group, in that its membership is clearly defined, it operates with common interests of the group in mind, and the household group is itself structured and dependent upon the fulfillment of mutual obligations. In this sense, the household group among the Kanuri is functionally very similar to the corporate kin group in a society with unilineal descent.

The household is made up of all those individuals living within compound walls; the physical definition of the compound
[594] corresponds to the social unit of the household. A household may be as small as two people--husband and wife, and in a statistical sense the commonest type of household is made up of
592 the nuclear family. It was noted that in the small villages
369 wealth differences between various members of a village were
565 slight, and consequently polygamy tends to be rare. It follows, too, that under those circumstances the household is
[595] small, usually no larger than the nuclear family. In the larger towns, households may be very large, since households vary directly in size with the wealth and social class of the household head. Many of the factors which enter into the growth of a man's household concern the system of social stratification among the Kanuri. Some indication of the nature of social

6. The Web of Kinship.

61 It was noted earlier that, according to Fortes, the rise of the state marks a decline in the importance of corporate descent groups. Fortes cites the Nupe as a case in point. Nadel, who has described the Nupe in detail, has this to say about kinship:

> "Let me say in conclusion that kinship structure in Nupe is not that dominant, all-enveloping structure which we know from many primitive societies. Although it bears upon religious life, education, and the organization of production, it is greatly overshadowed as a determinant of social behavior by the factors of political organization and, in economic life, by economic interests proper."[1]

This is even more true for the Kanuri, who have no kin groups, than it is for the Nupe, who are patrilineal in descent and have
61 patrilineages. The Kanuri recognize kinship as an ever-widen-
• 602 ing network of relationships. Behavior towards one's various relatives is structured and follows cultural rules of respect and joking as the case may be, but, as in most bilateral societies, only the personal kindred exists, definable for any given individual but without the formal properties of a group.

601 The word dur is used in referring to both family and relatives. The Kanuri distinguish between relatives linked through one's mother, referred to as dur chambe(family through milk), and relatives linked through one's father, called dur bube (fam-
602 ily through blood). They say that the dur bube (father's family)
627 is stronger than the dur chambe, and in explanation they offer the following example: if a child is killed by someone, the

1 S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 33.

602 younger brother (kərami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The kərami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, <u>jili</u>, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
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[197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

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second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
163 [192] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[468] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invari-
ably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are
high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
• 602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the
great love for children and desire to have children. How-
ever, those who have borne a child have indicated their abil-
ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
able to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen
that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the
child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.

Chapter IV

[p.50]

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.(1)

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Kinship Terminology

In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kásai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouse's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

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602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kèsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kèsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kèsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different [591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the [428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on [671] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanum (your [603] mother) or yanzè (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilized rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tile (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bàrzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and numkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarizes the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin.(1)

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(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

TABLE I

• 602 Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Response to the Category*

**	Par. & Par-Coll	Ego's Coll	G/Par & G/G/Par	Affines of Par-Coll	Senior in-laws	Junior in-laws
shame	48.8	5.8	0	26.1	89.8	14.6
respect	82.4	33.8	14.9	97.5	96.4	42.1
joking	1.9	2.4	100.0	0	2.3	66.0
friendship	12.9	76.4	0	7.0	16.6	26.6
total number of responses	262	233	87	157	168	233

* The figures are percentages of the total response; thus 48.8% of the 262 responses given to parents and parents' collaterals were mungu (shame). They have been reduced to percentages in order to make them comparable with other columns in which total responses add up to different numbers.
** Par. = Parents; Coll. = Collaterals.

Shame (mungu)

Mungu is a general category of behaviour which describes relationships that are restricted in some way by rule. Under this general rubric there are two distinct kinds of action which hold for two different categories of relatives. Firstly, shame-avoidance

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informants, especially in the cases of extreme aberrancy (if any such existed). Consequently in order to be as conservative as possible, it would be wise to conclude that the questionnaire material represents an attempt to obtain a picture of real kinship behaviour, which has most likely had its sharply deviant content rounded off by the ideal patterns of the culture.

602 264 Firstly, shame-avoidance whose criterion is whether or not the incumbents may eat food together or in the presence of one another, and secondly, shame-respect wherein food may be shared but ego must sit with eyes downcast and only the most necessary conversation passes between the parties. As a general rule the first holds between affines, although Table I illustrates the variability in this respect, and the second holds among consanguinal kin. There is a strong shame-avoidance relation between ego and his senior in-laws (kàsai); that is to say he will not eat in their presence, and he will not enter a hut alone with any of his female kàsai unless he has been in the habit of doing any of these before marriage.(1) This latter refers to the case of a preferential cousin marriage or marriage with the daughter 606 of a close friend. A polite person (male speaking) would manifest signs of shame-avoidance behaviour, no matter what his previous relationship with his future father-in-law, around the time of the marriage. It is then up to the in-law in question to remind him of their prior relationship and to persuade him that there should be no nungu between them now that they are son-in-law and father-in-law to one another.

593 Ideally, ego should show shame-avoidance in the presence of his wife when they are in public and only the most necessary conversation should pass between them. After many years of marriage or in the case of a barren marriage depending on the wishes of the couple involved, much of the formality of shame-avoidance (except

(1) An upper class informant claimed that a man should never even visit his in-laws alone but should always go in the company of friends.

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604 In qualitative terms the table indicates that there is a relaxation of the shame-respect relation between ego and his parent's generation members of either sex as ego moves outward from own parents to their collaterals. One informant expressed the difference in behaviour towards own parents and their collaterals in the following manner:

> If I have matters to discuss about needing things, I will talk to my father; but if I wish to talk about marrying a girl - I will not talk to my father or my mother - there is shame in this - I will talk to my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) or my abakura (Fa-Ol-Bro) if I have one - then I will tell to my sister or my brother (real or classificatory) or my friends to go and tell my father and mother for me. I must never talk directly to my father and my mother about anything about my marriage.

593 After a marriage is joined any trouble between a man and his wife should ideally never get back to a man's parents if the man and his wife are not of the same family. However, such matters can usually be arranged through intermediaries.

• 602 There is a respect relationship between a husband's parents and his wife's parents, with tradition leaning over on the side of the wife's parents as to who receives more respect. That is to say, tradition directs that the bride's kindred are in a higher social status position than the groom's. However, the comparative social position of the two families in the society at large is a very real consideration in this matter. This respect relation overlaps into shame avoidance between the in-laws of opposite sex.

593 There is a variable discipline-respect relationship between ego and his older siblings of the same sex depending upon age disparity, presence or absence of real or adopted parents, and consideration of power and authority. If an older brother has taken

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action is one of reciprocal joking. The joking itself is related to the respect behaviour. The older or senior member (Ol-Sis-Hu) must always joke with the younger or junior (Wi-Yo-Bro) saying he will obtain either a spouse or a sexual partner for the latter. And this is an essential aspect of bèrzum; the senior must give something in return for the subservience he receives.

TABLE IV

Responses to Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro

	Respect		Joking	
	R	N-R	R	N-R
Ol-Sis-Hu	36	5	35	6
Wi-Yo-Bro	4	36	37	3
sig. level	.01		-	

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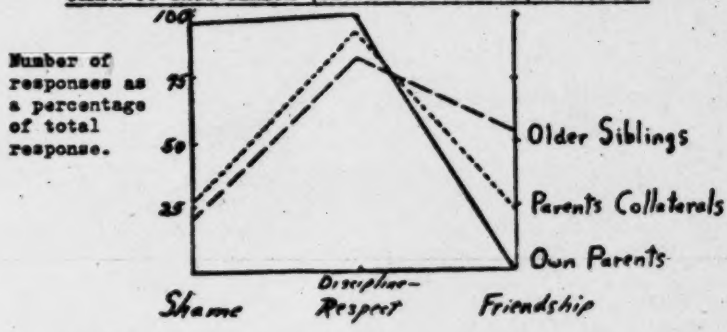
It is now possible to make a more summary comment about the nature of the bèrzum behaviour norm in the kinship system. It can be said to range on a continuum from shame-respect through discipline-respect to friendship-discipline-respect, represented by three categories of relatives (a) own parents, (b) parent's collaterals, and (c) older siblings. Any of these who assume the own-parents role in relation to ego takes over the expected behaviour

GRAPH TO SHOW BERZUM (DISCIPLINE-RESPECT) CONTINUUM



602 from ego necessarily. It was noted that the behaviour is a response to power and authority and is non-reciprocal. This means that bèrzum is non-reciprocal, not the relationship in which it obtains. Respect ideally moves from junior to senior in a relationship, but as we shall see respect (bèrzum) must be cultivated if it is to flourish.

571 Beyond the operative limits of the kinship system, bèrzum is the essential quality of all relationships in the society which involve power and authority. If the relationship is of a master-servant variety then the subordinate gives bèrzum to the superior, while the superior will totally or partially feed, clothe, house and even obtain a wife for the subordinate (i.e. help with the bride-wealth, or even in some cases find a girl for him). The superior in such a relationship is often referred to as abanjima (father of the house) especially when the subordinate lives in or near the compound of his superior and the superior refers to the subordinate as his tada njima (child of the house).

571 576 To a lesser extent the bèrzum relationship is imbedded in the etiquette system of Kanuri greeting customs. This is called nona which means paying-one's-respects-to a superior. Here, although the bèrzum is only momentary, it symbolises and validates status differences in Kanuri social structure. The rule is simply this: a high status person never goes to call on or greet a lower status person. By following the reverse order, that is the lower status person always calling on or greeting the higher status person, respect is delivered in the proper direction and the lower status individual indicates his recognition of the power and auth-

571 ority of the superior in the society as a whole, thereby validating
576 the status hierarchy of the social structure.

571 In terms of the present analysis bèrzum is such an essential quality in the fabric of Kanuri interpersonal relations that it bears closer scrutiny. To do this we can use the method of presentation being followed here and return to the kinship system working out from there to the wider society. The content of the bèrzum relationship includes a sense of mutual obligation partially symbolized by the Kanuri concept of "trust" (aman). It is only partial because aman as we shall see has an affective connotation not necessarily implied in the bèrzum relationship.

• 602 In the questionnaire results, no differences were obtained from informants as to their behaviour towards patrilateral as compared with matrilateral kin. However, the interviewer also asked the respondants which kin they felt more aman with. In this case a definite discrimination between the descent groups was asked for and the answer was unequivocally in favour of the patrilateral group. The solution to the problem lies in the nature of the word aman (trust). It is not a unidimensional term implying only one kind of attitude, but subsumes within it several different kinds of trust, and it depends upon how the question is phrased which descent group will get the comparatively greater amount of aman in the individual's judgment. If the question is asked barely, with no indication or hypothetical case which might refer to loans or credit or emotional factors, the answer comes back quickly (and this is universal for all strata of society) that there is more aman with the patrilateral group. The reasons given for this choice are also

602 elicited with little difficulty:

[682] [683] It is the father's family that is responsible for the dia (blood-money, compensation to a non-group member and his group for physical injuries or death brought about by the activity of own group members), they will support you if you get into trouble, it is from them that you get your property, if you marry and have no money, they will collect it for you, and you don't have to pay it back, but you will help them when asked for other people in the family - they are the mai durbe (king of the families).

Upper class members made the following generalization in their statements about the father's family: they felt that the great utility of the patrilateral group is its readiness to support an individual member when he is in trouble, and of course its eventual material use to him in terms of property.

When informants were asked at some other time about the matrilateral kin group without any reference to the father's family and in the context of a conversation having to do with loans and credit, the answer was similar to the following given by a small hamlet farmer:

> Oh yes, for these things (credit) you must go to your mother's family, they will not refuse you anything, for they feel for you like a mother feels for her child.

Upper class members observed similarly that if summa kalewa (if all was well) then people like their mother's family better, it is more [184] affectionate. They also felt that it might be easier to borrow money from the matrilateral groups but were not as unanimous in this respect as the lower class member (neither class was completely unanimous).

[152] In answer to questions about jealousy (kendulí) differences, all informants agreed that there was much more of this among the patrilateral group. One informant expanded this as follows:

602 If you try to take kare (possessions, property, material wealth) from your father's family as a loan, or for any purpose at all, then they feel that perhaps they will not get it back, and you are trying to get some of the family (pat.) property which by the rules of inheritance is not supposed to come to you, but go to someone else. But the mother's family like you very much, they will give you things, and if you promise to pay back a loan from them they will trust you and wait patiently.

[828] Informants also knew that personality entered into the question, and were always ready to qualify these generalizations about the descent groups with a story, whose moral indicated that a kind and generous man was always so no matter what kind of a kinsman he was, or whether or not he was a kinsman at all.

Thus, leaving aside personality differences, there are two basic kinds of aman (trust), one for each descent group. The patrilateral aman defines the mutual obligations which members of the group experience as members, in the face of non-members, i.e. society at large. For this group aman also means source of my past, present and future, my inheritance, in every sense of the word. An individual has aman with the patrilateral group because they give him much of his social and material security as a human being in society. They will stand behind him in times of trouble and they will ensure that he has the necessary objects with which to sustain his social existence (land, a house, tools, a wife, political membership in the State). Ego can appeal to this group for help; threaten a Kanuri and he immediately thinks of the aman he has with his patrilateral group which he can invoke to meet any oncoming danger. Inheritance is tied into the same concept, for it is the insurance for the individual's future sustenance and material place in the social order. It gives time-depth and perpetuity to his aman with the patrilateral group.

The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers

171 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which 66.
• 602 Smith refers[1] for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex relational system.

602 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent system
433 would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as if this might be a useful model of organisation for future economic development, which requires credit and loans.

602 A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations
571 in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is
[433] quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the continuity of social life. To obtain a workable social organisation of any kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patently scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less intensified while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organisation in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her rela-
[591] tives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom
[572] of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social equals.

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Research Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

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In interpersonal relations in the society at large aman or trust is most often used in the patrilateral sense of the word when social organization is involved. Thus, in the anthropologist's household, one of the members who developed yearnings for the women of the other household members, and was suspected of taking ways, became increasingly estranged from the general corpus of the household personnel. The comments about him, most often muttered under their breaths by the others, were "aman ba", no trust, and "shim ngundu" narrow eyes, i.e. no proper feelings of shame and respect. That is to say, he neglected or rejected the proper rules of trust behaviour which should be practised by a person living in a household unit. Thus aman (trust) in the patrilateral sense is the working mechanism of bàrzum (respect). Bàrzum as a formal or structural behaviour norm can often be tied to nona, to pay one's respects to a superior, but when it includes aman it is a more functional and purposeful interaction and is tied into the successful or unsuccessful operation of interpersonal relations. Consequently, when the two are linked together, i.e. when a respect relationship also involves patri-aman, its neglect or infringement causes a judgment of lack of "proper" respect to be placed on the head of the individual offender who breaks faith. To the Kanuri then, the best respect, the real respect relationship involves aman, and without this essential feature the relationship is more formal than functional. Here again the concept of a continuum is useful in filling out the complex variability of the respect relation. In terms of utility, the respect relation runs from extremely little, which is symbolized in nona, (paying one's respects to a superior), through to aman, (trusting a superior and being loyal to him), in return for the support and maintenance he can bestow. The value of these different aspects of respect both functionally to the

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602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalised pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if
[855] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are
[591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth-
[553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate
553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer-
602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

553 602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bàrsum) because there is no bàrsum, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of some respect (bàrsum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocality of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the yeiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

603 [591] [593] [867] [602]

It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of ecotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialised in a grandparent's
[862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602] [553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of
[551] opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

(184) Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an
571 ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers;
614 pepper sellers and kola-nut whoesalers. Joking relations also hold
648 between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tàra; Kuburi and Tàra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bèdde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to
602 cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

571 joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild re-
[602] lationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka
[601] (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no
[829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include
602 those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking
[128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

593 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 There is much friendship practised between ego and his
602 collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzá (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate
[476] friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sárwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sárwa contributions, and his ashirmanzá.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-

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829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendhip relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalized recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealized Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

592 Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion
[571] that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal rela-
[602] tions in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realized that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily
592 identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass
351 matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the gendalogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by
[587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his
[554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He Married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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571 Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs
[591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up
[621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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593 In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory
• 602 organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of <u>bèrzum</u> its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

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602 als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensitivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect, the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest proportion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms
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593 of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the father-head of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they require in return for their subservience, then to that extent the discipline aspect of the bàrzum is impaired. In other words, power will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàrzum from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must continually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

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571 Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal extended family grouping,[1] the son (7) will soon be moving out to form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth, his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance plus a political office which he values upon his father's death. Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

[1] [cf. p. 86]

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
[585] about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.
583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent superiors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.
583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, entertainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

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584 is arrived at through bargaining done between intermediaries for the husband-elect and the girl's luwali. The primary reason given for this use of intermediaries is that a man should not indulge in argument with his potential father-in-law. The luwali of the girl uses a number of arguments to persuade the suitor to raise the price of the luwaliram. Thus he tells of the qualities of the girl, her family connections, the large number of people to whom the luwaliram must be distributed, i.e. the people who have a claim or an interest in the girl's marriage. He often hints broadly at the gifts which the young man may expect from the girl's family to offset the expense of the payment, in order to assure the suitor that the bridewealth payment is only a returnable token which should be raised in order to add dignity and prestige to the entire affair. Most of it, in all likelihood, he suggests will be returned at the next ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the wedding. The luwali also tries to assure the groom's party that the girl will have a very fine dowry of enamel plates, clothes, pots, pillows, mats, jewellry, etc., which will give the groom much prestige and perhaps even a source of capital. The luwali may complain that he is spending a lot of money on the dowry, which he feels must be compensated by a high bridewealth payment. The husband-elect, on the other hand, tries to point out through his intermediaries how much the marriage expenses in general are costing him and how the entire negotiation may endanger his socio-economic status. However, he must not push such an argument too far or his suit might be considered ill-advised. His best argument is usually a threat of withdrawal, or a feint in that direction, at which point the prices may be lowered somewhat as an inducement to his re-entry into the fray.

[602] The luwaliram payment is distributed by the luwali among the close bilateral relatives of the young girl, although he keeps a major

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584 portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasizes the patri-
602 lateral group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliram.

587 With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliram payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliram payment.

584 With the completion of the luwaliram payment the final ar-
585 rangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada'a, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliram payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

584 If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the
691 luwaliram, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

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586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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[693] In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with
[691] him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
• 602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
586 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
[695] times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bridewealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

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593 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

[691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.
[184]

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kirani (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
(602) would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
(606) ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

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(1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

581 In discussing the matter
582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
• 602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which draws a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

582 557 The next type of marriage to be considered is the <u>nyia kam rukatabe</u> (marriage of pleasure). The expression means marriage to a man of wealth or high status, i.e. marriage with one of his daughters or with one of the girls over whom he has rights of marriage dispensation. The closer the girl comes to being the actual biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

One common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of <u>luwali</u>. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law.(1) It will

[608] (1) Ego always behaves to his wife's <u>luwali</u> in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

3. Length of Marriage

593 The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leaves gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

593 With the longer term of residence in the husband's com-
592 pound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the
602 patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

593 This variety of long term marriage is more common among the
[565] upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with
[595] their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

592 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a
565 higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realizes that her husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in maintaining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of submissiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honouring their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

593 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the
156 husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pattern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dominate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and
557 return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 601 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bawa (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

861 We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

> the warnings are frequent. The "boogy-man" threat is more often used as a warning. For example, last month a group of travelling entertainers brought a very large, ugly hyena to town ... apparently Kachella gana was shown the thing from a distance, and ever since the hyena has been used as a deterrent to investigating the contents of medicine bottles, or venturing beyond the compound door. It works, although Kachella is inclined to laugh somewhat incredulously. (1)

Continuing with the same excerpt, it will be noticed that positive as well as negative learning is begun early and definite, patient teaching by socializing adults is a normal part of every day's activities for the young child:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little adoptive grandson, "Kachella, pick the plate up. Now take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now take that other plate and cover the food over (plates are made of grass). That's right, very good." The operation which would have taken the grandmother a second has been carried out only after two minutes of patient instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

858 The inception of sex roles begins with the onset of childhood and the end of weaning. The boys are tada gana (small boys) and wear the appropriate small smock and begin to have their heads shaved in the child hair style of the father's agnatic group. This small boy's hair style often depicts the political affiliations of the father's agnatic group and/or its territorial origins. Thus all the household groups connected to a political leader or coming from a particular town may share the same small boy's hair style. Some lower class informants in the large urban centre stated that they used whatever hair style they pleased for their small boys when it was observed that no rule seemed to be followed.

302 [858] [602] [184]

858 302 After weaning, the girls are fero gana (small virgin girls)

(1) Excerpt from correspondence by Diana Cohen with the Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto (1956).

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[586] The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of
[152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari,
888 old men) and women (kamursu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

463 554 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par-
[613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from
[428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it,
• 602 one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community
[123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

554 602 was considered inappropriate as a servant and household member to a powerful newcomer to the community,

Matri-kin do not give a man much ascribed birth status one way or another. However, the matri-kin often aid the individual and if they are a powerful high status group in the society, he may derive some benefits from this relationship. But these rewards must be realised before this ascribed status is worth anything to ego in the eyes of others.

The importance of birth status was made plain during the gathering of genealogical data. A well known "arrivicte" in Magumeri, who served as the District Head's right hand man and principal link with the urban community, gave a completely trumped-up genealogy which included, patrilineally many antecedents who had been the horsed servants (ko'uma) of well known nobles of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bornu. Only later, when crosschecking some of the material, was it discovered that this informant was the son of a man who used to tend camels for their owners in the Maiduguri market and that he, himself, had started life as a gatherer and seller of bush grass for horse fodder. His faked genealogy reveals his sensitivity to his low status background and his desire to give a newcomer the impression of continuity regarding his origins. His own rank at the time of the interview was that of horsed servant to the District Head of Magumeri, so that the faked genealogy indicated his desire to create for himself a family background of similar status to his present one.

554 602 156 Along with other explanations (see below pp.225 -228 , arziyi) birth ascription is also used to describe the reasons for success or failure at any given role, especially among the high ranks of society where improper behaviour can be attributed to the person's rise from a

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [271] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are [369] sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in the large urban centre. 565 463 602 At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 463 602 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry season activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as kwanzèko (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galèbu

631 661 Another good example of this point was observed in the field. The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of [602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 647 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A. are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of [178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

442 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakama) who wishes
572 to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time
442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers.(1) Retailers also use stan-
452 dards of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but
572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguinal kin, Ajimi does extend credit if requested and this is fairly often. He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a "friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

442 When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bukar is
571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father".
[602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to describe what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a barzum relationship with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be arranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the look-

(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distribute anywhere from two to six.

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

• 602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (bèrzum), joking (suli), and friendship (numkam). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the bèrzum relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of bèrzum and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

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591 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time, birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

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592 These structural features are in their turn functions of

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571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to bèrzum, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the subordinates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin
[426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories, virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife
[565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

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602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kèsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kèsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kèsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different [591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the [428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on [671] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanum (your [603] mother) or yansá (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

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602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalized pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if
[555] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are
[591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth-
[553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate
553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer-
602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

553 602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bèrzum) because there is no bèrzum, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of some respect (bèrzum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocality of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the yeiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

603 [591] [593] [867] [602]

It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's
[862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

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[553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of
[551] opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the sneeshe attribute of the same relationship. Because of

603 the difference in generation of the parties, there is a higher secondary content of fondness on the grandparent's part, while the slight lessening of this dimension is associated with a corresponding rise of the respect relation on the part of the grandchild. It does not show up in the questionnaire data summarized in Table I, because the joking relations (suli) with grandparents already includes friendship behaviour within its meaning content for this particular category of relative. Therefore when subjects were asked how they behaved towards grandparents, their suli responses included the kind of affective behaviour covered by this relationship.

593 The same thing is true for the relationship to own mother, although for different reasons. No friendship responses were given to own mother, because the cultural ideal of shame-respect is so strong here. Thus there was a blanket response pattern from all subjects in accordance with the traditional value of shame-respect.

[612] Nonetheless, there is the possibility and indeed expectation of an affective fondness and friendship relation between ego (male or female speaking) and own mother, which is extended in theory to

[586] include the mother's kindred. When asked what was the worst thing that he could remember ever happening to him when he was young, an informant replied without hesitation that it had occurred when he had to stay in his father's house on the occasion of his mother's divorce of his father. Another informant related how he had gone to the Jos Plateau to learn something about geological survey work, as part of his training for a job with the Baron R.A. However, after three months he claims he had strong yearnings to see his mother and subsequently sailed off the job and returned to his

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586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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[603] In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with
[691] him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child
601 is called by the compound kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (Father), and referred to in the same way as Aba ngina (Father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as Nana (Ma-Ma). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a [565] good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her baba (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at [601] their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ba'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it. [842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

597 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," 603 I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given 598 by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

583 593 other than that of his own father, is the basic contributor to
583 the luwaliram. His abakura (FaElBr) and abagana (FaYoBr) may
604 contribute a share of the luwaliram, but his bawa (FaSi) is more likely to help in building a house for the boy rather than give to his luwaliram. His yakura (MoElSi), Yigana (MoYoSi), and Rawa (MoBr) only would give money to the luwaliram if their nephew grew up in their house. If not, they have no responsi-
583 bility towards paying a share of his luwaliram. Since it typ-
593 ically happens that a boy grows to maturity in his father's house, his father has the primary responsibility for providing the luwaliram. A poor man would not ask a wealthy friend of his for luwaliram money which he, the poor man, must provide for his son.

If the father of a girl sees that his daughter is getting older, and that her prospects for getting married are not good for one reason or another, he may give his daughter away as a sadaka (alms) marriage. If he can, he gives his daughter as wife to an important malam, along with many presents and clothes. If he cannot afford to give presents, he just gives the girl. In such a marriage there is no bride-price, the only permitted exception to the general rule. The girl's father acts as her luwali, assuming responsibility for her conduct. Though she may be unattractive and bad-tempered, the man to whom the girl is given cannot refuse her if she is given as a sadaka marriage.

583 Other forms of marriage which avoid payment of a luwaliram are specifically not permitted. Exchange marriage is forbidden

576 moved in the presence of social superiors, and if the gap between them is great shoes are removed even when passing in front of the superior's compound. A person who continually avoids or breaks moral rules and rules of etiquette and good conduct is described as nungu ba (having no shame) or shim ngumdu (narrow eyes) - the latter from the saying " a man of narrow eyes has no shame."

Respect (bàrzum)

571 Respect (bàrzum) is a general category of behaviour in interpersonal relations which has to do with the response to power and authority. It ranges from shame-respect, described above, to friendship-respect in which there may be a more affective relationship that involves discipline and a superior-subordinate relation along with the possibility of partial intimacy depending upon factors of personality, age, generation, and sex differences of the actors.

593 Generally speaking the shame-respect relation is most
604 stringently practised with own parents, being transferred to parents' siblings if any of these has taken on the parent's role toward ego. There is a significant difference in shame and friendship responses given to parents and to their collaterals. In the table below respect responses are not indicated because all informants gave a bàrzum response to own parents and parents' collaterals.

TABLE II

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Responses to the Category

	shame	friendship
own parents	99.5	0
pat. coll. (Parent's)	23.8	20.4
mat. coll. (Parent's)	23.2	20.2

593
604 In qualitative terms the table indicates that there is a relaxation of the shame-respect relation between ego and his parent's generation members of either sex as ego moves outward from own parents to their collaterals. One informant expressed the difference in behaviour towards own parents and their collaterals in the following manner:

> If I have matters to discuss about needing things, I will talk to my father; but if I wish to talk about marrying a girl - I will not talk to my father or my mother - there is shame in this - I will talk to my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) or my abakura (Fa-Ol-Bro) if I have one - then I will tell to my sister or my brother (real or classificatory) or my friends to go and tell my father and mother for me. I must never talk directly to my father and my mother about anything about my marriage.

593 After a marriage is joined any trouble between a man and his wife should ideally never get back to a man's parents if the man and his wife are not of the same family. However, such matters can usually be arranged through intermediaries.

602 There is a respect relationship between a husband's parents and his wife's parents, with tradition leaning over on the side of the wife's parents as to who receives more respect. That is to say, tradition directs that the bride's kindred are in a higher social status position than the groom's. However, the comparative social position of the two families in the society at large is a very real consideration in this matter. This respect relation overlaps into shame avoidance between the in-laws of opposite sex.

593 There is a variable discipline-respect relationship between ego and his older siblings of the same sex depending upon age disparity, presence or absence of real or adopted parents, and consideration of power and authority. If an older brother has taken

593 465 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 604 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bárzum is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a 571 607 reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bárzum) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalised inter-

593 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 There is much friendship practised between ego and his
602 collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzá (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate
[476] friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sárwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sárwa contributions, and his ashirmanzá.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-

[587] say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded [601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

605 [601] There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his 605 joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior 601 in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunyi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings 605 into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only [582] marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

[184] Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an
571 ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers;
614 pepper sellers and kola-nut whoesalers. Joking relations also hold
648 between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguna and Tàra; Kuburi and Tàra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bèdde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to
602 cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
578
152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
593
369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
[606] not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

Firstly, shame-avoidance
602 whose criterion is whether or not the incumbents may eat food to-
264 gether or in the presence of one another, and secondly, shame-respect wherein food may be shared but ego must sit with eyes downcast and only the most necessary conversation passes between the parties. As a general rule the first holds between affines, although Table I illustrates the variability in this respect, and the second holds among consanguinal kin. There is a strong shame-avoidance relation between ego and his senior in-laws (kèsai); that is to say he will not eat in their presence, and he will not enter a hut alone with any of his female kèsai unless he has been in the habit of doing any of these before marriage.(1) This latter refers to the case of a preferential cousin marriage or marriage with the daughter
606 of a close friend. A polite person (male speaking) would manifest signs of shame-avoidance behaviour, no matter what his previous relationship with his future father-in-law, around the time of the marriage. It is then up to the in-law in question to remind him of their prior relationship and to persuade him that there should be no nungu between them now that they are son-in-law and father-in-law to one another.

593 Ideally, ego should show shame-avoidance in the presence of his wife when they are in public and only the most necessary conversation should pass between them. After many years of marriage or in the case of a barren marriage depending on the wishes of the couple involved, much of the formality of shame-avoidance (except

(1) An upper class informant claimed that a man should never even visit his in-laws alone but should always go in the company of friends.

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kbrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
[602] would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
[606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

[178] (1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

593 465 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

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571 action is one of reciprocal joking. The joking itself is related
607 to the respect behaviour. The older or senior member (Ol-Sis-Hu) must always joke with the younger or junior (Wi-Yo-Bro) saying he will obtain either a spouse or a sexual partner for the latter. And this is an essential aspect of bàrzum; the senior must give something in return for the subservience he receives.

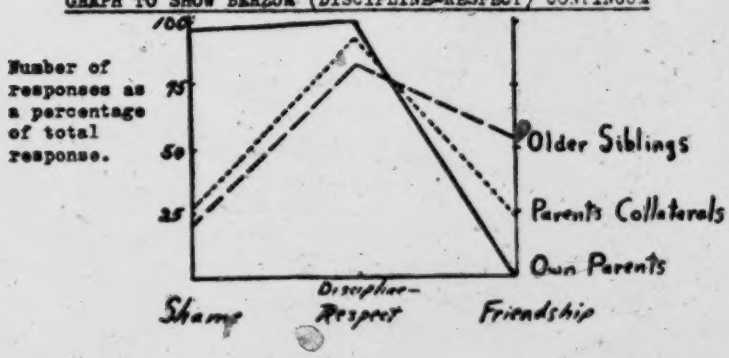
TABLE IV

Responses to Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro

	Respect		Joking	
	R	N-R	R	N-R
Ol-Sis-Hu	36	5	35	6
Wi-Yo-Bro	4	36	37	3
sig. level	.01		-	

602 It is now possible to make a more summary comment about the nature of the bàrzum behaviour norm in the kinship system. It can be said to range on a continuum from shame-respect through discipline-respect to friendship-discipline-respect, represented by three categories of relatives (a) own parents, (b) parent's collaterals, and (c) older siblings. Any of these who assume the own-parents role in relation to ego takes over the expected behaviour

GRAPH TO SHOW BERZUM (DISCIPLINE-RESPECT) CONTINUUM



553 other as *chowme* and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Maguseri District had been a particularly benevolent and popular political leader of the area. Then he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a [illegible] number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to [illegible] the present generation. There is a very common concept that the [illegible] relation includes the possibility or adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the *chowme* relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between age and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-To-Ele "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-To-Ele is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 4)

say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Ya-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a casual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, nambiwa, nonzo, etc., and she reciprocates by calling him husband, mabwi, nonzo, etc., and sometimes, jokingly, terminate sibling from his or her side have brought the two [illegible]. This brings ego's other or phy [illegible] with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Ya-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them sis (junior in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiwayi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings into sis (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

581 In discussing the matter
582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which drives a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

The rank type of marriage to be considered is the kin-ban (marriage of inferiors). The expression kuma marriage is a man of wealth or high status, who marriages with one of his daughters, or with one of the girls who have to her status of marriageable age. The kinship term for girl seems to being the social biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

The common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of lowali. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law.(1) It will

(602) (1) He always behaves to his wife's lowali in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

1: Cohen

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/For information on the Kanuri practice of child fosterage, see category 855./

There is still another way to become part of a large house-
592 hold. This is the most informal of the various sets of rela-
369 tionships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is ex-
369 tremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
874 some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
463 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector,
571 and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the kəmanzə fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

592 father and son, though of course kinship has nothing to do with
609 setting up that relationship in the first place. In this sense,
571 the household functions like a kin group but is not itself a product of kinship.

592 The Kanuri do not hire servants, nor do they typically hire
461 other Kanuri to work for them. A man's labor is not for hire,
571 to be paid for in cash. Though the Kanuri have long used money in commercial dealings, its use has never been extended to labor. One man works for another because that is part of his obligation which grows out of their relationship. A tata njima works for the master of the household, not for any immediate payment such as wages, but because the relationship between a tata njima and his master entails labor on the part of the tata njima. Not only is he expected to perform any task asked of him by the household head, he is also expected always to act in the interests of the household head, and constantly to protect those interests. Tata njima who are part of the household of a trader help him in the distribution and sale of his goods and travel to other markets selling goods in his behalf; they also farm for him during the rainy season, and do all sorts of tasks about the compound.

592 In turn, the head of the household is obliged to provide
571 his tata njima with shelter and with clothing, and to feed
[583] them. He provides the luwaliram for male members of the house-
[586] hold, and stands in as luwali for females. After a divorce, both man and woman may return to his household. He is also ex-

443
435 pushed down by a nonchalant buyer with an anxious seller whose sales for that day have been low.

This above description has exaggerated the price fluctuations to some extent. With many items, prices hold as constants for long periods and become an institutionalized part of the market. Thus a box of sugar cubes is one shilling and only very rarely did this price ever
443 vary in the entire period of the field work. Even with prices that did
435 vary, it is the writer's opinion that European travellers and commenta-
437 tors on Africa have overstressed the haggling up and down variability of prices in African markets because of their own experiences. Certainly, market sellers like to haggle over price and do so with all the enjoy-
[609] ment of the hardened poker player bluffing at cards. However, only to
[829] the European, who is conceived of as infinitely wealthy, do prices range so widely. When the writer attended his first markets, sellers haggled wildly and prices ranged enormously to him and to his wife. However, with time, the "real" prices were learned and the range within which
[609] haggling could take place narrowed significantly. If the writer then attended a new market where he was unknown, except as a European, then the range widened again and sometimes the seller would refuse to come anywhere near the "real" price claiming in Kanuri to his associates and the world in general that a European should pay more than an African. Friends always instructed the writer on the "real" price, telling him not to allow a price to be raised simply because he was a European. This "real" price is something which can be easily overlooked in an open market where haggling is the format of the buyer-seller relationship. Bartering may range widely or narrowly, but the experienced buyer and seller both know quite well, within a very small margin, where the final price will be set. This is why the really tenacious bartering comes at

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

3

The Family and Household in Bornu

AFTER SUMMARIZING the historical background and the setting of Kanuri life, I can now proceed to analyze the society as a working, on-going whole, in other words as a process. Anthropologists generally do this by dividing the society up into what they consider to be its most significant parts. They then describe each part and try to show how these parts are related to one another, and to the functioning of a whole society. The manner in which such an analysis proceeds—what is left out, what is included, and what comes first or last—is the product of the author's "functional theory" of the society, his idea of how it works. 121 128

For Kanuri society I have chosen to start with kinship and the household as the first parts of the whole to be described and understood. First, the household is where the Kanuri themselves begin to learn of their own society and how they must act to become full-fledged participants. Secondly these parts, especially that of the household, form the basic units of Kanuri social structure such that almost all other social life in Bornu can be analyzed and understood once these particular parts are described. To start with a description of any other part of the society such as the economic or the political organization would require explanations and references to family and household life in order to make the material understandable to the reader. It is better to start the analysis at this point—that of kinship and household—then proceed to build up a picture of the society having first looked at what I consider to be its crucible, the kinship system, and its cornerstone, the household.

The Kinship System

The kinship system of any society involves three categories of behavior that may overlap one another but are always different from each other. They are as follows: 121 69

(a) Genealogical relations—the links between individuals which are based upon biological reproduction.

(b) Descent relations—the links between individuals which are based upon

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

6. The Web of Kinship.

61 It was noted earlier that, according to Fortes, the rise of the state marks a decline in the importance of corporate descent groups. Fortes cites the Nupe as a case in point. Nadel, who has described the Nupe in detail, has this to say about kinship:

> "Let me say in conclusion that kinship structure in Nupe is not that dominant, all-enveloping structure which we know from many primitive societies. Although it bears upon religious life, education, and the organization of production, it is greatly overshadowed as a determinant of social behavior by the factors of political organization and, in economic life, by economic interests proper."[1]

This is even more true for the Kanuri, who have no kin groups, than it is for the Nupe, who are patrilineal in descent and have
61 patrilineages. The Kanuri recognize kinship as an ever-widen-
602 ing network of relationships. Behavior towards one's various relatives is structured and follows cultural rules of respect and joking as the case may be, but, as in most bilateral societies, only the personal kindred exists, definable for any given individual but without the formal properties of a group.

601 The word dur is used in referring to both family and relatives. The Kanuri distinguish between relatives linked through one's mother, referred to as dur chambe(family through milk), and relatives linked through one's father, called dur bube (fam-
602 ily through blood). They say that the dur bube (father's family)
627 is stronger than the dur chambe, and in explanation they offer the following example: if a child is killed by someone, the

1 S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 93.

614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 • 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

121 of a society. In societies where the state as an institution
61 does not exist, political structure is either coterminous with
66 kinship structure, or there is close co-ordination between the
565 two. In the case of the Kanuri, the separate and distinct administrative organization which serves as the framework of the political structure,[1] implies a lessening of the role of kin groups to the point where they have disappeared among the Kanuri. Aside from relationships within the nuclear family, and to a lesser extent kinship relations generally, power derives its authority, among the Kanuri, from one's position in the political system, and the ability of one man to exert power over another is determined by the roles which the two men play in the political system.

121 Wealth as a variable used to determine the social impor-
556 tance of a single individual or of a category of individuals is
565 analogous to power. Relative wealth defines a relationship between two individuals or two classes of individuals, and just as power derives from one's role in the political system, wealth derives from one's role in the economic system. In most primitive societies, the economic system is submerged within kinship and within the operation of kin groups. In some, the market has begun to emerge as a separate economic institution and increasingly social relationships are defined in terms of the market.

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1. the distinctions made here as to types of political systems are taken from the Introduction to African Political Systems, edited by Meyer Forres and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

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These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and
632 the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center
366 for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a
368 town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the
632 Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves
463 strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do
171 not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more
182

611 171 182 centralized the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[1] This is particularly apt in describing the Kanuri. Fortes states that the Nupe, the Zulu and the Hausa exemplify this. Culturally, the Kanuri share a good deal with both the Nupe and the Hausa, who are also Sudanic state-societies influenced by Islam, and this similarity extends to their social organization as well. In fact, the Kanuri represent the most extreme development of these features, for whereas among both the Nupe and the Hausa patrilineal lineages and sibs are reported the Kanuri are clearly bilateral in descent, and do not have corporate kin groups at all.

594 595 000 The most important social unit determined by kinship is the nuclear or the polygamous family. Consequently, this section will be concerned with a discussion of marriage, residence, the family and the household. Other aspects of social organization which are not based on kinship, such as the class structure, will be discussed separately.

1. Marriage.

586 587 It may seem curious to begin a section on marriage with a statement about divorce; nevertheless it is important to note at the start that the Kanuri divorce frequently, commonly, and

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1. Meyer Fortes. "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, 55, No. 1 (1953), p. 26.

602 younger brother (karami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The karami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chuma.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
on 611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident, however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Borno, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of Federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[601] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Budawal,
563 Mobber, Manga, Kwayan etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
174 [187] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Borno

Chapter IV

[p.50]

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Burma. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

(1)

Kinship Terminology

In the Burmese language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguineal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Pa-Ba and Ma-Pa as members of his consanguineal kin group. Dur hube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chanbe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives. The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Ma-Ma and Ma-Gha.

Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, Ahmat (senior in-law) refers to ego's spouse's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of kinship terminology.

603 the difference in generation of the parties, there is a higher secondary content of fondness on the grandparent's part, while the slight lessening of this dimension is associated with a corresponding rise of the respect relation on the part of the grandchild. It does not show up in the questionnaire data summarized in Table I, because the joking relations (mali) with grandparents already include friendship behaviour within the meaning context for this particular category of relatives. Therefore when subjects were asked how they behaved towards grandparents, their mali responses included the kind of affective behaviour covered by this relationship.

[583] The same thing is true for the relationship to own mother, although for different reasons. No friendship responses were given to own mother, because the cultural ideal of shame-respect is so strong here. Thus there was a blanket response pattern from all subjects in accordance with the traditional value of shame-respect.

[612] Nonetheless, there is the possibility and indeed expectation of an affective fondness and friendship relation between ego (male or female speaking) and own mother, which is extended in theory to [586] include the mother's kindred. When asked what was the worst thing that he could remember ever happening to him when he was young, an informant replied without hesitation that it had occurred when he had to stay in his father's house on the occasion of his mother's divorce of his father. Another informant related how he had gone to the Jos Plateau to learn something about geological survey work, as part of his training for a job with the Kano N.A. However, after three months he claims he had strong yearnings to see his mother and subsequently walked off the job and returned to his

1: Cohen E.-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted. 175 648

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background 174

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and tradition tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early period of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers. 174 613 64 233 241 221 171 567

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu. 174 642

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court nor- 613
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tain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take 123
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848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the [586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 595 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, supposedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

174 184 563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

173 614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

173 614 • 613 from Yemen, consequently the dynasty of the Mais of Bornu is referred to as the Sef dynasty. There are twelve such sub-jilis within the jili Magumi. If within the sub-jili Sef a man should arise to great power and importance, his future descendants would refer to him as the ancestor of their sub-sub-jili (lineage) of the sub-jili Sef. One informant, who is Kanembu (but culturally Kanuri), gave the following pedigree: Kanembu, jili Kuvuri, sub-jili Kongana, sub-sub-jili Malam Shia. Malam Shia was an important historic personage who is considered to be the founder of the lineage which bears his name.

173 643 614 The Sef dynasty came to an end after the Fulani invasions, and Shehu Laminu established the line of the present Shehus though he himself never ruled as king. Shehu Laminu was Kanembu, of the jili Kuvuri. He was followed into Bornu by a number of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, with their retinue, who assisted [178] him in driving back the Fulani. Shehu Laminu was instrumental in further reducing the role of the jilis by appointing a <u>Shetima Kanuribe</u> (Shetima is a noble title) as head of all the Kanuri, replacing the various heads of the jilis; he did the same for the Shuwas under him.

614 178 Today everyone knows his own jili, and the jili of his parents, which may and usually does differ, but the jili no longer performs any social function. Few people can give their sub-jili. [643] Many of the jilis today have a nominal head. The present Shehu is obviously head of all the Kanembu Kuvuri. The head of the Kanuri Magumi is the former Waziri Ibranim. The Shetima Kanuribe

614 origin story, often associating the founder with the Prophet. For example, the following story was related by an informant about the origins of the tbra clan:

> One day a barber was shaving the Prophet's head. The man made a mistake and cut the Prophet's scalp. Blood came out and the barber drank it. Everyone who comes from that barber is tbra. They are not connected with chiefs, they are common people but they are close to the Prophet -- they are sherib, fire will not burn them.

Some informants felt that in the old days there may have been a tendency for clan endogamy, not as a sanctioned custom, but as a matter of mere frequency. No one ever heard of any exogamous rules, or ever connected the clans to any natural species of flora and fauna.

613 614 565 Among some of the high status groups and some of the very high status families of Bornu, not only clan membership is known but also a series of maximal lineages within the clan to which the name of an original founder (not mythical as in the case of the clan) is attached. Most Kanuri have heard of the Sefuwa lineage of the Magumi clan. This was the royal lineage of pre-nineteenth century Bornu. No rules of marriage were elicited for this grouping.

614 829 Questions about clan to younger Kanuri and even older ones in some cases often brought out (after tribal affiliation) residential associations. Thus, a peasant informant would relate how his daughter had been married to a man whose clan was Kanuri. Continued questioning on the same point would bring out the reply that the son-in-law's sub-clan was Maiduguri; in other words, the name of his town.

613 614 121 On the basis of this data, it is concluded that Kanuri clans and maximal lineages have very little, if any, functioning significance in the contemporary society.

888 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more
592 highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in
183 their old age.

Inheritance

428 The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law,(1)
and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases
[613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lin-
eage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex.
The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to
the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife
is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if
present) are entitled to one-third of the warata (inheritance) of her
(their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the ag-
natic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is
entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the
estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables,
excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are
children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, al-
though it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being
[587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If
none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any liv-
ing connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother,
which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the
closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the lar-
gest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving
children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Rurton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
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613 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have <u>more</u> rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

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distinctions are made between these relatives as to the distribution of the rights and prerogatives of the deceased. The strength of the father-son relationship and its importance as the model for one of the central norms of behaviour in the society give it a much more important and decisive position for resolving conflicts in most cases. Although some internal resentments may result, the legal and social identity of the agnates with one another for the most part override this conflict in the system.

463 554 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par- [613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from [428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 602 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it, one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community [123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu.

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[5] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty.

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota-

[5] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

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563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

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614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

173 614 613 from Yemen, consequently the dynasty of the Mais of Bornu is referred to as the Sef dynasty. There are twelve such sub-jilis within the jili Magumi. If within the sub-jili Sef a man should arise to great power and importance, his future descendants would refer to him as the ancestor of their sub-sub-jili (lineage) of the sub-jili Sef. One informant, who is Kanembu (but culturally Kanuri), gave the following pedigree: Kanembu, jili Kuvuri, sub-jili Kongana, sub-sub-jili Malam Shia. Malam Shia was an important historic personage who is considered to be the founder of the lineage which bears his name.

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614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

[184] Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers; pepper sellers and kola-nut whoesalers. Joking relations also hold between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tàra; Kuburi and Tàra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bédde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

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In the above relationships which seem in all cases to cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

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range of personal ambition, inertia, and variation in the scale of social relations. The kinds of structures which result from the natural processes of birth, maturation, marriage and death may vary and, as we have seen, result in various kinds of stresses to be incorporated into the organization. However, these can almost always be mitigated when the structure has a satisfactory operating distribution of power and authority. If not, then fissionable forces in residence structures tend to emerge and themselves determine the character of the group.

Maximal Lineages and Clans

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It is not necessary within the scope of the present discussion to go into a full description. Nevertheless, it should be noted that traditionally Kanuri kinship included functional clans and to some extent at least, i.e. among the upper classes, maximal patri-lineages. In Chapter II, mention was made of the military use of clans in the army in the pre-1893 periods of Bornu history. All Kanuri if pressed are able to give their clan membership whose identity they generally recognize patrilineally. Exceptions were found, however, where informants gave two clans which they identified as coming to them from their mother and their father. Nevertheless, basing judgment upon the statements of older informants it seems fairly certain that clan membership was reckoned patrilineally.

The Magumi and Kubûri clans are recognized by some to be the clans of the leading lineages of the Kanuri and Kanembu peoples respectively. It is also generally known in a rather vague way, which varies from informant to informant, that all clan members are descended from a common ancestor about whom there is sometimes an

614 origin story, often associating the founder with the Prophet. For example, the following story was related by an informant about the origins of the tbra clan:

> One day a barber was shaving the Prophet's head. The man made a mistake and cut the Prophet's scalp. Blood came out and the barber drank it. Everyone who comes from that barber is tbra. They are not connected with chiefs, they are common people but they are close to the Prophet -- they are sherib, fire will not burn them.

Some informants felt that in the old days there may have been a tendency for clan endogamy, not as a sanctioned custom, but as a matter of mere frequency. No one ever heard of any exogamous rules, or ever connected the clans to any natural species of flora and fauna.

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64/121 nificance in the contemporary society. It should be noted that for purposes of the present study, the term "clan" refers to extra-lineage connections between persons with some understanding of common ancestry from an original mythical founder. As Africanists have used this term, clan does not necessarily refer to exogamous groups.

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648 orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organization of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A. [511] salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs.

178 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
• 619 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
648 brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim popula-
177 tion of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

571 In 1953 one of these full-time
621 gworongo farmers whose holdings were somewhat above the average, moved
166 his household three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Gworongo Hamlet to be closer to his fields.(1) With him he took his two wives and a younger brother and his wife. The younger brother also had fields at this spot through inheritance. Two sons moved as well. One has since left to go and live with his father's brother in Maiduguri, and one was preparing for a patrilocal marriage in 1957. A stranger to Gworongo Hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the 1953 settlement. He had no wife at the time and reports that he asked the original mover if he might build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals with its head. For this hospitality he helped mend the owner's bramble fences on the gworongo plots, repaired household fences and huts, and sometimes gathered grass for the senior's horse. He has since married (with some financial help in the form of a loan and a gift from the settlement head) and is not a
62 settled member of the new community-in-the-becoming. All residents of this new settlement look upon the founder as its senior member, and when he dies his son (in the settlement) will take over the headship. Disputes between members are always taken to the senior for settlement before going to any higher authorities (which has never been done), while disputes with outsiders follow the general rule of going first to a pol-
621 itical leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not yet have a name; however, in all likelihood, if it continues to grow and expand it will be called Aji or Ajiri after the original founder whose name is Aji.

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(1) This is the reason given by the farmer himself. Local gossip has it that he had quarrelled with the Hamlet Head of Gworongo over taxes.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

888 565 589 [434] [788] on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women. If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age, and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a universal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 775 621 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 621 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their 463
respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural 467
heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a 463
village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to 591
one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of 621
their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by 463
simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group 105
of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even inter- 438
national competition. Let us go over these points one by one. 439

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, 463
and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production 433
are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as [412]
they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is [592]
almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craft- [438]
worker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Some- 463
times a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who [732]
often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one sec- [443]
tion of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and [434]
affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything 438
they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self- 439
sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads [433]
have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced.

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan.

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge.

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate.

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
•632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
571 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
626 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
• [62] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the
[692] action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
632 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu,
182 especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

121 The anthropological concept of the community is used to
621 define a micro-society. The community of the present study is an urban town, and its people belong to a variety of sub-groups. The townspeople of Geidam are members of occupational groups, social classes, ethnic sub-groups, common interest groups, neighborhoods, and friendship groups. They may be members of many such groups, which may overlap, but they all share one characteristic--they are all Geidamites, part of an interacting community. The various interlocking social groups of the town make up its social structure.

121 In terms of the particular field situation, the general
177 acculturation problem presented above becomes: In what ways does the process of acculturation differ among members of differing groups in the urban community of Geidam? Two related additional problems emerge from the general one. The original problem focuses attention on the manner in which social structure guides and directs acculturation. A necessary consequence is that the social structure itself is undergoing change. The second problem is: what are the changes in social structure brought about by contact? Lastly, a third and oft-neglected problem concerns the mechanisms whereby changes are controlled and kept within acceptable cultural limits so that the emergent social structure retains its integration. Generally, this falls within the area of social control, though it is not usually seen in this light.

121 Before the research itself can be presented, however, much

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less [622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (saggi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

[GEIDAM]

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[285]
[463]

[GEIDAM]

632 621 they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area. 632 463 The people of Koldi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Craftsmen who make the fine sitting mat (boji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

14

[GEIDAM]

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[931] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

[GEIDAM]

463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the draftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
• 621 and sagdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[563] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice
[474] of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa--
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

101
103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road. Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

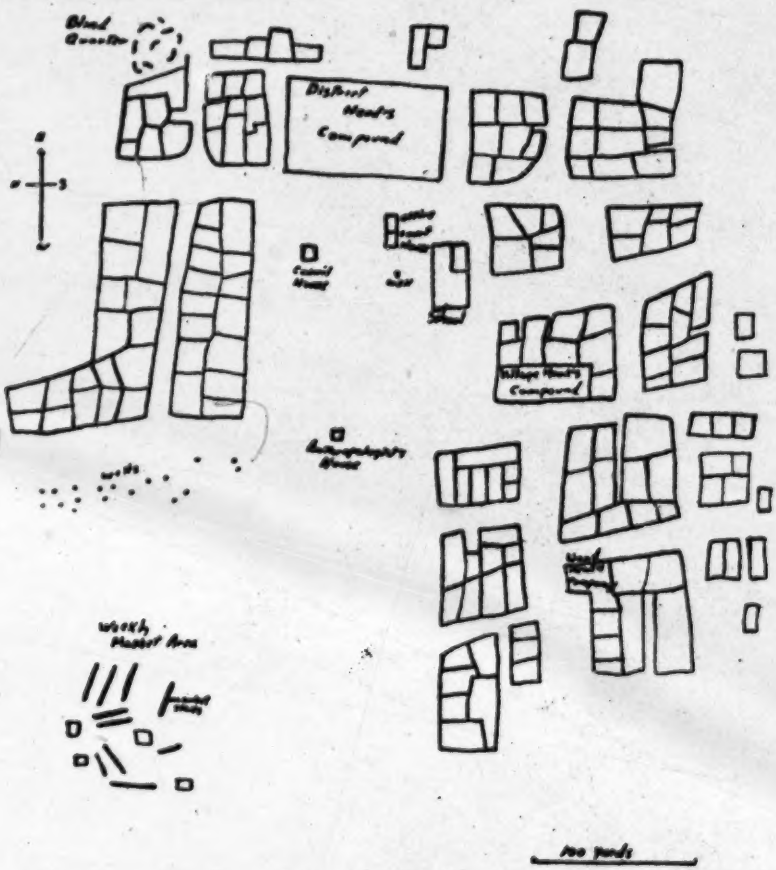
162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

361 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a
621 U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
000 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

634 Like other district capitals,
[621] Magumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
[368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an infrequently used District Council House, and a district office in which the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in the diagram below.

361 Diagram Map of Magumeri Village
368



[122]

342 Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Magumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Magumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

• 621 [273] In Magumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

184 This then is Magumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu. [114] After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
[792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

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Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs [591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up [621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of bàrzum its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

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557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is
[554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

556 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to
592 have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large
621 group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
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571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

Chapter VIII [p. 229]

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organiza- [571] tion with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] [632] Approximately three miles south-west of Nagumeri is the small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Nagumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

571 In 1953 one of these full-time
621 gworongo farmers whose holdings were somewhat above the average, moved
166 his household three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Gworongo Hamlet to be closer to his fields.(1) With him he took his two wives and a younger brother and his wife. The younger brother also had fields at this spot through inheritance. Two sons moved as well. One has since left to go and live with his father's brother in Maiduguri, and one was preparing for a patrilocal marriage in 1957. A stranger to Gworongo Hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the 1953 settlement. He had no wife at the time and reports that he asked the original mover if he might build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals with its head. For this hospitality he helped mend the owner's bramble fences on the gworongo plots, repaired household fences and huts, and sometimes gathered grass for the senior's horse. He has since married (with some financial help in the form of a loan and a gift from the settlement head) and is not a
62 settled member of the new community-in-the-becoming. All residents of this new settlement look upon the founder as its senior member, and when he dies his son (in the settlement) will take over the headship. Disputes between members are always taken to the senior for settlement before going to any higher authorities (which has never been done), while disputes with outsiders follow the general rule of going first to a pol-
621 itical leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not yet have a name; however, in all likelihood, if it continues to grow and expand it will be called Aji or Ajiri after the original founder whose name is Aji.

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(1) This is the reason given by the farmer himself. Local gossip has it that he had quarrelled with the Hamlet Head of Gworongo over taxes.

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621 This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

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632 The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head
[651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years
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621 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the
622 founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Bulama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[Text continues on p. 233]

361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

571 632 621 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional units of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (nguro) under its Bèlama is slowly approaching the condition where another Bèlama will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 571 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this study by the term extended household organization. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as kin who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

If the extended household head can maintain the
621 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
571 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
554 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bàlama), depending upon the location
622 of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bàlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bàlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Nagumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 Lawan arrived. They look upon Lawan as their leader, but also feel
621 more deeply rooted to their place of residence. This group has seen several Lawans come and go and if Lawan were to consistently overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to complaining about him to his superiors. Their goodwill and support must be sought by Lawan, and they must not be administered to their perpetual detri-
632 ment. Indeed this check on the Lawan's power applied to all his tala (peasants) many of whom know that they can complain of misrule to his superiors. Another check which any tala has over his political superior is migration. He can always move to some other town where he is treated more judiciously. All political leaders, especially Lawans and District Heads, are aware of these checks on their power and are to varying degrees influenced by them.

632 In Magumeri, the Lawan's own extended household organiza-
621 tion includes his son, and about twenty followers under a chief follow-
571 er (Wakil). Each of the men in this organization has a household of his own somewhere in Lawan's ward (they are not necessarily contiguous), and farmland given to him by Lawan. They receive economic aid from their superior in the form of food, clothing, money, etc., and a status in the extended household organization of the Lawan. Peasants often ask them to intercede for them with the Lawan, or to help them in arranging a meeting between disputants with Lawan as judge.

The members of Lawan's extended household organization are his "administrative staff". They keep in touch with gossip, especially political news; aid in raising taxes; act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him; help him on his farms; and carry messages for him. His followers on foot and horse give him as well the appearance of being what he is, a man out above his peasant subjects, a local ruler.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indi-
• 621 cated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash mak-
[443] ers. Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained
433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterized by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten
[177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this
[294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make
[402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost
[602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the
[294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

621 571 in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name for this constant and fundamental organisation in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organizational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organization is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organization of the Emirate.

631 571 The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimized and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organization of the next higher level in the political structure.

631 642 In practice there are factors present which make it impossible for the Kanuri political organization to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository [648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organization, and tends besides to create ambiguous

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are
361 the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their
[622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means
[788] that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev-
[443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan.
[302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their
[291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts
[231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as
[554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to
197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of
[193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the
[195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his
000 obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 634 642 643 421 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territorially based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord remained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 634 622 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a village head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both. 175 634 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings expand in size, and he tried to help this process along by not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them from raiders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and ability to supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so that it was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 622 632 634 642 643 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 439 437 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroidered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 648 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade, which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of village areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 177 648 632 634 [622]

175 177 648 634 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

423 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer,
592 simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they
241 are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader
423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings.
[428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in
[691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams
[241] or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering.
[221] These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in
467 each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived
[622] in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather
[178] worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
[578] are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
[627] outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
[692] in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in
[103] all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
[651] either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken
622 by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
159 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
62 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
[627] that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
[692] tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
[592] named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
[571] brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few
[651] unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he
[692] recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
[592] sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

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621
622 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village
[633] area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced. 632 [621] [622].

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan. [651] [692]

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers, In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge. 632 622 621 592 571

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate. 632 571 621 [642]

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government. [692] [166]

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631 selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[567] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
[554] eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[632] [627] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
642

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less [622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (<u>sagdi</u>). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

[GEIDAM]

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[285]
[463]

632 621 [243] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sɔgdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koidi make sɔgdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts- [323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bɔji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [341] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[431] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

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[For information on appointment of the headman of the Fulani living among the Kanuri, see category 563.]

571
621 This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

621
632 The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head
[651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years
571 621 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the
622 founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Bblama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[Text continues on p. 233]

If the extended household head can maintain the
621
571 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
554 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
622 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bɛlama), depending upon the location of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bɛlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bɛlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

632 871 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated [554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A.(1)

632 423 [622] All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan 632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

[GEIDAM]

634 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to oper-
692 ate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of
178 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri
648 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional
63 political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly
178 in the following example describing the functioning of the po-
625 lice in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian
648 Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of
[661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

[GEIDAM]

177 178 625 648 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present there. It was not until late in the field trip that the information was revealed (in private, of course) that the new Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago, at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property including a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

177 178 625 648 567 571

[GEIDAM]

177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
625 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
648 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
567 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature
571 of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the
178 political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[501] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. 571 576 578 602 182 Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[893] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
571 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
• 621 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the
[692] contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
632 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu,
182 especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

583 paid before the marriage or it is not a legal marriage. Mori, too, can vary in size, but it is the smallest of the three payments, and usually amounts to several shillings.

585 The wedding itself is very brief. It is presided over by a Malam, before many witnesses. The Malam asks the names of bride and bridegroom, asks them if they wish to marry, reads a section of the Koran. Then all pray, and the ceremony is ended as kola nuts (goro) are distributed to all present, and gifts are given to Malam and luwali. That evening, the husband's closest friends come to the bride's house to take her to the house of her husband. While her friends cry and try to hold her back, the husband's friends take the bride off by horse, and leave her at her husband's house. One friend of the girl refuses to leave her until the husband pays fugurum (or ferorum), which is the set amount of thirty shillings, alike for rich and poor. Fugu means hymen. The friend keeps several shillings of the fugurum for herself and gives the remainder to the mother of the bride, payment to her for protecting her daughter's virtue.

585 626 Virginity of the girl is attested to by blood stains on a white blanket which has been spread on the wedding bed. The blood-stained blanket is taken from the room the following morning by friends of the girl and brought to her mother. If it is stained, mother praises daughter, and her friends parade it throughout the neighborhood. If it is not stained, the girl is cursed by all. If the husband finds that his bride is not a

585 virgin, he beats her that night, and proclaims it openly. Both
• 626 the girl and her mother feel shame; the husband, in turn, feels that he has been defrauded and has gotten a bad bargain. The fugurum money, however, is not repaid him. Though the Kanuri know that the hymen may be removed surgically, and that the Arabs do do this in order to make the wedding night less painful to the bride, they never do it themselves; the hymen is always forcefully broken.

585 On the following day, friends of the girl come to cook for her and for her husband, and they do this for seven days, while the bride does nothing except bathe and decorate herself while
[834] visitors come to greet her. Her husband is permitted to resume having intercourse with her after four days. If he has another wife, he does not sleep with her for those seven days, nor does she cook for him during that period.

b) Marriage with a divorced woman. The above description of marriage practices represents the marriage of a man with a kalə yaskə, described as a virgin, and usually, though not always a virgin. More properly, such a marriage should be called a girl's first marriage, in contrast to subsequent marriages.
586 Should she be divorced, the woman enters a totally different cat-
587 egory in the social structure. She becomes a zogor, and marriage with a zogor is different in many respects from marriage with a kalə yaskə. The status of a man does not change significantly after a divorce, consequently there is no category for a
000 man corresponding to that of the zogor. His first marriage fre-

It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
584 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
587 of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
[548] ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
[831] receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them. A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and someone else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
[626] new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage, begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him, "What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is perfectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife. However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

586 779 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is <u>haram</u> (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the 586 779 husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying 626 695 him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a [794] wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

592 pected to provide for the larger needs of members of his house-
571 hold--to provide education for the gifted, or to give a donkey or horse to a particular household member so that he may more effectively perform his tasks. The obligations of one set of the pair, the master of the house for example, becomes the expectation of his counterpart, the tata njima. Conversely the master expects that the tata njima will fulfill his obligations
[567] to the household. In the case of slaves, obligations are more binding on both sides than in the case of tata njima. A master who recognizes his obligations to a slave is ultimately bound to provide for him. A tata njima who fulfills the expectations of his master can expect to be given greater responsibilities, in accordance with his master's position. However, a tata njima who does not fulfill his master's expectations (i.e., does not properly perform his obligations), can expect to have responsibilities taken from him, and less desirable tasks thrust upon
592 him. Should he radically violate his master's trust he may be
571 expelled from the household, and the relationship between tata
464 njima and master of the house is abruptly ended. This is far
[626] more serious than merely being unemployed. An adolescent who finds himself in such a position attempts to become attached to another household, that of a less important man, in which he occupies a more lowly position. It is imperative that he be attached to some household, particularly if he is a young man with not enough savings set aside to provide for a decent luwaliram. Should he be unsuccessful in finding another household for him-

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627 and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dis-
829
671 pute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the
[626] case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al-
[693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political of-
651 ficial are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and
[565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

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000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [568] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

6. The Web of Kinship.

61 It was noted earlier that, according to Fortes, the rise of the state marks a decline in the importance of corporate descent groups. Fortes cites the Nupe as a case in point. Nadel, who has described the Nupe in detail, has this to say about kinship:

> "Let me say in conclusion that kinship structure in Nupe is not that dominant, all-enveloping structure which we know from many primitive societies. Although it bears upon religious life, education, and the organization of production, it is greatly overshadowed as a determinant of social behavior by the factors of political organization and, in economic life, by economic interests proper."[1]

This is even more true for the Kanuri, who have no kin groups, than it is for the Nupe, who are patrilineal in descent and have
61 patrilineages. The Kanuri recognize kinship as an ever-widen-
602 ing network of relationships. Behavior towards one's various relatives is structured and follows cultural rules of respect and joking as the case may be, but, as in most bilateral societies, only the personal kindred exists, definable for any given individual but without the formal properties of a group.

601 The word dur is used in referring to both family and relatives. The Kanuri distinguish between relatives linked through one's mother, referred to as dur chambe(family through milk), and relatives linked through one's father, called dur bube (fam-
602 ily through blood). They say that the dur bube (father's family)
627 is stronger than the dur chambe, and in explanation they offer the following example: if a child is killed by someone, the

1 S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 33.

602 younger brother (karami) of the child's father, a relative be-
627 longing to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The karami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri
611 social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka-
174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort",
563 but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin
[101] group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai,
563 Kobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects
184 of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other in-
174
[197] digenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

693 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri
554 District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another young man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the same families tend to retain their positions of power and
[66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a reliable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group
692 justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Disputants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the zogors arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has disputants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia
[648] for sholo. The Alkali will settle disputes out of court. The British officially forbade Lowans and Ajias from hearing cases
[719] and arbitrating in disputes. However, Alkali Baba Kura says that according to the Koran, the settlement of disputes through

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627 arbitration is encouraged, so long as the complainant has his
692 grievance adjusted.
[779]

Carrying out sholo is one of the most important functions
627 of the individual in a position of political authority. It is
662 subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are
431 self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be a source of difficulty. The words kunjo and nasha are used for any sort of gift. Kafelo is the traditional gift which the small man, the talaka, gives to the important man, the kantuoma. Risa (Arabic) means simply a bribe. Wushira is the fee paid to the court after a dispute is settled. According to Alkali Baba Kura, kafelo and risa amount to the same thing, and both are forbidden by Maliki law since gifts given with the expectation of preferences in the future are haram (forbidden according to religious law). Giving of kafelo is traditionally done nevertheless.

[192]
[779]

627 Before the hearing of a dispute, both parties give kafelo
[431] to the mediator. If no kafelo is given, the dispute will not be heard. After a ruling is made in the dispute, the side which has received a favorable decision gives wushira to the mediator. The reasoning involved in the giving of wushira is that if the case had gone to court a set fee would have been paid. When a case is heard in Sholo, therefore, the mediator receives as wushira a smaller fee than would have been paid in court.

[693]

Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

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627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan 663 661 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition [531] [554] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which 431 he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the [671] case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

627 431 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 578 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse her husband. Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

627 663 664

[GEIDAN]

627 Alkalis as Yerima is with Alkali Baba Kura, but Yerima would
663 put his influence to use only when affairs arise which directly
661 concern him.

627 In the eyes of talaka, sholo is the major means for keeping
829 the peace. They do not distinguish sharply between the resolu-
671 tion of conflicts through sholo and through judgments handed down in the courtroom. The Kanuri do not conceive of an impartial legal system which grants all individuals equal protection. Law is conceived of as mediation granted by particular individuals, some more trustworthy than others. Whether one brings one's complaint before the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan depends on whether one has greater trust in the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan. In any case, one brings one's complaint to be heard by a single man, with his particular whims, idiosyncracies and prejudices, and one chooses the man in whom one
[648] has the greatest confidence. According to the British view, sholo given by an Ajia or Lowan is not permitted, and is therefore not binding on the parties involved. A man who has received an unfavorable decision in sholo can complain to the court and the decision will be overruled. The Ajia or Lowan who heard the case will have difficulty because of it. This rarely happens because the talaka sees the situation from an entirely different viewpoint. When he brings a case for sholo and receives an adverse ruling, the dispute must end there as he has done everything possible for him to do in the situation, particularly if no bribes have been given (to his knowledge)

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627 829 671 and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dispute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the [676] case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al- [693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 651 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political official are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and [565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

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*177 the usefulness of the activities in which the agents of this
75 authority engage. Taken at face value, the response of the
*829 Aristocracy in column 5 seems to make little sense. Its mean-
*565 ing becomes apparent when the role of this group within the
744 social structure is understood in relation to the behavioral
area being investigated.

691 Arbitration of disputes between individuals has been dis-
• 627 cussed in some detail in the sections dealing with political
*177 organization. The traditional Kanuri way of dealing with inter-
648 personal disputes is for the complainant to bring his dispute
before an authority figure for arbitration. For the bulk of
the populace this means that disputes are brought before the
Lowan or the Ajia. The Alkali is also a part of traditional
Kanuri society but his authority now derives from external
sources. British colonial government has set up the judiciary
as an arm of government, and the Kanuri Alkali is part of this
larger system. The decisions of the Alkali given in court are
backed up by this external source of power. The judgments of
the Lowan or the Ajia when he hears cases in sholo receive
their support solely from the power vested in positions within
Kanuri society. Willingness to take disputes to court, there-
fore, represents a tendency to seek for sanctions outside of
*177 traditional Kanuri society. The data on this question are pre-
691 sented in Table XXVIII. Responses in column 1 state simply
627 that the individual would bring his complaint before the Ajia
*829 (or Lowan). The attitude of the Talaka whose response is re-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 291]

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Table XXVIII

19. Arbitration of disputes: before Lowan (or Ajia) or in court.

	1. Ajia	2. 1st Ajia then to Court	3. varies with circumstances	4. Court	5. Neither
Aristocracy	1	1	2*a	1	
Koranic Malams			1*b	1	1*c
Canteen Operators		2	1	3*d	
NA Malams		3	1	2*ef	
Kabuna		5*g		1*h	
Craftsmen	1	5*i			
Talaka	2*j	2	1	3*k	
Low-status Individuals	1	2			1
Totals:	5	20	6	11	2

*a Lowan Kagu, the former Lowan states, "If you go to the Ajia, everybody talks it over and cools down. At court they punish the wrong doer. If you are right, you go to court. If you are not right, you go to the Ajia."

*b Koranic Malam: "No one ever did anything to me. If it is a light matter I would go straight to the court. If it is a weighty matter I would go first to the Ajia."

Others in this column stated that they would take a weighty matter to court and a light matter to the Ajia.

*c One malam stated that he would go to neither the Ajia or to court. "I would pray for Allah to take care of it." When asked what he would do if a man stole his goat he said that he would go first to the Ajia. If nothing happened he would sit still and would not go to court.

*d Several of the canteen operators give the following reasons for going to court: 1) "Court is more honest." 2) "The court is the proper judge for Moslems to go to." 3) "Long ago I would have gone to the Ajia. Now only to court. If you go to the Ajia, it's a drawn out affair."

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Table XXVIII (continued)

*177 *e An NA Malan said, "Court. Court knows right and wrong; knows who is speaking the truth or not. Going to the Lowan only works if your complainant agrees."

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*627

*829 *f Another said, "First to court. If you go to Sholo, the person giving sholo takes money and doesn't punish the person who has committed a wrong. The court is just and punishes."

*565

*559 *g A typical kabuna response was, "Go to the Ajia. He sends you to court. He is our superior."

*463

*h An typical kabuna: "Court. Both parties are forced to speak the truth."

*i A young leather worker: "Everyone has his Mai (king). The Lowan helps you; he fixes it. Ajia does the same. In court all are the same before the law. It doesn't help you; only when you are right. I would go to the Wakil of the Ajia with a complaint."

*j A talaka: "Go to the Lowan. The Lowan is my superior. A man who goes to court is stupid. If you go over your Lowan's head, it's no good. He collects your taxes."

*k Another talaka: "Only court. Only the court can enforce anything. If the other party doesn't agree, the Lowan is no use."

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*177 corded in *j is typical. Taking a dispute to court means
691 short-cutting the traditional means of settling disputes and
- 627 is likely to be interpreted by the Lowan as an attempt to go
*829 over his head. This would be a foolish thing to do, since the Lowan is one's immediate superior ("He collects your taxes."). Responses in column 2 indicate that one should go first to Ajia, and that the dispute should be taken to court only if the Ajia advises it. The Kabuna's response (*g) states that this should be the procedure because the Ajia is one's superior. The leather-worker (*i) phrases it so that everyone has his superior to whom he must first go with his complaints; these are then smoothed over. The responses in columns 1 and 2 represent traditional responses; 25 individuals (57 per cent) answered in this way.

Some individuals indicated that their course of action would depend on the circumstances. Thus one of the Aristocrats (*a) indicates a perfect understanding of the differences between taking a dispute to the Ajia for sholo and taking it before the Alkali in court. The purpose of sholo is to placate both sides; the court enforces its decisions by punishing the wrong-doer. Therefore, if you are in the right, you can witness the punishment of the individual who has wronged you by taking him to court. If you are not in the right, you are better off before the Ajia, whose aim is to settle the dispute. Several others (*b, *c) indicate that they would do little or nothing in assuming an active role in order to bring those

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*177 against whom they have a complaint before either authority.

*627 691 *829 Those who would take their disputes directly to court (column 4) offer a variety of reasons for so doing, but the basis of their reasoning is that: the court can determine the truth (and frequently people are required to swear on the Koran in court); the court can enforce its decisions; and sholo requires both parties to accept and be bound by the decision of the

*177 627 691 *829 arbitrator (see *e and *k) while the court does not. The 11 individuals whose answers fall in column 4 represent members of 6 groups, but the highest proportion of respondents giving

44 this answer is to be found among the Canteen Operators. Three of this group said "court"; only two said "Ajia first and then court." Furthermore, their reasons for taking a dispute to court are not as convincing as those of other individuals who would also take their disputes to court. In *d are to be found the responses of the three Canteen Operators who would take their disputes directly to court. Neither the first nor the second answer are reasonable explanations. Bribery is possible in cases brought for sholo and equally possible in cases brought before an Alkali; it is no more proper for a Moslem to go to court than it is for him to bring his dispute for arbitration. The third answer is more convincing, though it says only a portion

[178] of what might be said. It seems clear that the Canteen Operators as a group would be more likely to take cases before the Alkali rather than before the Lowan or Ajia because of their own changing status in the social structure. Because they are

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#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
829 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
441 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that
178 of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

735 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and genero-
517 sity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
[554] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

586 Nevertheless the incidence of divorce is very high and only exceptional women marry as virgins and remain married all their lives to the same man, while practically all men divorce a wife at least once in their lives. The average figure is about three to four divorces per person (from qualitative observation and genealogical records) during a life span. The reasons given for divorce run the complete gamut of dissatisfaction that a man and a woman can complain of in their relations with one another.(1) Furthermore divorce is very easy to institute, being merely an act of personal will by either partner to the marriage.

[692] A great many divorces are practised without resort to the formal proceedings of the Alkalai court. The woman leaves her husband's compound taking her property with her and returns (traditionally) to her luwali's (guardian) household, which usually means her parents. As we have said before, this is not always the case in later marriages. If the husband wants her back, he sends an intermediary to the house to which she has returned to plead his case. If he does not, then an intermediary may be sent from the house to which the girl has gone. This latter procedure is much less usual, since the girl's family is traditionally of higher status, and it is customary for the lower status group to visit the higher and not vice versa. If no intermediaries are used it is assumed that both parties desire a divorce, or if they are used and fail to obtain a reconciliation, then [627] divorce follows. If any adjudication is required in the proceedings, [692] it is most commonly carried on by relatives, friends, ward heads and town heads.

[171] (1) c.f. Smith, M.G., op.cit. (1955) (p.63). Smith gives a list of complaints obtained from Hausa court records of divorce. All of his list of sixty-three complaints are applicable to Kanuri court proceedings on divorce.

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
832 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one, including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illicit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person. For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia, and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse. Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This latter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

837 established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of re-
628 lationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the marketing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually the wives of their close friends and relatives.

586 It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the contrary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to [123] be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order to re-unite separated couples.

581 This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the
585 formalization ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the marriage. After the fatiha prayer (1) has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for [829] the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior status, but because European marriages are well known for their durability. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

581 Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, preferential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that
586 their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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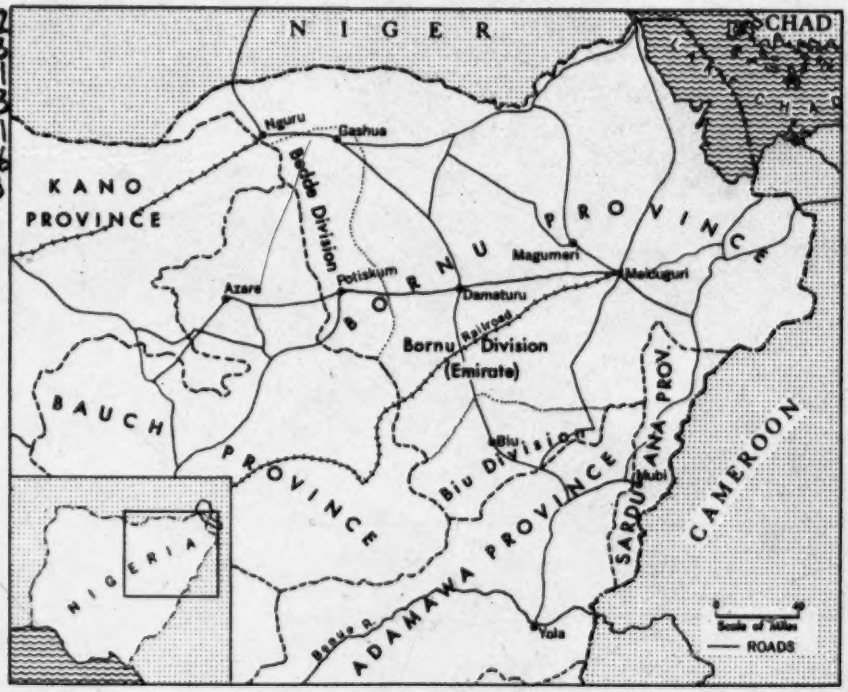

[P.ii]

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
[498] it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

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634 692 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to operate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of 178 648 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri 63 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 178 625 698 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly in the following example describing the functioning of the police in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of [661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[64] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[66] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 3]

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(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

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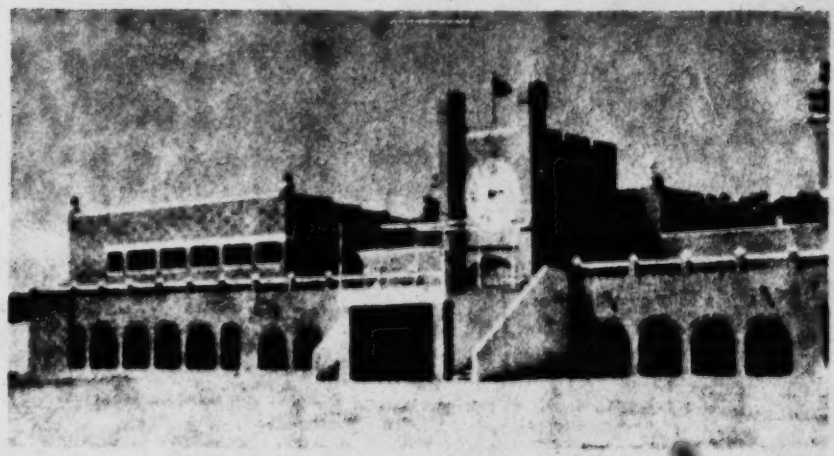

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 648 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 631 634 tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 648 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 793 692 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the specialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 651 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom although records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 829 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

648 greatly since that time, as Nigeria is an independent nation today.

The policy of the British in Northern Nigeria had been one of indirect rule. In this manner, a small administrative staff was able to govern a huge area, and the chiefs and Emirs of the North remained the political rulers in their own areas.

• 631 642 Bornu Province is divided administratively into five Emirates, though the Emirate of Bornu overshadows the remaining four in geographic area, population, and political importance. The Emirates of Bornu and of Bama are Kanuri. The Emirs of Fika, Biu and Gashua rule over three small tribes, discussed in the preceding section, which are within the sphere of Kanuri influence. In addition to the Emirates, the provinces of the North are divided into districts, and each district has an appointed native District Head. The large Emirates are made up of many districts; the small Emirates sometimes have no more than a single district. Bornu Emirate has twenty-one districts.

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648 Although the British ruled through the existing political system in Bornu Emirate, they controlled all important policy decisions and they had brought about important changes in the political organization of the Kanuri in order to carry out their policies. The actual relationship between the British Resident, who was in charge of the province, assisted by his staff of District Officers, and the Shehu, his Waziri and the Shehu's Council, differed radically from that officially stated. Although the British administration claimed to be merely advisory, it was

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appointments formally need not be approved by the British administration, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
• 631
178 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times, since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the political system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit, the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which protects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the protection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
643 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
565 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families
177 remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built
the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
178 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
565 centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weak-
ness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In
form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the
old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
177 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were
565 given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri
aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, accord-
ing to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well un-
derstood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered
alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
644 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
565 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
631 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
423 ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments
[651] and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These
were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
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175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631 selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[567] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
[554] eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
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554 565 644 Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Karjiroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

175 423 631 565 554 644 Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.

175 565 554 567 The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaigama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

175 554 565 The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

175 554 565 are individual titles which can be held by only one man at a time. There can be only one Kaigama, one Mastrema, and one Yerima at any given time. A man's son did not invariably inherit his father's title at his father's death. The title was conferred by the Shehu, customarily to the son of the previous title holder. If there were several sons, the one whom the Shehu judged most worthy was given the title; and if a title-holder had no sons, or no sons worthy of holding a title, the title might be given to anyone, though it was almost always given to someone of the household of the title-holder. There are several interesting cases of high titles given to talaka who were members of a household (the present holder of the title Talba is a slave who was given the title because there were no sons of the previous Talba; a horse boy inherited the title of Kaigama in the past; the Malam to the family, and a member of the household, inherited the title of Yirima). A talaka who was considered worthy, and was a member of a household whose head held a title might inherit that title; a common talaka without appropriate household affiliations could never hope to receive a title in former times.

The title was the mark of nobility in Kanuri society, and the embodiment of the several dimensions which, when taken together determined social importance. The title was linked to [631] the system of feudal chimas who paid allegiance to the Shehu [641] and effectively governed the land. The chimas had power, subject only to review by the Shehu himself, over the people in

[GEIDAM]

his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to replace him with one of his own men.

The kabuna represent a special category in the administration of the district. The colonial administration makes no provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town called Dəmjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

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3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14 ●
Nigeria FF1 :24

Chapter I

The Setting

[1]

101 For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. [178] Bornu is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an [631] ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Bornu 162 Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has [131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of [161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are Fulani and Shuwa nomads.(1) The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

132 The Emirate lies within latitudes 11 to 13 N. and longitudes [131] 11 to 13½ S. and has a typical sub-Saharan savannah climate. There is a mean daily maximum temperature of 94° F. from March to June and a mean daily minimum of 66° F. from July to February. The rainfall varies from north to south, being somewhat heavier in the south. Mean rainfall figures in inches per month at Maiduguri for the last thirty-six years are as follows:

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.01	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

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311 is also supported by estimates made by officials of the Bornu agricultural department whose records indicate that only seven per cent of the total Emirate land area is under cultivation while another eight to nine per cent is resting land. Since the agricultural potential of the area is relatively homogeneous this means that there is no land pressure and no problem of over-population.

631 Bornu Emirate is a political unit, among others, within Bornu Province and the latter is in turn one of the provinces making up the Northern Region, the largest of the three regions, of Nigeria. The Emirate is under the nominal rule of the Shehu of Bornu and his council, with this latter body under the executive direction of the Wazirí of Bornu. These leaders all reside at the Emirate capital, Maiduguri, which is also the capital of Bornu Province. The entire area of the Emirate is divided into twenty-one districts each under a District Head who resides in the district capital. In its turn, each district is sub-divided into village areas under the headship of a Lawan (village area head). Finally under the Lawan are the wards of his village and the hamlets surrounding his village within the village area boundaries. These wards and hamlets are headed by men called Bálama.

648 The colonial government cuts across this semi-traditional structure. Its center is at Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region of Nigeria, and its representatives reside throughout the region, with their headquarters at each provincial capital. The Resident Officer of Bornu Province is the senior colonial official in the province and is responsible to Kaduna for the administration of several Emirates and divisions of the province of which Bornu Emirate is only one, albeit the largest. Government departments of education, forestry, agriculture, and the like are responsible for their programs throughout the entire province and work through local native authority departments in each Emirate.

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642 kingdom. It is probable that the early state was organised as a group of clans, with one clan and a lineage within it as the ruling group. There is the possibility that this dominant group was an intrusive one, but this point has been so over-stressed with no substantiating data by other writers, that it would be wiser to leave it until sufficient archeological research has been done.

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829 After the move to Bornu and the founding of the capital of Birni Gazargamo we have some contemporary data with which to assess the life of the times. Ibn Fartua expresses the feelings of a chief servant of the Mai concerning the ethical nature of the state in the 16th century. He says that " . . .every people relies on imitation of its leaders. The leader goes before and the people follow him. He leads them to the Garden as it were by a bridle, after giving the Book of Direction, glad tidings about the Faith, right direction, and sure guidance in the path of law. So every man knows his rights and his obligations to others. Most excellent is the fame of just deeds, and justice on the part of a Mai for one day is equal to service of God for sixty years . . . A place where there is an evil Mai is better than a place which has none." (1) Thus the structural position of the Mai is extolled as being even more important than its functions, for when a leader is present every man knows his relationship to other men, and the people are enjoined to feel blessed at the fact of political leadership <u>per se</u>.

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631 The political organization of Bornu during the second florescence of the kingdom was structured outwards from the capital at Birni Gazaragamo with the cardinal directions of the State under the military protection of four titled noblemen. The south was under the Yurema or chief eunuch; the north was held by the Mustrema (also a eunuch); the east by the Kaigama (a

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua, op. cit. pp.10-11.

175 nobleman); and the west by the Yerima (a nobleman). As far as can be
631 ascertained these men were not enfieffed of these portions of the kingdom (they held fiefs elsewhere), but were rather hereditary titles connected with military functions in one of the quarters of the state, or in the army as a whole. Thus the Mustrema was responsible for controlling raids upon the northern area of the realm, and was in charge of northern troops when the army of the kindgom was assembled for war. In contrast, Nguru, in the northwest, was held by the Galidima who still holds it today. The latter, unlike the other "subregents", but like the tributary vassals, resided in his territory as a kind of semi-independent king although he was also one of the paramount courtiers of the Bornu ruler. All other nobles lived at the capital under the watchful eye of their king, and toured their districts
175 only when trouble was brewing or taxes were needed. Working within the
631 above system was the organization of the state into fiefdoms held by the
634 nobility, rewarded servants of the king, and military personnel. Any person to whom a fief was given or who received it through inheritance from an original recipient (which was more often the case) was called the Chima Kura. As was pointed out, all nobles with the exception of the Galidima lived at the capital, and the administration of the fief was carried on by a Chima Gana (small Chima) who was most often a slave or trusted servant of the Chima Kura. The Chima Gana usually resided in the fief itself raising taxes and maintaining law and order. With this system it was easy to gear in vassal states or nomad peoples. Their leaders were simply made Chima Kura of the Kanuri state, which strengthened the leader's position in his own group after conquest, and manoeuvred him into the Kanuri political organization.(1) Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing contin-

(1) This office because of its different nature was also referred to as the Kura Jilibe (head of the tribe or clan). The Kura Jilibe was however acting as the Chima Kura of his group, in relation to the Bornu throne.

175 631 [173] Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing continuity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organized as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the Shehu.

175 631 642 An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu.(1) Tomlinson found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants.(2) Being a stranger in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced. Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as possible to consolidate his power.

173 634 [562] Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were, as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants in residence at the fief.

173 651 The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of two separate levies. One, the binemram collected in binem (winter) was the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

(1) Tomlinson, F.J.P. Report of Nganzai District; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
(2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
[792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

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651 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.(1)

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651 From the earliest records extant of the Kanuri empire in Kanem right up until the arrival of the British, a system of tax exemption obtained called the Mahram. Although it most often applied to religious mallams, who were recognized in this way for their esoteric knowledge in matters of law and religion, special services to the king were sometimes
[212] rewarded in the same way. These exemptions were always recorded in writ-
[451] ing, so that when the British arrived and began instituting their own form of universal taxation many of these documents, some claiming 990 years of
[114] exemption, turned up. They were collected, translated and subsequently published by Palmer.(2)

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692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Mainin Kanendi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanendi were twelve
[693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

175 692 693 [645] whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175 692 643 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjudication himself. [631] The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175 182 463 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in Bornu. [44] This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market. 175 439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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648 Data on how this was accomplished were not available in the public
643 records of Bornu province. Therefore it can only be assumed (provisionally, until more information becomes available) that the British promise to rebuild Kuka, the old 19th century capital, must have appealed to the Shehu, and/or the French conceded to British demands for the Shehu to be brought to Bornu. Certainly since Britain had claim to Bornu as part of Nigeria from the days of the Chartered Companies (late 19th century), and was making good the claim, it was only logical from their viewpoint that the traditional ruler of Bornu should be allowed to sit on the throne
175 in the area historically connected with his reign. Taking the evidence
648 of the French defeat of Rabeh, and their entry into Bornu with an armed force to defeat and kill his son, plus their establishment of the Shehu, it would seem as if the French from east of Lake Chad were trying to limit British expansion into Bornu by a fait accompli of possession, even though the western Chad basin had been ceded to England in the councils of European diplomacy.(1) In any event, all this manoeuvring on the part of the French proved of no avail, for it had also been decided in Europe that the Cameroons were to be administered by Germany, and the French soon had to cede even the area south of Lake Chad to that country.

175 "The first important step by the new British overlords was
648 the sending out of the fiefholders to live in their fief-ships in 1903 ...
634 These fiefs afterwards evolved into Districts and the most suitable men available were put in charge of them, the Shehu always being consulted
[631] in the selection. These men are now Alia or District Headmen. This formed a chain of responsibility in the administration which the size of the Emirate and its small European staff immediately demanded."(2) However

(1) Langer, W.L. The Diplomacy of Imperialism, (New York) p. 131
(2) Annual Report 1909; op. cit.

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648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
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632 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

[178] Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

[166] The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilisation by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organisation, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Magumeri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

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ite of the Shehu and was married to a daughter of the Wazirí (head of the Shehu's council). By the end of 1931 the matter began to congeal. The D. O. of Bornu Emirate wrote a note to the Resident claiming that the time had come to dispose of the District Head of Mobber since he obviously would not reform, and then suggested several names as replacements. In early 1932 the matter was mentioned briefly in a report to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces from the Resident of Bornu. It stated that "the Shehu and Council have found it necessary to depose the District Head of Mobber." Several people were nominated by the D. O. and by the Council for the replacement and the matter was closed when a man suggested by the Council was mentioned in reports as the new District Head of Mobber.

The British administrators had tried to persuade the District Head of Mobber for two years to stop using his own system of political organization and work through the Village Heads, i.e., the political structure recognized by themselves. His inability to comply finally

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brought about his removal. But the entire push and pull of the deposition did not materially disturb relations between the British and the political leadership of Bornu.

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Certainly the case hints at a well-organized Kanuri political system operating independently of the one formally recog-

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nized by the British. However, it also illustrates the formalized and balanced relationship which existed between the Resident and the Shehu. The Resident patiently tried to press forward with his own conception of government, while the Shehu was at the same time attempting to mollify English demands in order that the Emirate political organization could be maintained unmolested. The unsettling feature of the relations between the Kanuri and the English

[p. 229]

Chapter VIII

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization with its head as the primary governmental figure. [571] The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] [632] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

632 others are of more recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organization.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher pol-
631 itical organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organization above
634 the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the
631 Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the homad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial.
[492] When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe
[411] and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

634 that his assessment was too high. The DH promptly sent out some of his
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661 followers and gathered twice the assessment originally stipulated. He then called in the Lawan to the District capital, reprimanded him and gave back one-quarter of the excess tax raised by his followers.

631 Formally the Lawans are subordinate to the DH of their District. The DH relays information to them from the capital concerning the execution of their political duties and it is their responsibility to have these directives carried out. However, for various reasons to be discussed presently, some of the political activity of the DH is illegal under the present regulations. Therefore he often requires more than mere compliance to state regulations. As shown by the example above the DH wants cooperation and complicity in his own political organization of the District. Several factors militate against the absorption of the Lawans into the DH's organization. Firstly, the Lawan's salary and his income from taxes and political duties make him less dependent upon the DH than the latter's more disciplined followers. Secondly, the British have always viewed the Lawan's job as that of a local chief (see above pp.36-39) whose ~~they~~ should be to the locality and not necessarily the DH. Nevertheless a DH's views are almost always taken into consideration by both the NA and the British when a new Lawan
631 is to be appointed. This last point leads to a conflict. Dismissals
661 and transfers are common occurrences among DH's. Because DH's often manage to get a few of their loyal followers into a Lawan's job, especially in the District capital, each new DH in a District is confronted with a few Lawans who are the loyal followers of his predecessor.

The result of this structural framework is a constant manoeuvring by the DH to either win the loyalty and obedience of his Lawans or replace them with his own followers.

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661 Good examples of these conflicts can be seen in some of the recorded history of Magumeri District in the last fifty years. From 1921 to 1929, Lawan Tayil, a follower of the DH, is only mentioned briefly and always alluded to as a competent Lawan. After the DH left the District in 1929 and was replaced by a new one, adverse reports by British officers (who had talked to the new DH) became more and more common. It was noted that Lawan Tayil was unpopular with the people, that there was emigration out of his village area due to exhortative taxation, and that he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1934 he was deposed and a younger brother of the new DH was installed
631 as Lawan. Examples like this are extremely common from Magumeri's
661 recent past as well as from the other Districts. This is reflected in the length of term of Lawans in office, taken from three widely separated Districts. The average length of tenure for a Lawan who is the follower of reigning Lawan is ten years if the DH remains in the District; on the other hand, the average length of tenure for a Lawan (in the District capital) is four years after a DH has left the District.

There is a tendency indicated in the historical records
631 for DH's to appoint younger brothers as Lawans. But this has its lim-
661 its; sometimes kin are passed over, or relationships are broken because
662 a kin member feels that he will be held responsible for his kinsman's behaviour. Thus in 1935, the Lawan of Magumeri asked the British authorities if he could be moved to another District away from the hegemony of an older brother who was his DH. By 1935 the British had received a great many complaints from Magumeri District about the oppressive taxation of the DH. Thus the DH's younger brother sensing that trouble was brewing for the DH, felt that it would be more advantageous for his own political career if he were out of his older brother's District,

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631 661 Another good example of this point was observed in the field. The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of [602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 647 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A. are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of [178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years, and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred, or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy [571] out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A. officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which 634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the 647 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues, 651 and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration with the Chief Scribe.

634 647 661 631 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

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hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

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In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat

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with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to sulct the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

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However, this and other moves by the DH to obtain friendship and loyalty from the N.A. employees in his area can never be totally successful in creating a unified political organization in the District. First of all, they can be moved to other Districts by their superiors and often are, thus creating the problem of new N.A. personnel constantly arriving. Secondly, their income from N.A. salaries allows them to be independent of the DH economically if they wish, while the power and authority of their own departmental superiors in the capital always acts to lessen the degree of sensitivity and possible subservience they may feel towards the DH.

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This does not mean to imply that the N.A. employees are completely independent of the DH. In many branches of N.A. activity it is either difficult or impossible at present to initiate or continue civil service programs without a modicum of cooperation from the DH. This is another way of saying that in the rural area the independent existence of other sources of power and authority besides the line leading from Lawan through the DH to the Shehu is hardly recognized. (1)

For example, it is impossible to establish a local forest reserve without the DH issuing orders to all Lawans ordering them to cooperate with a newly arrived District representative of the Forestry Department. Or again, it is the DH who at present enforces and maintains a regular flow of children into the Junior Primary School in his District capital. On the other hand, if the DH continually refuses to cooperate with N.A. officials and civil service programs are obstructed, complaints by local N.A. personnel, plus the failure of program goals can bring sharp reprimands down upon the DH.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a

(1) The exception here is the European, who the peasant knows has much power.

634 647 662 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A.[1] He had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

631 634 642 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form.[2]

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Waziri (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

631 634 642 personnel, and ratifies all appointments, dismissals and transfers of the N.A. The DH may be informed of directives either from the Waziri's office or from the relevant Department which would also inform their local District personnel.

648 Officially, today, the British personnel both technical and administrative, perform an advisory, not an authoritative, part in the political organization. Although much of the "advice" is given at the center, there is some contact between the colonial service officials and the District during the touring duty of the officers. Such visits are always publicized beforehand to the local officials and the British officer is always accompanied by a Shehu's Representative. Technical officers are generally concerned with their own particular program in the area and unless they feel that the local authorities are being uncooperative, they do not interfere in local or State politics. The administrative officers have a much wider range of interests which covers all areas of government not directly under the concern of some technical department, i.e. taxation, courts of law, District Councils (local government) and complaints by the peasants against their chiefs. Some also take an interest in one or more technical branch and report their findings to the relevant department after their touring duties have brought them into contact with local programs.

634 203 [631] Informally the DH has a house in the palace ward in the capital and his followers there are links between himself and the center. The Wakil (chief follower) in charge of the town house visits the Shehu regularly and represents the DH in the capital. Besides this source of contact with the center, the DH receives information from N.A. messengers, policeman and traders who travel continually from Maiduguri through the Districts. By the judicious giving of gifts to

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651 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts, the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

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648 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

643 In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the
[368] palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization.
[101] As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 571 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

[p 329]

Chapter X

Summary and Conclusions

178
642 The description of pre-Colonial Bornu has indicated that despite the rise and fall of its fortune the Kanuri political organization has had a remarkable resiliency throughout the last millenium. As long as the system of feudal organization remained with its nucleus at the capital city and court of the monarch, then the rise and fall of the empire was not fatal to its continuity. Kanuri feudalism is a segmentary corporate political structure; while the top remains intact, the expansion and contraction of the State itself bears no relation to its survival.

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631 The traditional background from which the present society obtains its roots has been altered in this century by contact with British colonialism. In Northern Nigeria the administration was deeply affected by the views of its founder Lugard, whose own control of the organization of the regional colonial service ensured that many of its norms, procedures and its overall policy would be an embodiment of his personal philosophy of colonialism. In Bornu, this meant that the pre-Rabeh Kanuri leaders regained their old positions, the Shehu was placed at the head of the State (now called the Bornu Emirate), and the fief-holders now called District Heads or Ajias, went to live in "bush" on their respective fiefs. The Village Heads within each district were appointed because of hereditary claims to the position while the District Heads over them were chosen because of their relationship to the monarch and/or other powerful groups at the capital. This set up possible conflicts between DH's and the Village Heads in their districts
175 which has lasted to the present day. The policy of the British was to
648 rule through and strengthen the authority of the native leaders, while
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554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

621 571 in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name for this constant and fundamental organization in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organizational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organization is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organization of the Emirate.

631 571 The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimized and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organization of the next higher level in the political structure.

631 642 In practice there are factors present which make it impossible for the Kanuri political organization to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository [648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organization, and tends besides to create ambiguous

631 642 648 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political roles.

631 642 665 The results of this complexity leads to large factions each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State. Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

[78] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

631 642 665 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the DH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

511 Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives [433] us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of $180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living".(1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1)This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is, the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kantuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit. 632 184

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source. 115 114 123 [634]

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless. 114 122 [115]

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming. 114 123

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

175 634 642 643 421 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territorially based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord remained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 634 622 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a village head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both. 175 634 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings expand in size, and he tried to help this process along by not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them from raiders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and ability to supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so that it was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 622 632 634 642 643 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 439 437 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroidered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 648 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade, which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of village areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 177 648 632 634 (622)

175 177 648 634 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced. 632 [621] [622]

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan. [651] [692]

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge. 632 622 621 592 571

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate. 632 571 621 [642]

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government. [692] [166]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

632 593 [893] The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have positions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration. His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subordinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside because there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the households of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 593 571 621 182 66

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu, especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

[621] [692] 632 182

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assessments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is common in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

632 651 626 692

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

632 689 578 692

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

632 689 578 692 159 [571]

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

632 685 689 578 692 159

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

578 632 689 692 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. [634] On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

632 634 578 66

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for [166] example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or [651] by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] [368]

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waziri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by 634 662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of 592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound [342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in [361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to 634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol- 592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men 571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants 571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci- 634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully 571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis- 678 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize 634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci- 571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan 578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil- 632

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head.

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization.

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area.

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap-
632 point younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However
634 this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he
593 could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the dis-
66 trict head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peas-
[648] ants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

634 As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native
647 Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often
647 get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magum-
565 eri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who
[571] their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

647 Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to
634 that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a pre-
571 vious district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one
[565] another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631
[567] selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[554] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[627] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbitration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicating that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
642

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the
[642] two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

779 marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights
58 of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support
[593] of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does
not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement;
[182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All
of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies,
are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in
Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million peo-
[161] ple. About one-third live in towns with a population of more
than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital,
which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying
villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten
towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of
these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu
Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26
towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost
a third of the population.

369 Although there may be some question whether a town with a
632 population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear
121 that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly ap-
proaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

369 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists
632 of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at
121 the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less
[622] than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village.
[463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors.
[622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger,
[565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are
[595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and
[592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and
342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (sagdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

342 This is one of two house types which the Kanuri build, and is predominant in the villages. There are several variants of this house type. The walls may be of mud bricks, or they may be of
363 woven mats. The first is of course more permanent. Paths separate groups of compounds, and larger streets divide the village. Trees are allowed to grow within the village to provide
361 shade, but other vegetation is removed. Since Bornu is a flat plain, the huts of the small villages, amid the shade trees, jut out from the surrounding cleared landscape in dry season and are visible from a distance.

632 [366] The towns are market centers, and frequently also administrative centers. Towns of some size are divided into wards, and each ward will have its own Lowan. The wards (nguro) are
632 in turn made up of compounds. In the towns, stratification in
565 the social structure is pronounced and wealth differences be-
556
342 tween heads of families may be great. This is reflected in size of compound and in house type. While the house type and compound of the poor commoner (talaka) in the town may be identical with that of the typical villager (compound walls made of sagdis enclosing a plot on which is built a single round-walled, thatched hut), the compounds of wealthy and important men are enclosed in walls of mud bricks some ten feet high, and the single entrance (chinna) may be framed in an impressive archway. The area of the compounds of important men may be several thousand square yards, and there may be upwards of twenty houses within. The predominant house type of the wealthy man in the

632 565 342 556 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks, with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are sim-
[363] ilar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern,
[492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided
[463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 361 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called the dandal. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's
[614] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the Shehuri) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

632 366 368 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 632 463 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 171 182 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

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121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [10] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- 197 [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

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366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees.
443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

361 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a
632 "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the
[634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the
[351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the
[527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia,
[526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre-
[535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

○○○ and religious activity.

2. Wards and Neighborhoods.

• 632 [634] Since the town of Geidam is the administrative center of Geidam District, the Ajia of Geidam is the central political figure in the town. A town itself, however, is administered by a Lowan. Formerly, Geidam had one Lowan; however, as the town grew in size, it was subdivided into wards (nguro). Geidam has three wards,and each has its own Lowan. Each of the wards has its own character, and although many activities have reference to the town of Geidam as a whole, other activities are limited [563] to a ward, or centered within a particular ward. Two of the wards are almost entirely Kanuri and have Kanuri Lowans; the third is predominantly Hausa and has a Hausa Lowan.

The "U" of the town surrounding the dandal represents the center of the old town and is solidly Kanuri. This is the ward of Lowan Ashek, a kabuna of the Ajia. Political and administrative activities of a higher order center in Lowan Ashek's ward. The overwhelming majority of the Ajia's kabuna (47 of the 54 kabuna) live there. A small section of the river area falls under his jurisdiction as well since his ward stretches [732] westward to include the river-edge. At the northeastern tip of Lowan Ashek's ward is the section where the blind live.

The second Kanuri ward is under Lowan Kolo Kolo, who also is a kabuna of the Ajia. His ward is largely but not entirely Kanuri. Under his jurisdiction is the market and most of the

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632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a
563 sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serakin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All south-
563 erners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dagora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

632 563 167 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come [162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 621 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper. [162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula- [622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves [651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection 632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem- 621 563 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka- 177 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of [302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in [771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude [273] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip [534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the 632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all 621 [243] have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition [285] [463]

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632 621 [248] [325] [463] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area. 632 463 The people of Koldi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts- [323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bəlɨ), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[435] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

64 the ruling body in Bornu Emirate. Native Authority (NA) officials, under the overall jurisdiction of the Shehu, are appointed by the Shehu's council (modulas). These include the Ajia, the highest official representing the NA in a district, 634 and all the lesser office-holders in that district. In Geidam District, Yerima Mustapha is the most important political fig- [693] ure. Second in importance to Yerima Mustapha in Geidam is the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura Imambe, who served as Alkali in Geidam for most of the year in which the present [632] study was done, and then was promoted to a higher court. The three Lowans, Lowan Ashek, Lowan Kolo Kolo, and Serokin Garba, Lowan of the Hausa ward, follow. Their jurisdiction is limited to their own wards within the town. Then follow a long list of officials, all NA appointees, each with his own area of specialization: the Chief Scribe, Treasurer, Primary School Headmaster and three teachers, Agricultural expert, Veterinary, Hides and Skins Inspector, Forestry expert, Local Government Advisor, Adult Education Organizer, Dispenser, and Sanitation Inspector. The Chief Scribe and the Treasurer both have assistants. Lowest of the NA officials are the NA messengers. Six NA messengers are attached to the Ajia of Geidam; one NA messenger serves the Alkali.

Most of the officials listed above serve the district of Geidam, though all are permanently stationed in the town. The Ajia and his staff, headed by the Chief Scribe and the Treasurer, are responsible for the administration of the entire dis-

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634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
[692] a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
[812] the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
[692] of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

648 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
[178] trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the
692 Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

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175 was an old town called Geidam Balara, from which the town today
[103] takes its name. In the eighteenth century, when the capital of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo not far off, Geidam was part of the Mai's lands. Later, when Kukawa became the capital, and the Mais were replaced by the Shehus, Geidam became part
175 of the fief granted to the Imam. Since Geidam District is
634 very large, it was divided among a number of chimas. The town
[682] of Geidam (Domjeri and Geidam Balara, at that time) was controlled by Kazella Ibrahim Geidama, a slave of the Imam who served as chima gana (literally little chima--serving the real chima who lived in the capital). Geidam was a kalyari, an area under the authority of a slave.

The first Ajia of Geidam, in the early years of the twentieth century was Kazella Sulama, a slave of the Shehu's. He was followed by Aba Rafoga, a son of Shehu Ibrahim, who served
[640] as Ajia of Geidam until his death in 1915. Maiduguri had not yet been built and the Mounted Infantry, along with many Europeans, were stationed in Geidam. Aba Rafoga was the most important of the Ajias at that time. Kazella Kakami (Kaigama) then became the Ajia of Geidam, where he served for almost thirty years until his death in January, 1944. Kaigama Kakami was the son of Kaigama Bilel, the commander of the army during the days of Shehu Laminu. His son, Kaigama Zubairu, succeeded to the title of Kaigama and to the office of Ajia of Geidam. Kaigama Zubairu remained Ajia of Geidam for ten years, until he was demoted to a smaller district, Domboa, in 1954. In 1954 Yerima

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159 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year
634 later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha.
554 The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately
632 bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in
634 the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

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175 632 634 was a very young man, whose father had been a Lowan under Kaigama before him. In fact, years earlier Geidam had had one Lowan instead of three--and the single Lowan had been the grandfather of Lowan Kagu. Then the town was split into three wards, each with its Lowan. At that time, Lowan Ashek, who had been a kabuna of Kaigama's and his slave as well, became a Lowan. Lowan Kagu's father was also made Lowan of a ward, succeeding his father; and the young Lowan Kagu in turn succeeded his father at his father's death.

175 632 634 66 The Lowans of Geidam were loyal to the departed Kaigama, but now it was necessary to demonstrate that they could transfer their loyalty to Yerima Mustapha, the new Ajia of Geidam and their new master. Lowan Ashek, an older and more experienced man, was able to do this. He became one of Yerima's kabuna, and while he is far from the most trusted of Yerima's men, he continues to serve as Lowan under Yerima since he knows the people of his ward well and had been performing the job for some years. Lowan Kagu was young, and was unable to control his feelings in the face of strains created by the situation. He, too, might have bridged the difficult transition as Lowan Ashek had done, had he had more experience in office. As it was, he was dismissed shortly after Yerima's arrival because he lost his temper in an argument with Yerima and threw a book in his face.

Yerima was then free to appoint one of his own men to replace Lowan Kagu. When he was approached and asked whom he

175 wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indif-
632 634 ferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town
66 council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dileima dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

692 The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to oper-
642 ate independently from the political arm of government, and in particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

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000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [563] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

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634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 [648] previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
• 632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 665 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
648 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
554
565

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Table XV.

124 Age distribution of the sample and of each of the eight groups

	Mean age	Range
NA Malams	32.67	25-44
Taleka	36.5	22-51
Low-status Individuals	37.75	25-47
Aristocracy	39.4	24-56
Entire sample median = 40	39.55	22-60
Craftsmen	40.0	30-57
Koranic Malams	43.67	30-56
Canteen Operators	43.67	40-47
Kabuna	45.67	35-60

for each of the eight groups which are compared in this chapter are also given in Table XV. The means of six of the eight groups are within four years of the mean age of the entire sample. The two extreme groups, the NA Malams (mean age = 32.67) and the kabuna (mean age = 45.67) are in one case somewhat younger and in the other case somewhat older than the en-
[121] tire group. This age difference might be expected to have some effect on the hypotheses advanced earlier, since one might expect younger individuals to be more acculturated than older
• [632] individuals. Unfortunately, the NA Malams as a group tend to be young, so that the head-master of the school is only twenty-five years old. Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, is forty-four years old and has been included in the sample. He is
124 probably the oldest NA Malam in the town. Conversely, the Ka-
*634 buna tend to be an older group, and the thirty-five and thirty-

101
103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road, Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

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621 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
000 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

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648 before the fiefs developed into Districts it was discovered that a divi-
634 sion of interests was involved between the British authorities and the
643 Shehu. The British were motivated by their own ideas of administration, i.e. to form "a chain of responsibility" from the local level up through the Shehu to the Resident, while the Shehu evidently tried to have as many fiefs created as possible in order that there would be a multitude of District Heads, thereby increasing the number of offices with which he could reward his supporters. The matter was settled by the British who limited the number of districts to a compromise between what they believed to be the traditional structure, and what they considered to be a workable arrangement in terms of their own requirements of administering the Emirate.

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648 When the District Head arrived in his District with his retinue
634 of supporters he found that the local Village Headmen (the Lawan), who
632 were strange to him, were being supported by the British because of their hereditary claims to village leadership. The British soon discovered that it had been the policy of the traditional fief-holder "to supplant the hereditary headmen by slaves (or followers) of the Chima."(1) Nevertheless, when a new fief-holder took office they conducted investigations to find who were the pre-British (and usually pre-Rabeh) Village Headmen and proceeded to appoint these people as Village Heads. In following this policy a political structure was created which utilised two potentially conflicting principles of social organization. In appointing District Heads the personal relationships of upper class leaders to the Shehu was considered to be the acceptable criteria, while the hereditary claims of local leaders were considered to be the basis for Village Headships. Thus,

(1) Patterson, J.E. Report on Maguseri District 1920; in Maguseri District Notebook; Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Prov. Nigeria.

175 648 634 632 the new District Head going out to his district was confronted with a situation in which he had a territory comprising a group of villages which were to be under his organized administration, and which were at the same time headed by people with whom he had no personal relationships.

Entering into this situation, the District Head responded in several ways. He could try to win the loyalty of the local Village Heads to himself, or conversely some Village Heads, sensing danger in the new situation, might come to the District Head and ask to be "his man." This meant that the District Head had expanded his following to include the Village Head. However, there were obstacles to this simple method of rapprochement. If the Village Head already had a strong functioning relationship to some other "big man" in the Kanuri state who was a powerful person in the post-1900 organization, or if the District Head was anxious to reward his own supporters with lucrative and prestige giving roles, 175 648 634 632 661 then this method was not too successful. The District Head could also try to manipulate the situation so that the Village Heads who he found the most truculent in accepting his overlordship, were regarded as inefficient, corrupt, or immoral in the eyes of the British, so that they would be deposed and then he could replace them with recruits from among his own following. Thus, in 1919, a British District Officer (D.O.) visiting Magumeri District, was told by Abba Kiari, then District Head of Magumeri, that two of the Village Heads in his District were inefficient and should be deposed. He felt also that because of the proximity of the two towns they should be united under one Village Head, and he offered one of his own followers as the logical candidate for the new appointment.(1) Finally, the District Head could simply carry on as if the British were

(1) Whitely: Report on Magumeri 1919; in Magumeri District Notebook

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648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
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632 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

[178] Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

[166] The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

175 648 634 632 During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930, Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situation. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admitted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the Lawans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order. The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr. Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O. arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri for hearings on the matter.

175 648 634 643 692 On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had requested the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignorance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising of personal tax levies.

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In another meeting between the Shehu and the Resident later that month, the Mobber matter was brought up again and the Shehu agreed that things did not seem to be going too well in Mobber. On the 14th of August, the Shehu suggested to the Resident when the Mobber misdemeanours were mentioned that the Mobber peasants were an extremely difficult group to manage and possibly chimas might be required for the proper administration of the District. At the end of August the Shehu requested of the Resident that the five men who had been arrested by A.D.O. Reed be sent back to their homes. The Resident agreed in principle, but felt that the one who had beaten a villager should be kept in Maiduguri for a little longer yet. He added that the men could be sent back to their homes only if the Shehu would take full responsibility for any further trouble in the Mobber area.

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In September and again in October of 1930, A.D.O. Reed was sent up to check the situation in Mobber District. The chimas were operating as before and the District Head was reported as being "not respectful" to the British officer on tour. Only one change [632] had occurred. An entire village area appeared to have been relinquished by the District Head since one of the Shehu's sons had been appointed its Lawan (Village Head) by the Wazirí.

Several months later in February 1931, the District Head of Mobber appeared in Maiduguri for an annual meeting and was warned by the Resident that "unless considerable improvement was shown he would be dismissed." From this point on, there were very few items in the Mobber District file in which the "Mobber case" was actually referred to. One short item tells of a rumour picked up by a junior officer to the effect that the District Head of Mobber was a favor-

595 iram to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-iram), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

595 632 162 [589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are a-typical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates (these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of [125] the population than is commonly the case. The following table on num-[361] ber of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November of 1956,(1) given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa, and Ngubura, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being

[595] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956 crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a compound and all worked farms near their towns.

595 632 162 [361] [366]

five to six miles from the other. Magumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingowa has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among 78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society. [184]

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

[p. 229]

Chapter VIII

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization with its head as the primary governmental figure. [571] The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the [632] small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

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This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

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The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Bulama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

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In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[text continues on p. 233]

361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

571 632 621 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional units of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (nguro) under its Bàlama is slowly approaching the condition where another Bàlama will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 571 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this study by the term extended household organization. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as kin who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

If the extended household head can maintain the
621 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
571 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
554 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bɩlama), depending upon the location
622 of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bɩlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bɩlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 621 Lawan arrived. They look upon Lawan as their leader, but also feel more deeply rooted to their place of residence. This group has seen several Lawans come and go and if Lawan were to consistently overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to complaining about him to his superiors. Their goodwill and support must be sought by Lawan, and they must not be administered to their perpetual detri-
632 ment. Indeed this check on the Lawan's power applied to all his tala (peasants) many of whom know that they can complain of misrule to his superiors. Another check which any tala has over his political superior is migration. He can always move to some other town where he is treated more judiciously. All political leaders, especially Lawans and District Heads, are aware of these checks on their power and are to varying degrees influenced by them.

632 621 571 In Magumeri, the Lawan's own extended household organization includes his son, and about twenty followers under a chief follower (Wakil). Each of the men in this organization has a household of his own somewhere in Lawan's ward (they are not necessarily contiguous), and farmland given to him by Lawan. They receive economic aid from their superior in the form of food, clothing, money, etc., and a status in the extended household organization of the Lawan. Peasants often ask them to intercede for them with the Lawan, or to help them in arranging a meeting between disputants with Lawan as judge.

The members of Lawan's extended household organization are his "administrative staff". They keep in touch with gossip, especially political news; aid in raising taxes; act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him; help him on his farms; and carry messages for him. His followers on foot and horse give him as well the appearance of being what he is, a man cut above his peasant subjects, a local ruler.

632 571 If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

632 871 Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated [554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A. (1)

632 423 [622] All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan 632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

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[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

632 if the matter is ratified by a person of authority in their community. Thus if a man in Magumeri town wishes to move his compound walls in order to expand the size of his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it and they both go to the Lawan and speak to him of the decision. Lawan asks his men to find out if the contiguous neighbours object, and if not, the action is ratified. This supervisory function of political leaders, especially the Lawan, is a well used mechanism for avoiding possible conflicts in the interpersonal relations of people in town and village settlements.

632 651 The Lawan collects two kinds of taxes, although only one is officially recognized by the N.A. Firstly, there is a tax collected for the state from all settled people in the village area which is in the form of a property assessment on all males over the age of eighteen to twenty. Any amount the Lawan obtains with the aid of his organization above the amount written on the tax receipt stubs, is (illegally) [661] his own income. Overtaxing in this manner is a widely accepted prac- [648] tice, but must be kept within limits, since a complaint to the British by a resentful peasant could bring on the dismissal of the Lawan.

632 651 661 The second tax collected by the Lawan is the zakat or tithe on farm produce. Unlike the first tax, there is no official sanction for this levy beyond that of tradition, and the power and authority of [648] the Lawan in his Village Area. Colonial officials assured the writer that this practice was illegal and occurred only sporadically. In a survey of 75 households in three Village Areas (i.e., under three different Lawans) all peasants who had produced a farm crop reported paying a tithe in kind or approximately ten per cent of their millet crop. In twelve cases the household heads declared that they had given ten per cent of all crop production including millet, beans and groundnuts.

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One of the informants offered the information that if he did not pay zakat to his Lawan, his farmland would be taken away from him. Checking this information proved to be difficult, since no cases were ever reported or observed. Consequently, people only speculated about the results of not paying zakat. The belief that land might be confiscated if the zakat tax is not paid is not universal, but the belief that some sort of reprisal would result from non-payment is held by all peasants.

The following excerpt from field notes illustrates the kind of experience that promotes this belief if the Lawan's authority is not responded to with some degree of subordination.

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Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the Lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat maker and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the town, he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school, an N.A. employee and a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appears to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the town, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

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On one of these occasions of the teacher's absence, Bukar had borrowed some matting from his mentor for use in his own compound. The Lawan, in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony, needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arabic teacher's to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked in the teacher's compound. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the others. He answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting from his own compound and was brought to the Lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the Lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by Lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned Lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar, sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by Lawan (the ceremony was over).

632 661 He therefore supported the lower class person against his fellow upper class member.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against
632 a Fulani herder whose cows had eaten his millet. The case came
661 before Lawan who ruled that although the Fulani had pulled a
knife on Bukar (a serious offence), it was Bukar who had started
683 the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cows to wan-
684 der over Bukar's field and devour his, as well as another man's,
crops. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined
for the other man's crops and given an extra fine of five shil-
lings as kafelo for the District Head. (Bukar reports that his
crops were already eaten before the fight started; besides this,
pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offence to the
fight itself, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanour).

632 In discussing the matter, Bukar's senior, the teacher ex-
661 plained that Lawan was angry at Bukar for his behaviour over the
mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When
Bukar finally raised the money for the fine he was told by the
teacher to give the money to Lawan and to say that he (Bukar)
was a small insignificant poor peasant. He was further instructed
to tell Lawan that if there was any help that Lawan needed in
house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his serv-
ices. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future. If
Lawan continued to adjudicate against him and give him heavy
fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court.
Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace
with Lawan, but if this were impossible then higher authorities
would be resorted to and Lawan's power by-passed. In other
words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town
should be respected within limits.

This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

632 A Lawan is installed officially by the Shehu at an invest-
[643] iture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawans well back into the 19th century,

632 others are of more recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organization.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher pol-
631 itical organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organization above
634 the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the
631 Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the homad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial.
[492] When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe
[411] and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

342 476 565 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the owner. This method is only practised in the construction of house types 342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists 331 565 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilise specialist la- [369] [563] bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contractors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur- [427] [369] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea- [425] sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving 423 632 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land with [illegible] radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

425 Permission should be sought
632 for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
423 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots; this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm are.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

366 494 161 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 494 484 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest 443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of [203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, [273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale [525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 692 [632] Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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242 177 Two one-acre plots were to be used for each peasant, so that the utility of the fertilizer could be seen on both millet and groundnut plots. In addition, the field worker was to keep careful records on date of sowing, date of application of fertilizer, dates of first and second weeding and harvesting, farmer reaction to super-phosphate, name and village of the cultivator, and finally, the weight in pounds of millet and groundnuts harvested per half acre on the demonstration plots. The field worker was instructed on the necessity of weighing the harvest from each half acre in the presence of the owner, so that each peasant would see the difference in yield from the treated and untreated portions of the plots. The instructions on this last point were very strongly worded and field workers were made to feel particularly responsible for the final demonstration to the farmer of the weight of crops coming from each part of the demonstration plots. Field workers were also told to play down the efficacy of this particular stock of super-phosphate pellets by commenting on its age and its probable loss of power in comparison to new super-phosphate which could be expected to give much more powerful results. The field worker was also asked to make the point that this free application was only for the purpose of demonstration, and that anyone wishing to obtain super-phosphate fertilizer in the future would be expected to buy it. (Actually, the plan was to distribute the fertilizer the following year at a very nominal price, well below its actual worth.)

The District Head organized a meeting of Magumeri cultivators and introduced Malam Abdulla and his project. The [632] Village Head of Magumeri and the local school teacher, both [875] highly respected men in the village, made short speeches ex- [554] tolling the virtues of the fertilizer, and the Village Head asked for volunteers who would participate in the project. Only a few came forward, others were then ordered to do so, and the rest of the Magumeri sample was obtained through the participation of the school teacher and servants of the District Head, all of whom had their own farm plots. Malam Abdulla also went to two other villages in the area, after obtaining the permission of the District Head, and obtained "volunteers". In

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
[578] are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
[627] outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
[692] in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in
all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
[103] either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
[651] present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken
by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
622 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
159 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
62 that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
[627] tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not ac-
[692] cepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such
discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
[592] named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few
[571] unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these com-
[651] pounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he
recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always
[692] consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link
[592] the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

632
621
622 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such
[633] as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

[GEIDAM]

133 desert-like as one moves north from Geidam. The population to
[137] the north of Geidam continues to be Kanuri (or Manga), but its
[162] density declines rapidly as one moves directly north. Geidam lies on the Yobe River, usually referred to as the Komadugu Yobe River, a redundancy since komadugu means river in the Kanuri language. The Yobe is a slowly moving stream that empties into Lake Chad, approximately 100 miles east of Geidam. Many streams and rivers of the north flow for some months after the rains and then dry up completely. The Yobe, however, is large enough to continue to flow the year round. Before the rains it is reduced to a stream thirty or forty feet in width; after the rains the river reaches its flood crest, when it may extend over half a
[505] mile in width. Though one could travel from Geidam to Lake Chad on the Yobe River, the Kanuri do not use the river for travel or
[172] for commerce. Along the Yobe river, some twenty miles east of Geidam, lie the ruins of Birni Ngazargamo, the ancient capital of the Mais which was sacked by the Fulani. Hence Geidam is not
[36] far from the old center of empire. Along the river, and still further on, along the shores of Lake Chad, are numerous villages and towns.

131 The geographic location of Geidam, aside from the drier
[134] sandy nature of the land because of its northern location, is significant because of its situation in relation to Maiduguri,
131 the provincial capital, and to Nguru, the rail-head. Maiduguri,
• 633 in the center of the province (see Figure 2), is important both
491 because it is the administrative and commercial capital and be-

[GEIDAM]

633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 [496] largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos. Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total dis-
131 tance covered amounts to 170 miles. Though distances are great
49 and the condition of the roads is very poor, trade is dependent
438 on trucks which are the life-line of the country. Goods come into Geidam by truck from both Maiduguri and Nguru. They are then distributed throughout the countryside by merchants and tradesmen, using camels and donkeys to transport their goods.
[366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri villages north of Geidam, nor do roads lead east along the Yobe River to the villages and towns there, Geidam is an important regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location is therefore an important factor in determining the nature of the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles
[366] west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained.
[701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organ-
[692] ization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation
[652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

565 one of the other
369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e.
[178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri mucko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory funo-
[828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

If the extended household head can maintain the
621 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
571 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
554 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bèlama), depending upon the location
622 of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bèlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bèlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Nagumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[p. 3]

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(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

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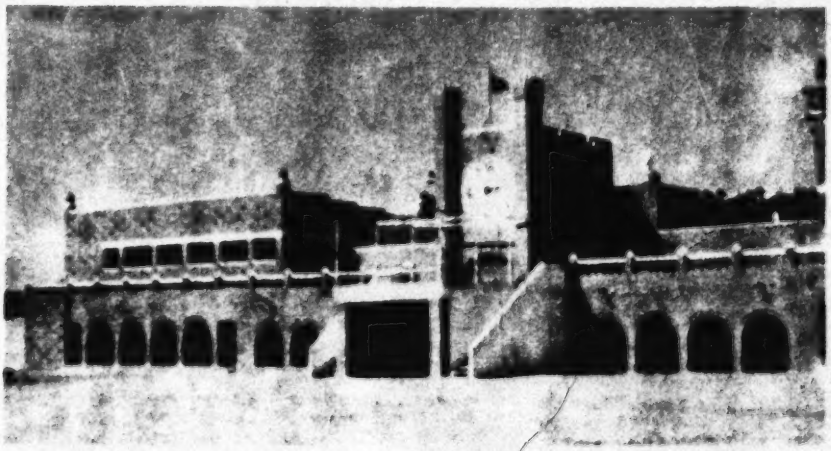

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

114 Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit. 632 184

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source. 115 114 123 [634]

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless. 114 122 [115]

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming. 114 123

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term. [175 644]

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day. [567] [554] [178]

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a [175 642 634] [701 651 692] [175 631 642] [634 626] [839]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter
642 case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to
631 his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he
[634] wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to
648 the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the spe-
793 cialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurispru-
692 dence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom al-
651 though records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territori-
634 ally based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based
642 on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord re-
643 mained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to
421 twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a vil-
634 lage head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the
622 settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both.
175 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings ex-
634 pand in size, and he tried to help this process along by not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them from raiders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and ability to supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so that it was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement
622 containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in
632 power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given
634 the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was
642 placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local
643 one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak *of this or that jili of soil*, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

.1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations

175 they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial
36 organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his
634 slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked
617 by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of
567 his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craft-
work directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not.
If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior
fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or
[792] the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settle-
ments were generally tax free.

175 There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the
651 Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on some-
[192] thing, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two
[193] main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the
other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local
produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring
with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept
some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn
the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder
tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobili-
ty and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might
not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in
their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing
new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irriga-
tion (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was es-
sentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be
noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to
their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within
new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

175 One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To
178 understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept
554 of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble ti-
66 tles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the
name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the
ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number
of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The ti-
[551] tles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally pow-
erful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a
man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambi-
tions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipu-
late the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand
are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations.
An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient
monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the
last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the
title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power
in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri Ms14

175 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroi-
439 dered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and
437 later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the
648 kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu
175 under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had
177 not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do
648 as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade,
634 which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the
175 nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was
177 called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of vil-
648 lage areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area
632 head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore
634 called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now
[622] headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which
177 were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

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throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

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578 632 689 592 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

[634]

632 634 578 66

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

[166] [651]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] [368]

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Wazi-
634 iri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by
662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of
592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound
[342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in
[361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to
634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol-
592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men
571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants
571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci-
634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully
571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis-
578 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize
634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci-
571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan
578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-
632

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head. 634 632 571 578

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization. 634 571 692 578 661

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area. 632 634 578 661

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap- 000

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, tele-
571 phones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional pat-
576 terns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the
[179] conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in
[663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

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634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on. 634 652

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government. 642 634

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas. 634 [178]

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria. 665 634 642 648

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the 665 208

648 greatly since that time, as Nigeria is an independent nation today.

The policy of the British in Northern Nigeria had been one of indirect rule. In this manner, a small administrative staff was able to govern a huge area, and the chiefs and Emirs of the North remained the political rulers in their own areas.

631 Bornu Province is divided administratively into five Emirates,
642 though the Emirate of Bornu overshadows the remaining four in geographic area, population, and political importance. The Emirates of Bornu and of Bama are Kanuri. The Emirs of Fika, Biu and Gashua rule over three small tribes, discussed in the preceding section, which are within the sphere of Kanuri influence. In addition to the Emirates, the provinces of the North are divided into districts, and each district has an appointed native District Head. The large Emirates are made up of many districts; the small Emirates sometimes have no more than a single district. Bornu Emirate has twenty-one districts.

648 Although the British ruled through the existing political system in Bornu Emirate, they controlled all important policy decisions and they had brought about important changes in the political organization of the Kanuri in order to carry out their policies. The actual relationship between the British Resident, who was in charge of the province, assisted by his staff of District Officers, and the Shehu, his Waziri and the Shehu's Council, differed radically from that officially stated. Although the British administration claimed to be merely advisory, it was

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appoint-
ments formally need not be approved by the British administra-
tion, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
631
178 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times,
since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view
the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the polit-
ical system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions
of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit,
the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which pro-
tects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri
could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the pro-
tection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his
own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might
have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to
take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of
Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631 selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[567] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
[554] eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[632] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
[627] appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
642

175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 648 642 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the
[642] two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

698 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[643] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Ajia.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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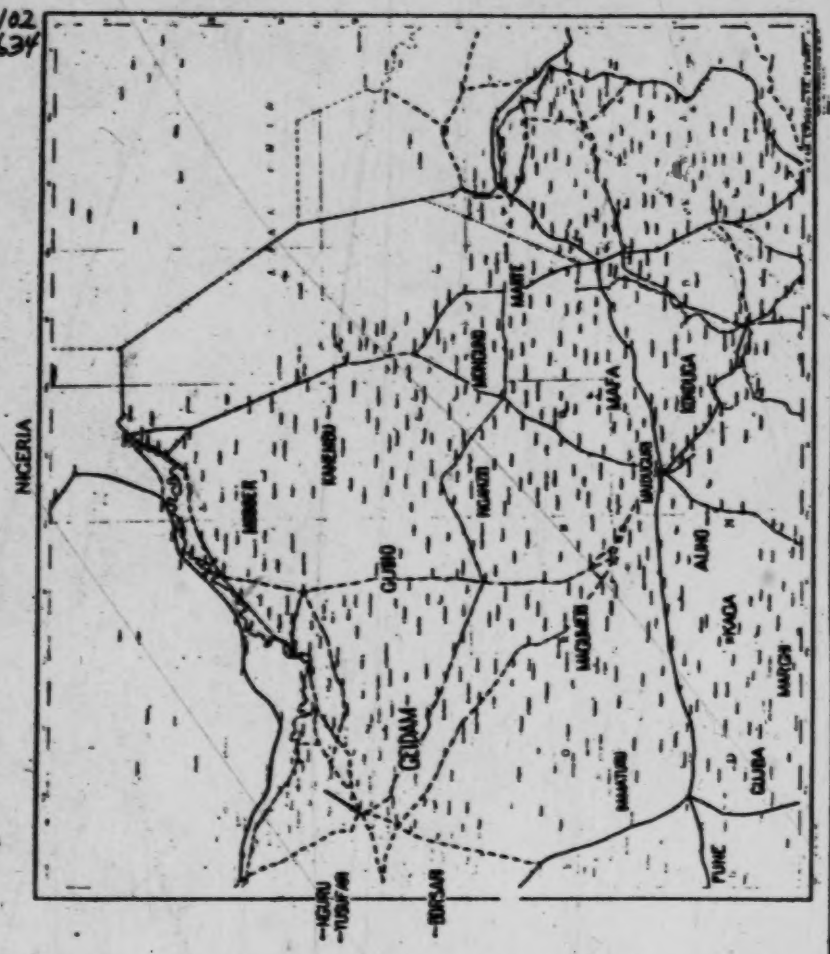

Figure 2 - Map of Bornu Province, showing the districts.

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366 . The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees.
443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [634] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

000 and religious activity.

2. Wards and Neighborhoods.

632 Since the town of Geidam is the administrative center of
[634] Geidam District, the Ajia of Geidam is the central political figure in the town. A town itself, however, is administered by a Lowan. Formerly, Geidam had one Lowan; however, as the town grew in size, it was subdivided into wards (nguro). Geidam has three wards,and each has its own Lowan. Each of the wards has its own character, and although many activities have reference to the town of Geidam as a whole, other activities are limited
[563] to a ward, or centered within a particular ward. Two of the wards are almost entirely Kanuri and have Kanuri Lowans; the third is predominantly Hausa and has a Hausa Lowan.

The "U" of the town surrounding the dandal represents the center of the old town and is solidly Kanuri. This is the ward of Lowan Ashek, a kabuna of the Ajia. Political and administrative activities of a higher order center in Lowan Ashek's ward. The overwhelming majority of the Ajia's kabuna (47 of the 54 kabuna) live there. A small section of the river area falls under his jurisdiction as well since his ward stretches
[732] westward to include the river-edge. At the northeastern tip of Lowan Ashek's ward is the section where the blind live.

The second Kanuri ward is under Lowan Kolo Kolo, who also is a kabuna of the Ajia. His ward is largely but not entirely Kanuri. Under his jurisdiction is the market and most of the

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425 671 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
685 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm
565 the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A
592 wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head
[465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment
241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some
565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
464 may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
[175] proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm
241 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out
427 sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
634 Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to
[423]

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241 634 [554] him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

241 643 466

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

241 463 565 554

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

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64 the ruling body in Bornu Emirate. Native Authority (NA) officials, under the overall jurisdiction of the Shehu, are appointed by the Shehu's council (modulas). These include the Ajia, the highest official representing the NA in a district, 634 and all the lesser office-holders in that district. In Geidam District, Yerima Mustapha is the most important political fig- [693] ure. Second in importance to Yerima Mustapha in Geidam is the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura Imambe, who served as Alkali in Geidam for most of the year in which the present [632] study was done, and then was promoted to a higher court. The three Lowans, Lowan Ashek, Lowan Kolo Kolo, and Serekin Garba, Lowan of the Hausa ward, follow. Their jurisdiction is limited to their own wards within the town. Then follow a long list of officials, all NA appointees, each with his own area of specialization: the Chief Scribe, Treasurer, Primary School Headmaster and three teachers, Agricultural expert, Veterinary, Hides and Skins Inspector, Forestry expert, Local Government Advisor, Adult Education Organizer, Dispenser, and Sanitation Inspector. The Chief Scribe and the Treasurer both have assistants. Lowest of the NA officials are the NA messengers. Six NA messengers are attached to the Ajia of Geidam; one NA messenger serves the Alkali.

Most of the officials listed above serve the district of Geidam, though all are permanently stationed in the town. The Ajia and his staff, headed by the Chief Scribe and the Treasurer, are responsible for the administration of the entire dis-

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634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
692 a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
872 the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
692 of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

648 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
178 trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the
692 Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

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634 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to oper-
692 ate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of
178 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri
648 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional
63 political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly
178 in the following example describing the functioning of the po-
625 lice in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian
698 Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of
[661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to replace him with one of his own men.

The kabuna represent a special category in the administration of the district. The colonial administration makes no provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town called Dəmjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

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175 was an old town called Geidam Balara, from which the town today
[103] takes its name. In the eighteenth century, when the capital of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo not far off, Geidam was part of the Mai's lands. Later, when Kukawa became the capital, and the Mais were replaced by the Shehus, Geidam became part
175 of the fief granted to the Imam. Since Geidam District is
• 634 very large, it was divided among a number of chimas. The town
[632] of Geidam (Dəmjeri and Geidam Balara, at that time) was controlled by Kazella Ibrahim Geidama, a slave of the Imam who served as chima gana (literally little chima--serving the real chima who lived in the capital). Geidam was a kalyari, an area under the authority of a slave.

The first Ajia of Geidam, in the early years of the twentieth century was Kazella Sulama, a slave of the Shehu's. He was followed by Aba Rəfəgə, a son of Shehu Ibrahim, who served
[646] as Ajia of Geidam until his death in 1915. Maiduguri had not yet been built and the Mounted Infantry, along with many Europeans, were stationed in Geidam. Aba Rəfəgə was the most important of the Ajias at that time. Kazella Kakami (Kaigama) then became the Ajia of Geidam, where he served for almost thirty years until his death in January, 1944. Kaigama Kakami was the son of Kaigama Bilel, the commander of the army during the days of Shehu Laminu. His son, Kaigama Zubairu, succeeded to the title of Kaigama and to the office of Ajia of Geidam. Kaigama Zubairu remained Ajia of Geidam for ten years, until he was demoted to a smaller district, Dəmboa, in 1954. In 1954 Yerima

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175 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from
• 634 Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kaigama Zubairu.

175 Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa kabuna who came
634 into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who
554 [167] entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. However, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili), their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were "Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab, who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar (son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house, with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu", so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the position of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Laminu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

159 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary
634 school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and Vac-
554 cinater in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District, where he resided first at Ngəlzerma and later at Damagum. At that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

159 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year
634 later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha.
564 The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately
632 bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in
634 the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

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175 632 634 was a very young man, whose father had been a Lowan under Kaigama before him. In fact, years earlier Geidam had had one Lowan instead of three--and the single Lowan had been the grandfather of Lowan Kagu. Then the town was split into three wards, each with its Lowan. At that time, Lowan Ashek, who had been a kabuna of Kaigama's and his slave as well, became a Lowan. Lowan Kagu's father was also made Lowan of a ward, succeeding his father; and the young Lowan Kagu in turn succeeded his father at his father's death.

175 632 634 66 The Lowans of Geidam were loyal to the departed Kaigama, but now it was necessary to demonstrate that they could transfer their loyalty to Yerima Mustapha, the new Ajia of Geidam and their new master. Lowan Ashek, an older and more experienced man, was able to do this. He became one of Yerima's kabuna, and while he is far from the most trusted of Yerima's men, he continues to serve as Lowan under Yerima since he knows the people of his ward well and had been performing the job for some years. Lowan Kagu was young, and was unable to control his feelings in the face of strains created by the situation. He, too, might have bridged the difficult transition as Lowan Ashek had done, had he had more experience in office. As it was, he was dismissed shortly after Yerima's arrival because he lost his temper in an argument with Yerima and threw a book in his face.

Yerima was then free to appoint one of his own men to replace Lowan Kagu. When he was approached and asked whom he

175 wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indif-
632 ferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town
634
66 council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dilelma dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

692 The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to oper-
692 ate independently from the political arm of government, and in
particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

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000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [563] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

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lists.

651 The essential problem in the collection of nomad jangali is to find the cows and their owners, who are wandering in search of good grazing, and who are most likely to wander into the deeper thickets when the time for jangali collection nears. Once the cattle owners and their cattle are found, their names are recorded along with the number of cows which each man owns. Then, as he usually has no cash, it is necessary for the owner of a herd of cattle to sell some of them so that he can obtain cash with which he will pay the jangali tax. After his name is recorded, he does not attempt to evade payment. He is then given several weeks to pay his tax. Nomad jangali rates are [652] five shillings for each cow. If a man attempts to conceal cows, if he reports that he owns a number of cows and then is discovered to have more than announced, he pays at the rate of ten shillings per cow.

653 - 654 The prescribed method for collecting jangali is for the Ajia personally to ride after the Fulani and collect the tax from them for their cattle. In a district the size of Geidam [442] this is obviously impossible. It is necessary for an Ajia to have many horsemen in order to canvass his entire district so that he will collect an amount in jangali which corresponds to the actual number of cows in his district. This is the primary role of the kabuna. There are several approaches to the problem of jangali collection, relying on differing tactics, all used by Yerima. One is to assign important kabuna, who can be

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651 trusted, to large areas. A number of less important kabuna col-
634 lect the Jangoli, under the responsibility of the chief kabuna in their area. The wakil, Wakil Ali, tours the entire district. Occasionally Yerima himself tours key sections, accompanied by a special wakil (formerly Wakil Guloma had this assignment, but [142] he has been replaced). A second tactical approach is to keep a certain number of horsemen in reserve. When an unusually large number of cattle are reported in any one area, horsemen are rushed into that area, assuring that all the cattle will be reported and that the kabuna there will not be swamped in their work. A third approach which Yerima used successfully in Magumeri District is to divide the entire district into strips several miles in width. Several kabuna comb a strip moving from east to west looking for Fulani with cattle, while other kabuna are simultaneously combing similar strips to the north and the south. When a group of kabuna have gone through their own strip, they exchange strips with another group and return in the opposite direction.

563 In Geidam today the Fulani are organized under Ardos and
651 Mais. A Fulani lineage is under an Ardo, appointed by the Ajia, Yerima Mustapha. When an Ardo dies, his people bring the man that they would like to succeed the dead Ardo, usually his son, to Yerima who appoints him Ardo. The Mai governs over all Fulani in a large area; he has many Ardos under him. In Geidam District there are four Fulani Mais who fall within the territories of particular Lowans. These are Mai Musa, Mai Kusur, Mai

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563 Maganuwa, and Mai Mar. Several other Mais roam in the brush
651 areas without being attached to particular lowanships. A new man may come to Yerima with a group of Fulani followers and ask to be made an Ardo. If he is appointed Ardo, he is then asked to which Mai he wishes his group to be affiliated. A kabuna sent by Yerima to collect jangali from a particular area records the number of cows reported by the Ardo or Mai for his group of followers in that area. Then the kabuna hunts down the cows
[687] and their individual owners. If the kabuna finds that an Ardo actually has more cows than he originally reported, the Ardo is fined five shillings for every additional cow found. Each Fulani Mai receives a percentage of the total jangali collected from his group. The percentage that he receives (wujira) is in the neighborhood of six pence for each pound of jangali collected. The Mai then distributes money to his Ardos, according to the amount of jangali that they brought in.

651 When Yerima left Magumeri District in 1953 there we
634 28,000 cows on which village jangali was paid, and 59,700 cows on which nomad jangali was paid. In 1956, under the new Ajia, Digma, the number of cows on which nomad jangali was paid had dropped to 23,000. The drop in the reported number of cows may be because Fulani have left Magumeri District, but it is more likely that Digma is unable to have them tracked down so that the jangali tax is paid. This is because Digma has insufficient kabuna to do the job adequately. When Yerima first arrived in Geidam in 1953 there were 33,000 cows reported for nomad jangali. By 1956, there were 39,000 cows reported, an

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651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows			
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£	17,500
road and market jangali			3,000
haraji			41,000
	total taxes	£	61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
156 [648] in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

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651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
563
662 ..

[GEIDAM]

651 cattle is to deal directly with the Ardos and Mais, bribing
634 them with gifts to come into the district. This is highly im-
563
662 proper, as the Fulani of a district are considered a part of that district. Movement of Fulani from one district to another merely alters the source of jangali, but does nothing to increase the total amount which flows into the central NA treasury. Indeed, one source of concern to Yerima is that the Fulani Ardos of Geidam District will hear that the Ajia of Magumeri District, which is directly south of Geidam and shares with it a long unprotected border, has an inadequate number of horsemen, and will move south into Magumeri District out of reach of Yerima's kabuna, to avoid paying jangali. Should such a movement out of his district occur, Yerima would notify the Waziri in Maiduguri, who would in turn force Digma to patrol his side of the border to prevent the Fulani from moving unnoticed into his district. It is clear, however, that Yerima is not above offering inducements to Fulani Ardos to move into his territory and increase his tax lists.

651 Yerima's overall scheme depends on the stationing of im-
634 portant kabuna who are in charge of jangali collection in their
563
66 areas. These are as follows:

Grema Jisami - responsible for all the territory north of the Yobe River.
Kolo Kima - responsible for the area around Gumsa, and all the Fulani under Mai Musa.
Aba Chiari - responsible for the area around Kusur, and all the Fulani under Mai Kusur.
Kangadi - responsible for the Maganuwa area, and the Fulani under Mai Maganuwa.
Kazella Dokalia - responsible for the Zurukuduk area, but with no single Fulani Mai in his area.

[GEIDAM]

651 Mai Mar, the fourth important Fulani Mai does not have as-
634 signed to him a kabuna in charge of jangoli collection from
563 his people. All other kabuna remain located in Geidam town,
66 and are sent out to particular areas on demand. The primary method used by Yerima is to send out horses to areas in which cattle are reported. One aspect of Aba Chiari's job is to let Yerima know if Fulani are crossing over into Magumeri District, as his area is along the Geidam-Magumeri border.

Yerima is willing to reach a compromise in assigning jangoli payment to a particular Ardo or Mai which is below the full amount according to the actual count of cattle belonging to his group. If the Ardo is willing to accept Yerima's assessment, then both sides benefit: Yerima benefits because his kabuna have less work to do and can turn their attention elsewhere where it may be needed, the Ardo benefits because the total jangoli is less for his group than it would be if every cow were counted. It is through such methods that the Fulani Ardos are induced to remain in Geidam or to come to Geidam should they find themselves in the district of an Ajia who is erratic or uncompromising. Should the Ardo feel that he can get away with paying less jangoli than the amount assigned to him by Yerima, on the basis of information given him by his chief kabuna, he might try to hide cattle or to sneak away. Then Yerima would descend on his people with many kabuna and every single head of cattle would be counted and taxed. The threat of Yerima's many kabuna makes this an unwise course of action,

651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[[68] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[66] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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177
554

[GEIDAM]

634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
177
554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[863] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554
565 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
871 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 871 555 177 565 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 78 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Ngumaribe (ngumari means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zamabe (Zama means Friday). The Liman Ngumaribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [762] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [884] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 297 Malam as the Liman Zamabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zamabe was 554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumaribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 725 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 [561] into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
163 [192] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invari-
ably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are
high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the
great love for children and desire to have children. How-
ever, those who have borne a child have indicated their abil-
ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
able to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen
that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the
child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.

have an adequate home at the time.

634 351 592 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zagaza of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 565 554 463 The principles of household affiliation have been described in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual composition of forty-three households is presented. In each row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

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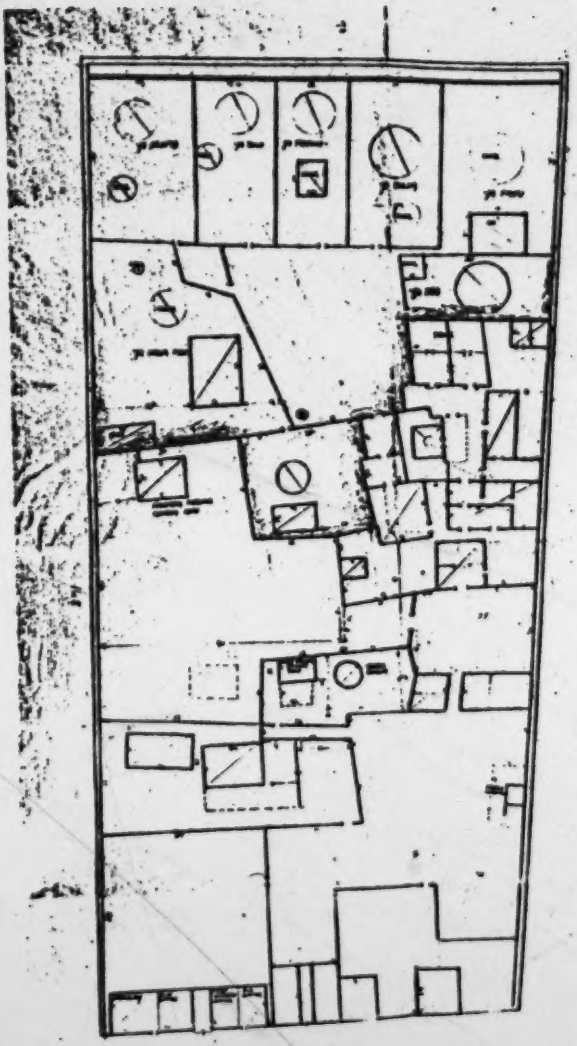

Figure 4 - Diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha.

[GEIDAM]

56 177 [554] prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

177 567 565 648 The direct influence of the British colonial administration has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, 634 177 178 565 political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Geidam. [648] The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

[GEIDAM]

634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 [648] previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 665 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
648 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[441] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

6. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115	1. Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]	2. Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]	3. Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]	4. NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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[634]

5. Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. Talaka: (8)	Adamu-	a taborma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Fərashəma-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

[GEIDAM]

*177 441 Western material goods (Items 6-9) and unacculturated in their choice of occupations and in the aspirations for their sons (Items 35, 36). They speak Hausa, but not other languages, and they cannot write in English script. They possess material goods, and their responses concerning the bicycle (Items 11, 14, 15) are acculturated, but they are at the mid-point when it comes to telling time. Furthermore, their statements concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch are in the unacculturated direction. They would wear shoes (acculturated) but would not wear trousers (unacculturated). They fast, but do not wear charms. They would visit the doctor and prefer European medicine to drinking the ink of the Koran, yet respond that Kanuri treatment is better for 5 of the 6 diseases. They would send their son to school, yet prefer the Koranic Malam to the school. They would marry a Hausa woman, but not any of the other three tribes. Lastly, they would marry an educated woman, but are extremely conservative and would not let her work.

All of their responses are intelligible when one looks at their roles. Yet the pattern of their responses is indicative of an unstable group, more so than any of the other seven groups.

*177 • 634 4. NA Malams. The NA Malams come closest to being a group all of whose responses fall in the acculturated category. Their responses are heavily in the acculturated direction in the areas of language and writing and in the area of possession

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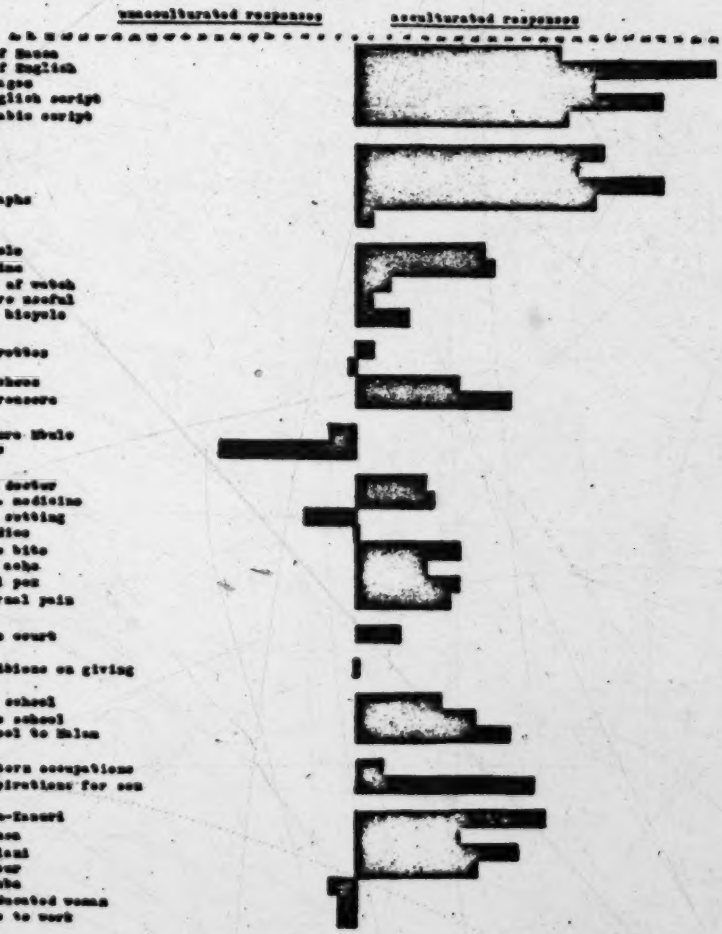
[GEIDAM]

Table XLIII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE BA MALAM



[BEIDAN]

*177 of Western material goods. But even the group of NA Malams
• 634 reveals certain behavioral areas in which it is not very acculturated, in which in fact it is slightly unacculturated. These are the areas of religious behavior generally, drinking beer (17), fasting (20), and wearing charms (21). With respect to the latter item they are quite unacculturated. They are also somewhat more hesitant about marrying an educated woman (42) and permitting her to work.(43). The tendency is not very pronounced for these two items, but the direction is interesting for such an acculturated group. On the whole they are a consistent and a stable group.

5. Kabuna. The Kabuna are generally an unacculturated group. Their responses are predominantly in the unacculturated direction, though none (except perhaps Item 9) are extreme. Once again, Item 10 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation. In two behavioral areas their answers are in the acculturated direction, but within these areas they are on the whole consistent in their responses. For five of the six diseases presented (Items 24-29) they favor European treatment, though they do state a preference for drinking the ink of Koranic verses to European medicine (Item 23). The other area in which they show themselves to be acculturated is that of education, and here they are entirely consistent. They prefer Western schools for both son and daughter (Items 32, 33) and prefer school to the Koranic Malam (Item 34). Furthermore, their aspirations for their sons (36) are also acculturated,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 350]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XLIV

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE KANURI

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

*177
• 634

1. knowledge of Hausa
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. feet at Tourp Moule
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bonesetting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Koran

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Hausa
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Babur
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

[GEIDAN]

*177 consistent with their desire to educate their children in West-
• 634 ern schools.

Since the group of Kabuna are a part of the political organization, they are able to realize the advantages of certain behavioral alternatives introduced by contact. Though they themselves do not interact with agents of Western culture, and are consequently not a very acculturated group, they show a degree of acculturation in their attitudes towards Western medicine and education. Their own aspirations are traditional but they favor Western education for their children, presumably because Western education is a factor in present day political advancement, and they favor Western aspirations for their sons. They appear to be a stable group according to the proposed criteria.

*177 6. Craftsmen. The Craftsmen are the most consistently un-
463 acculturated group of the eight. Though their responses do not indicate extreme degrees of conservatism, they are remarkably consistent in their choice of unacculturated responses. They are less likely to fast than other groups (Item 20), and they state that they would visit a European doctor (Item 22), though they prefer Kanuri treatment to European treatment for 4 of the 6 diseases. They are close to the mid-point for all three items dealing with education (Items 32-34), and themselves show a very slight preference for Western occupations (35) though their aspirations for their sons are strongly in the direction of traditional Kanuri occupations (36). They are slightly more per-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 352]

121 *177 veal areas in which they are unacculturated; the most unacculturated groups similarly reveal areas of behavior in which they are acculturated. That these differences in degree of acculturation are determined by the relation of a given group or category to that area of behavior, as is stated in the second sentence of hypothesis 2, is readily apparent from the data. Explanations of these differences in the above discussion have repeatedly sought to relate them to the roles of the group concerned. If these explanations have been convincing, then hypothesis 2 may be said to have been upheld.

It is somewhat more difficult to discuss the implications of the data which have been presented above for hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 states that groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in other areas. The position of a group within the existing social structure plays an important part not only in determining the areas in which acculturation is likely to occur but also in determining those behavioral areas in which acculturation would not be expected to occur--i.e., those areas in which the group reaffirms traditional behavioral norms.

This may be illustrated by selecting three of the groups whose profiles have been presented in the previous chapter for comparison. The three groups are the following:

a) NA Malams - acculturated and stable.
b) Canteen Operators - intermediary in acculturation and unstable.
c) Craftsmen - unacculturated and stable.

*177 • 634 156 The NA Malams are the most acculturated group of the eight which have been described. How would one account for the fact that

[GEIDAM]

*77 634 156 554

they are such a stable group then? The role of the NA Malam is clearly defined. His Western education is generally acknowledged as a useful thing and he is accorded prestige by being called "Malam". The goals of the NA Malams are traditional Kanuri goals. This is brought home most strikingly in their choice of occupations (Table XXXIII) where four of the six NA Malams chose "Lowan." Their education, their knowledge of the English language, their general high degree of acculturation have not hindered them from attaining positions of political power, a very traditional goal in Kanuri society. On the contrary, these things have become assets. The acculturated individual is at an advantage over the unacculturated individual in rapidly rising within the political system. This state of things will remain at its present level only so long as: (a) the number of NA Malams does not rapidly increase so that many individuals are competing for a limited number of political positions, which would mean that a group of disgruntled and disappointed individuals would be created, and, (b) their degree of acculturation does not reach the point where their goals, too, will change. At present, in the community of Geidam, neither of the latter conditions have arisen. It can also be seen from their acculturation profile that the NA Malams adhere to important Kanuri values in other areas. They do not smoke or drink beer; they fast and wear many charms; they are not reluctant to give gifts of charity; and they would tend to avoid marrying an educated woman or let her work. All

[GEIDAN]

*177 of these indicate that the NA Malams have not rejected import-
• 634 ant Kanuri values in the course of their acculturation. Though
156 they are a very acculturated group, they are in no danger of drifting away from Kanuri culture and becoming devients. Consequently they are a stable group, with clearly defined roles and mutually understood expectations and obligations. Other Kanuri can understand the NA Malam, and the NA Malam himself realizes the "self" that he wishes to convey without having to affirm his Kanuri identity through exaggerated behavior.

*177 The Craftsmen represent the opposite extreme of an unac-
463 culturated and stable group. Their primary role requires
[354] highly skilled and specialized behavior of them and their status is respected in the community. Although their activities are primarily within the economic area, the range of individuals with whom they interact is narrow and they have little or no direct contact with agents of Western society. Their knowledge of languages and of writing is slight. They have few Western goods, nor do they know much about these items. They are not very strict about fasting and drinking beer, but in other areas they adhere strongly to Kanuri values, such as taking disputes for arbitration and giving gifts of charity. They show a slight inclination to favor European doctors, and they favor Western occupations though their aspirations for their sons are strongly traditional. They are not very conservative about education generally. The overall picture of the Craftsmen is of a group that is obviously not very acculturated, but their responses,

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[For responses of Koranic malams, canteen operators, NA malams and kabunas to questionnaires on acculturation, see charts in category 116, pp. 249-327.]

101
103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road, Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
• 634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

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621 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
088 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

634 Like other district capitals,
[621] Nagumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
[368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an infrequently used District Council House, and a district office in which the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in the diagram below.

361 Diagram Map of Nagumeri Village
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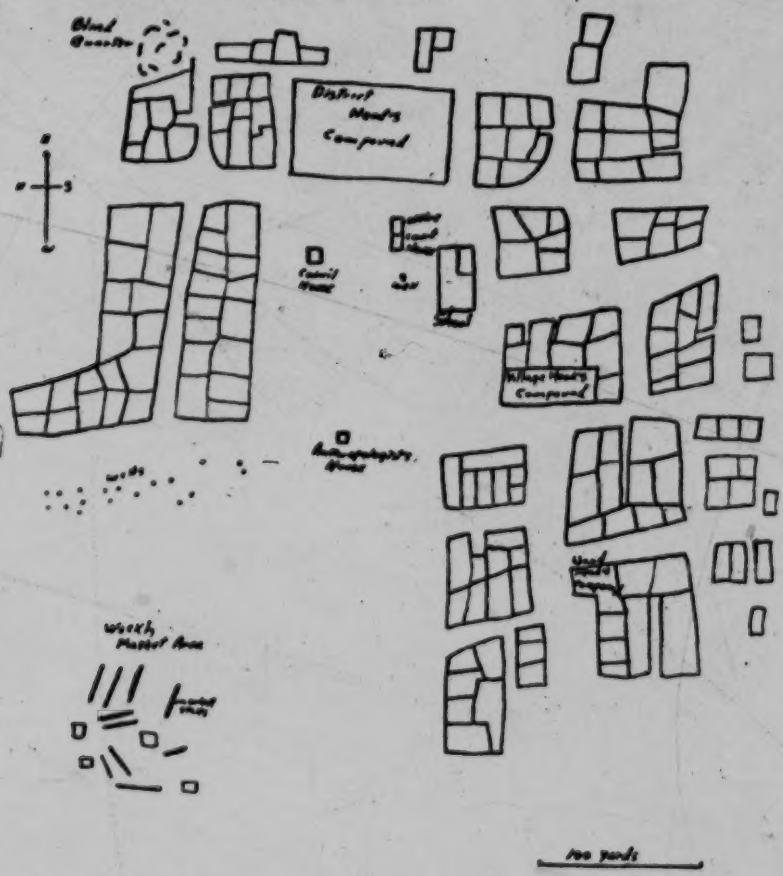

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175 631 nobleman); and the west by the Yerima (a nobleman). As far as can be ascertained these men were not enfieffed of these portions of the kingdom (they held fiefs elsewhere), but were rather hereditary titles connected with military functions in one of the quarters of the state, or in the army as a whole. Thus the Mustrema was responsible for controlling raids upon the northern area of the realm, and was in charge of northern troops when the army of the kindgom was assembled for war. In contrast, Nguru, in the northwest, was held by the Galidima who still holds it today. The latter, unlike the other "subregents", but like the tributary vassals, resided in his territory as a kind of semi-independent king although he was also one of the paramount courtiers of the Bornu ruler. All other nobles lived at the capital under the watchful eye of their king, and toured their districts 175 631 only when trouble was brewing or taxes were needed. Working within the 634 above system was the organization of the state into fiefdoms held by the nobility, rewarded servants of the king, and military personnel. Any person to whom a fief was given or who received it through inheritance from an original recipient (which was more often the case) was called the Chima Kura. As was pointed out, all nobles with the exception of the Galidima lived at the capital, and the administration of the fief was carried on by a Chima Gana (small Chima) who was most often a slave or trusted servant of the Chima Kura. The Chima Gana usually resided in the fief itself raising taxes and maintaining law and order. With this system it was easy to gear in vassal states or nomad peoples. Their leaders were simply made Chima Kura of the Kanuri state, which strengthened the leader's position in his own group after conquest, and maneuvred him into the Kanuri political organization.(1) Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing contin-

(1) This office because of its different nature was also referred to as the Kura Jilibe (head of the tribe or clan). The Kura Jilibe was however acting as the Chima Kura of his group, in relation to the Bornu throne.

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Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing continuity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organised as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the Shehu.

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An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu.(1) Tomlinson found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants.(2) Being a stranger in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced. Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as possible to consolidate his power.

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Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were, as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants in residence at the fief.

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The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of two separate levies. One, the <u>binkram</u> collected in <u>binkn</u> (winter) was the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

(1) Tomlinson, F.J.F. <u>Report of Ngansei District</u>; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
(2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his [792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves. [103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas [621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

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648 Data on how this was accomplished were not available in the public
643 records of Bornu province. Therefore it can only be assumed (provisionally, until more information becomes available) that the British promise to rebuild Kuka, the old 19th century capital, must have appealed to the Shehu, and/or the French conceded to British demands for the Shehu to be brought to Bornu. Certainly since Britain had claim to Bornu as part of Nigeria from the days of the Chartered Companies (late 19th century), and was making good the claim, it was only logical from their viewpoint that the traditional ruler of Bornu should be allowed to sit on the throne
175 in the area historically connected with his reign. Taking the evidence
648 of the French defeat of Rabeh, and their entry into Bornu with an armed force to defeat and kill his son, plus their establishment of the Shehu, it would seem as if the French from east of Lake Chad were trying to limit British expansion into Bornu by a fait accompli of possession, even though the western Chad basin had been ceded to England in the councils of European diplomacy.(1) In any event, all this manoeuvring on the part of the French proved of no avail, for it had also been decided in Europe that the Cameroons were to be administered by Germany, and the French soon had to cede even the area south of Lake Chad to that country.

175 "The first important step by the new British overlords was
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• 634 the sending out of the fiefholders to live in their fief-ships in 1903 ... These fiefs afterwards evolved into Districts and the most suitable men available were put in charge of them, the Shehu always being consulted
[631] in the selection. These men are now Ajia or District Headmen. This formed a chain of responsibility in the administration which the size of the Emirate and its small European staff immediately demanded."(2) However

(1) Langer, W.L. The Diplomacy of Imperialism, (New York) p. 131
(2) Annual Report 1909; op. cit.

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648 before the fiefs developed into Districts it was discovered that a divi-
634 sion of interests was involved between the British authorities and the
643 Shehu. The British were motivated by their own ideas of administration, i.e. to form "a chain of responsibility" from the local level up through the Shehu to the Resident, while the Shehu evidently tried to have as many fiefs created as possible in order that there would be a multitude of District Heads, thereby increasing the number of offices with which he could reward his supporters. The matter was settled by the British who limited the number of districts to a compromise between what they believed to be the traditional structure, and what they considered to be a workable arrangement in terms of their own requirements of administering the Emirate.

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648 When the District Head arrived in his District with his retinue
634 of supporters he found that the local Village Headmen (the Lawan), who
632 were strange to him, were being supported by the British because of their hereditary claims to village leadership. The British soon discovered that it had been the policy of the traditional fief-holder "to supplant the hereditary headmen by slaves (or followers) of the Chima."(1) Nevertheless, when a new fief-holder took office they conducted investigations to find who were the pre-British (and usually pre-Rabeh) Village Headmen and proceeded to appoint these people as Village Heads. In following this policy a political structure was created which utilized two potentially conflicting principles of social organization. In appointing District Heads the personal relationships of upper class leaders to the Shehu was considered to be the acceptable criteria, while the hereditary claims of local leaders were considered to be the basis for Village Headships. Thus,

(1) Patterson, J.R. Report on Maguseri District 1920; in Maguseri District Notebook; Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Prov. Nigeria.

175 648 634 632 the new District Head going out to his district was confronted with a situation in which he had a territory comprising a group of villages which were to be under his organized administration, and which were at the same time headed by people with whom he had no personal relationships.

Entering into this situation, the District Head responded in several ways. He could try to win the loyalty of the local Village Heads to himself, or conversely some Village Heads, sensing danger in the new situation, might come to the District Head and ask to be "his man." This meant that the District Head had expanded his following to include the Village Head. However, there were obstacles to this simple method of rapprochement. If the Village Head already had a strong functioning relationship to some other "big man" in the Kanuri state who was a powerful person in the post-1900 organization, or if the District Head was anxious to reward his own supporters with lucrative and prestige giving roles, 175 648 634 632 661 then this method was not too successful. The District Head could also try to manipulate the situation so that the Village Heads who he found the most truculent in accepting his overlordship, were regarded as inefficient, corrupt, or immoral in the eyes of the British, so that they would be deposed and then he could replace them with recruits from among his own following. Thus, in 1919, a British District Officer (D.O.) visiting Magumeri District, was told by Abba Kiari, then District Head of Magumeri, that two of the Village Heads in his District were inefficient and should be deposed. He felt also that because of the proximity of the two towns they should be united under one Village Head, and he offered one of his own followers as the logical candidate for the new appointment.(1) Finally, the District Head could simply carry on as if the British were

(1) Whitely: Report on Magumeri 1919; in Magumeri District Notebook

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648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
634 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
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661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

(178) Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

(166) The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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schools, a few more roads were built or improved and once in a while extended, local European trading Companies reported "steady progress" in business volume, living conditions in the province for European staff "steadily improved", medical facilities "steadily expanded" and so on. Certainly there always seemed to be a rather high turn over in chiefs, but this came to be part of the expected regularity of life in Bornu.

What in effect had occurred was an adjustment. The British administration had set up the organisation of its indirect rule and the task of each new Resident Officer in Bornu was to implement Lord Lugard's policies to the best of his abilities. The general methods of resistance to the English administration were well known by both the Kanuri and the English and no jarring outside influence entered the scene to upset the gentlemanly tug-of-war which characterized the colonial contacts as a kind of game in which everyone knew the rules and the conditions of play, while the over-all techniques of the players did not change much through time.

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How the "game" was played at the political level can be seen in the following example of the deposition of a chief, taken from the provincial records at Maiduguri, concerning the District Head of Mobber between 1929 and 1931.(1) Mobber District is in the extreme northeast of Bornu Emirate on the border between Nigeria and French West Africa. Its relative isolation from British surveillance contributed to the maintenance of officially prohibited practices well into the late 1920's.

During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that

(1) c.f. Mobber District File; Provincial Office, Maiduguri.

175 648 634 632 During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930, Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situation. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admitted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the Lawans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order. The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr. Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O. arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri for hearings on the matter.

175 648 634 643 692 On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had requested the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignorance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising of personal tax levies.

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In another meeting between the Shehu and the Resident later that month, the Mobber matter was brought up again and the Shehu agreed that things did not seem to be going too well in Mobber. On the 14th of August, the Shehu suggested to the Resident when the Mobber misdemeanours were mentioned that the Mobber peasants were an extremely difficult group to manage and possibly chimas might be required for the proper administration of the District. At the end of August the Shehu requested of the Resident that the five men who had been arrested by A.D.O. Reed be sent back to their homes. The Resident agreed in principle, but felt that the one who had beaten a villager should be kept in Maiduguri for a little longer yet. He added that the men could be sent back to their homes only if the Shehu would take full responsibility for any further trouble in the Mobber area.

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In September and again in October of 1930, A.D.O. Reed was sent up to check the situation in Mobber District. The chimas were operating as before and the District Head was reported as being "not respectful" to the British officer on tour. Only one change had occurred. An entire village area appeared to have been relinquished by the District Head since one of the Shehu's sons had been appointed its Lawan (Village Head) by the Wazirí.

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Several months later in February 1931, the District Head of Mobber appeared in Maiduguri for an annual meeting and was warned by the Resident that "unless considerable improvement was shown he would be dismissed." From this point on, there were very few items in the Mobber District file in which the "Mobber case" was actually referred to. One short item tells of a rumour picked up by a junior officer to the effect that the District Head of Mobber was a favor-

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ite of the Shehu and was married to a daughter of the Wazirí (head of the Shehu's council). By the end of 1931 the matter began to congeal. The D. O. of Bornu Emirate wrote a note to the Resident claiming that the time had come to dispose of the District Head of Mobber since he obviously would not reform, and then suggested several names as replacements. In early 1932 the matter was mentioned briefly in a report to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces from the Resident of Bornu. It stated that "the Shehu and Council have found it necessary to depose the District Head of Mobber." Several people were nominated by the D. O. and by the Council for the replacement and the matter was closed when a man suggested by the Council was mentioned in reports as the new District Head of Mobber.

The British administrators had tried to persuade the District Head of Mobber for two years to stop using his own system of political organization and work through the Village Heads, i.e., the political structure recognized by themselves. His inability to comply finally brought about his removal. But the entire push and pull of the deposition did not materially disturb relations between the British and the political leadership of Bornu.

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[631] Certainly the case hints at a well-organized Kanuri political system operating independently of the one formally recog-

[643] nized by the British. However, it also illustrates the formalized and balanced relationship which existed between the Resident and the Shehu. The Resident patiently tried to press forward with his own conception of government, while the Shehu was at the same time attempting to mollify English demands in order that the Emirate political organization could be maintained unmolested. The unsettling feature of the relations between the Kanuri and the English

632 others are of more recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organization.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher pol-
631 itical organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organization above
634 the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the
631 Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the nomad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial.
[492] When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe
[411] and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

634 The District organisation is roughly similar throughout the twenty-one such divisions in Borno Emirate. Each District shares the [368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a [491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

634 A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in 64 consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

634 The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most [644] impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the 634 palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household 571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

634 571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys [554] of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'una if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Nagumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms (given to them by the DH)(1) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live 634 571 either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization 561 are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

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[423] [425] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

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571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

634 that his assessment was too high. The DH promptly sent out some of his
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661 followers and gathered twice the assessment originally stipulated. He then called in the Lawan to the District capital, reprimanded him and gave back one-quarter of the excess tax raised by his followers.

631 Formally the Lawans are subordinate to the DH of their District. The DH relays information to them from the capital concerning the execution of their political duties and it is their responsibility to have these directives carried out. However, for various reasons to be discussed presently, some of the political activity of the DH is illegal under the present regulations. Therefore he often requires more than mere compliance to state regulations. As shown by the example above the DH wants cooperation and complicity in his own political organization of the District. Several factors militate against the absorption of the Lawans into the DH's organization. Firstly, the Lawan's salary and his income from taxes and political duties make him less dependent upon the DH than the latter's more disciplined followers. Secondly, the British have always viewed the Lawan's job as that of a local chief (see above pp.36-39) whose ties should be to the locality and not necessarily the DH. Nevertheless a DH's views are almost always taken into consideration by both the NA and the British when a new Lawan
631 is to be appointed. This last point leads to a conflict. Dismissals
661 and transfers are common occurrences among DH's. Because DH's often manage to get a few of their loyal followers into a Lawan's job, especially in the District capital, each new DH in a District is confronted with a few Lawans who are the loyal followers of his predecessor.

The result of this structural framework is a constant manoeuvring by the DH to either win the loyalty and obedience of his Lawans or replace them with his own followers.

631 661 Another good example of this point was observed in the field. The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of [602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 647 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A. are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of [178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years, and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred, or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy [571] out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A. officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which 634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the 647 651 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues, and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration with the Chief Scribe.

634 647 661 631 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

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hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

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In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat [565] with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to evict the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

634 647 571 However, this and other moves by the DH to obtain friendship and loyalty from the N.A. employees in his area can never be totally successful in creating a unified political organization in the District. First of all, they can be moved to other Districts by their superiors and often are, thus creating the problem of new N.A. personnel constantly arriving. Secondly, their income from N.A. salaries allows them to be independent of the DH economically if they wish, while the power and authority of their own departmental superiors in the capital always acts to lessen the degree of sensitivity and possible subservience they may feel towards the DH.

631 634 647 This does not mean to imply that the N.A. employees are completely independent of the DH. In many branches of N.A. activity it is either difficult or impossible at present to initiate or continue civil service programs without a modicum of cooperation from the DH. This is another way of saying that in the rural area the independent existence of other sources of power and authority besides the line leading from Lawan through the DH to the Shehu is hardly recognized. (1)

For example, it is impossible to establish a local forest reserve without the DH issuing orders to all Lawans ordering them to cooperate with a newly arrived District representative of the Forestry Department. Or again, it is the DH who at present enforces and maintains a regular flow of children into the Junior Primary School in his District capital. On the other hand, if the DH continually refuses to cooperate with N.A. officials and civil service programs are obstructed, complaints by local N.A. personnel, plus the failure of program goals can bring sharp reprimands down upon the DH.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a

(1) The exception here is the European, who the peasant knows has much power.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the
• 634 Shehu still has a
647 highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are
554 ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus
[576] if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the
647 extended household organization of the DH, then the factional member-
662 ships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials
647 disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household or-
557 ganization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[828] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

634 647 554 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connections to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri. The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from [661] Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to [203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to guage properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

634 647 662 The prison warder who kept the little jail in Magumeri, although not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

634 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A. He (1)
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662 had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

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634 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are (2)
642 extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form.

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Waziri (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

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634 personnel, and ratifies all appointments, dismissals and transfers of
642 the N.A. The DH may be informed of directives either from the Wazirí's office or from the relevant Department which would also inform their local District personnel.

648 Officially, today, the British personnel both technical and administrative, perform an advisory, not an authoritative, part in the political organization. Although much of the "advice" is given at the center, there is some contact between the colonial service officials and the District during the touring duty of the officers. Such visits are always publicized beforehand to the local officials and the British officer is always accompanied by a Shehu's Representative. Technical officers are generally concerned with their own particular program in the area and unless they feel that the local authorities are being uncooperative, they do not interfere in local or State politics. The administrative officers have a much wider range of interests which covers all areas of government not directly under the concern of some technical department, i.e. taxation, courts of law, District Councils (local government) and complaints by the peasants against their chiefs. Some also take an interest in one or more technical branch and report their findings to the relevant department after their touring duties have brought them into contact with local programs.

634 Informally the DH has a house in the palace ward in the
203 capital and his followers there are links between himself and the
[631] center. The Wakil (chief follower) in charge of the town house visits the Shehu regularly and represents the DH in the capital. Besides this source of contact with the center, the DH receives information from N.A. messengers, policeman and traders who travel continually from Maiduguri through the Districts. By the judicious giving of gifts to

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
634 which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
665 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Wazirí
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Wazirí with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bərzum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

• 634 651 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts, the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

634 631 648 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

643 [368] [101] In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization. As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 gains running up to 300%[2]. In two cases for groundnuts and ten for millet, the increase on the test plot was less than 10% of that on the non-fertilized one. These twelve plots were owned by nine people: allowing for eight cases of negligence through absense or sickness, this leaves forty-three cultivators who experienced a significant (more than 10%) increase in productivity due to the action of super-phosphate fertilizer.

After the harvest season (November to January) had ended nothing more was done on the project for some time. Malam Abdulla prepared his report and turned it in to the Agriculture department at the capital, but remained in the Magumeri area. In March a District Council meeting was held in Magumeri, and the fertilizer was on the agenda for discussion.

242 177 634 The District Council, under the chairmanship of the District Head is composed of Village Heads, Ward Heads and some elder compound heads from the various villages and hamlets of the district. The body, a British innovation, discusses local planning, and votes on the disbursement of a small amount of money known as the District Council Fund.

This was a rather special occasion for the Council, for they were to have an African District Officer rather than a European, which was the usual practice. Generally speaking, the meeting differed considerably from all other Council meetings attended by the writer. The people seemed much more relaxed, much less stiff and formal compared to previous occasions. Comments passed back and forth between one person and another, whereas at previous sessions, people had sat silently, and never spoke unless spoken to first by a superior. The resulting loss in orderliness was offset by a large gain in freedom of expression. [782] Many participants remarked afterwards on this difference and spoke favourably of the African District Officer, who prayed with the people at both the beginning and end of the meeting.

242 177 During the meeting, the District Head announced that the super-phosphate fertilizer was to be available within the next month or two for sale to those who would like to buy it. Several

[2] The standard deviations for these averages are as follows: millet, 25.2; groundnuts, 20.1.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

Linton (1952: 77) has also suggested that peasants view any attempts to change their economic condition with suspicion when these originate from their rulers. The peasant, often quite justifiably, feels that anything his rulers offer as a chance to improve conditions is probably much more to the ruler's advantage than to his own. 177 829

This was very certainly the case in Magumeri, and had occurred several times before. Thus, only a few weeks before the fertilizer demonstration began, the Village Head of Magumeri had tried to convince people of the worthiness of literacy. His argument centered around the idea that when literate the peasants would be able to catch their rulers, including himself, for issuing false tax receipts (Cohen and Frank, 1960). When the people refused to volunteer he forced a number of individuals to sign up for the literacy courses. It is difficult to say exactly how many were forced to "volunteer" for the fertilizer demonstration, but that coercion was involved is undoubtedly true. 212 177 829 [242]

On the other hand, a strange and almost unprecedented thing occurred at the final meeting when the people were asked whether or not they would use the fertilizer in the coming year. District Council meetings were usually very stiff affairs in which a formal agenda was followed under the guidance of a British District Officer. Very often a District Head rehearsed these "democratic" meetings first to make sure motions would be seconded, voted on properly, etc. On this occasion, an African District Officer was present, and the District Head gave the members of the Council a definite choice as to whether they would accept the fertilizer or not. Bornu is an autocratic country and subordinates are usually ordered about, unless the matter is a trivial one. The outward signs of democratic procedures introduced by colonial rule are very superficially imposed upon feudal autocracy, so that effective social action is carried out dictatorially. This is an ancient society and people are traditionally accustomed to these procedures. That dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use, or not use, fertilizer in years to come, immediately defined it as a trivial and unimportant matter upon which people could make up their own minds. 242 177 634 642

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sahara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

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Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa territory. In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

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The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

177 563 101 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 563 [175] [636] The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 came to Bornu—and who also came to be called Kanuri about this time—were the Sefuwa, their fellow Magumi clansmen and loyal followers, clients and slaves. The traditions declare that the leader who finally founded the new capital of Birni Ngazargamo curbed the power of his own nobles and insisted that all of them (except one who protected the western boundaries) should live in the capital, leaving subordinates to administer their fief-holdings.[7] It should also be remembered that 175 642 648 this newly formed Bornu kingdom (*ca.* 1450–1550 A.D.) tried to regain control over Kanem and many of its other lost vassal territories in the Chad Basin and the southern desert. Thus they very quickly attacked and defeated Bilma 400 miles to the north of Lake Chad which was the center for the Saharan salt trade. They also had to defend the kingdom against raiding desert Tuareg and the rising power of Songhai in the west.

Kanem was a state organized around a confederacy of clans, with one clan and its leading lineage having a senior status. The migration of this leading group into Bornu helps to explain why the Bornu kingdom was more centralized than its 175 predecessor as a political system. In Bornu the Magumi Sefuwa had no other re- 64 lated clan or clan leaders to share power with; instead they were confronted by a group of pagan peoples spoken of under the general term of "Sô" in the traditions. Against these people they fought battles of conquest to establish their rule in the area and in the end absorbed many of them into a group known today as the Kanuri. It would have been much simpler to unify this one group under a leader who 175 had no rival clan or clan leaders to cope with. Thus the new situation in Bornu 642 afforded both a stimulus and an opportunity for increased centralization of power in the political organization of the Kanuri state. It is against this growing centralization in the hands of the ruling monarch of Bornu that the following account of its structure should be gauged, for it is not always easy to portray change and development while describing how a society is organized.

Pre-nineteenth Century Bornu

175 643 At the head of the early Bornu state was the Mai or king. This office was hereditary in the male line, and all men whose fathers had been monarchs were eli- [646] gible for the succession. The Council of Nobles, and accounts vary as to who these were, chose the new monarch upon the death of the reigning one, although powerful rulers could obviously affect the choice. The royal office carried with it an aura of untouchability, remoteness, and sacredness. People referred to the Mai as "Master" using the term applied by slaves to their owners. People approached the royal cage in which the Mai was seated and prostrated themselves before the bars putting sand on their heads or going through the motions of doing so to indicate the humility and respect they felt in his presence.

175 644 Members of the royal family held titled offices. These included the monarch's own mother, his senior wife, and often a senior female relative, either a sister, half-sister, or more distant female relatives in the male line. The sons and

[7] A fief is a political unit within a state over which a superior has rights of tribute collection and political leadership (not necessarily exclusive rights) given to him by his or his ancestors' relationship to a monarch.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS1

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] [368]

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
[498] it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

[GEIDAM]

the ruling body in Bornu Emirate. Native Authority (NA) officials, under the overall jurisdiction of the Shehu, are appointed by the Shehu's council (modulas). These include the Ajia, the highest official representing the NA in a district, and all the lesser office-holders in that district. In Geidam District, Yerima Mustapha is the most important political figure. Second in importance to Yerima Mustapha in Geidam is the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura Imambe, who served as Alkali in Geidam for most of the year in which the present study was done, and then was promoted to a higher court. The three Lowans, Lowan Ashek, Lowan Kolo Kolo, and Serokin Garba, Lowan of the Hausa ward, follow. Their jurisdiction is limited to their own wards within the town. Then follow a long list of officials, all NA appointees, each with his own area of specialization: the Chief Scribe, Treasurer, Primary School Headmaster and three teachers, Agricultural expert, Veterinary, Hides and Skins Inspector, Forestry expert, Local Government Advisor, Adult Education Organizer, Dispenser, and Sanitation Inspector. The Chief Scribe and the Treasurer both have assistants. Lowest of the NA officials are the NA messengers. Six NA messengers are attached to the Ajia of Geidam; one NA messenger serves the Alkali.

Most of the officials listed above serve the district of Geidam, though all are permanently stationed in the town. The Ajia and his staff, headed by the Chief Scribe and the Treasurer, are responsible for the administration of the entire dis-

[GEIDAM]

56 177 [554] prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

The direct influence of the British colonial administration has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

177 567 565 648

64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Geidam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

634 177 178 565 [648]

634 The District organization is roughly similar throughout the twenty-one such divisions in Borno Emirate. Each District shares the [368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a [491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

634 A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in • 64 consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

634 The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most [644] impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the 634 palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household 571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

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436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

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721 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were [701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year [182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plun-
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727 dered. Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

647 662 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647 [557] Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense 647 571 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However, within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the DH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or [641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

665 ernment, which means that several Kanuri have been Ministers in the Federal cabinet. Several days a week public meetings are held in various parts of Maiduguri under the green flag of the N.P.C. Followers of the "big men" make long speeches to the assembled crowds, while political leaders, N.A. officials, the DH of Maiduguri, and several Lawans from the main segments of the city sit on chairs near the center of activities, often nodding their approval. Sometimes, although not often, these leaders speak themselves. However, it is more in keeping with Kanuri culture that the actual work, the talking, which in this case is usually a loud harangue against the opposition party, should be done by followers and professionals who specialize in such speeches.

665 641 The overall effect of an N.P.C. meeting is one of traditional and constituted authority. The N.A. officials and the traditional leaders always appear to support the movement. Thus a vote against this party not only means that a different party is being supported, it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference the moral order which holds it together. This last point is particularly evident in the political speeches of N.P.C. The listeners are constantly and almost entirely confronted not with a political platform, but with a moral decision; the opposition party is represented as being against the chiefs, and to the existing order of society. It is argued they are opposed to children obeying their parents. Stories are told of opposition members whose parents support the chiefs, but who have run away and rejected their parents. These are now vagrants - with no families, no proper place in the society, who have little responsible connection to the social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as now known would be destroyed by the opposition, who

165 641 [186] it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 647 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should support the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate [648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union)(1), is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ruled its territory, and attempted to keep the peace with its neighbors and tributary states. 175 648

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area of what is now Northern Nigeria was rocked by the Fulani wars under a religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, who proclaimed a *Jihad* or holy war. Ultimately these developments resulted in the founding of the empire of Sokoto. In Bornu the local Fulani organized an attack on the Kanuri kingdom, not so much to support the Sokoto Empire, as to take advantage of it and set up principalities of their own. By 1808, the Fulani in Bornu constituted a dangerous threat. Indeed they had succeeded in attacking, defeating and sacking the ancient capital of Bornu, Birni Ngazargamo. When this happened the ruler and his followers fled towards Lake Chad and were not able to return to the city until some unexpected aid from Kanem enabled them to deliver a powerful defeat to the Fulani forces some six weeks after they had abandoned the capital. A few years later in the winter of 1811–1812 another Fulani force attacked and pillaged the capital. Again the Kanuri were helped by this same Kanembu chief or Shehu who defeated the Fulani and sent them fleeing westward to the borders of Bornu.

However, this aid was to change the entire history of the empire. From 1812 onwards the traditional Bornu government lost its control of the state. The Shehu, Mohammed el Aminu, El Kanemi, or Shehu Laminu as he is remembered locally, had the only effective armed force in the Bornu kingdom, and he used this to control sporadic Fulani uprisings that continued until at least the 1820s. Both the traditional government and the Shehu moved away from the western and northern boundaries and set up in adjacent towns near the west shore of Lake Chad. People soon realized that the Shehu held power in the state and flocked to his town, while that of the old Magumi Sefuwa monarch became a small redoubt for those still loyal to the ancient dynasty. The former leaders still retained the royal title, held court, and collected or were given some of the state revenues. When they intrigued against Shehu Laminu, he simply deposed them. At the same time he made bargains with rival claimants to the old throne so that any changes in the royal office, made under his direction, would be to his own advantage. Meanwhile the ancient rulers came more and more to be simply ceremonial puppets in the hands of the real ruler of Bornu, Shehu Laminu. 175 642 [648] [643] [662]

Yet Laminu never asserted ultimate control over the kingdom. Even after he had built a new capital, at Kuka, for himself and his dependents, the small village of Birni nearby was maintained for the ancient monarchy. Across the entire Sudan and beyond, however, he was recognized as the real ruler of Bornu. He was the leader of its administration and his political, military, and judicial sagacity were and still are lauded in praise songs that match these secular skills with his supernatural powers. Indeed his fame spread to Europe as well. This resulted from the writings of Denham and Clapperton, who crossed the desert in the 1820s and remained for an extended period in Bornu learning about its people and of the double regency under Shehu Laminu's control. Laminu died in 1835 and it was not until a decade later in 1845 or 1846 that his son, Omar, finally did away with the last remaining members of the Sefuwa dynasty proclaiming himself and his royal heirs to be the only rulers of Bornu. This was the occasion for the formal inception of Bornu's second dynasty whose descendants are the ruling family in the kingdom at the pres- 175 642 643

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 648 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 came to Bornu—and who also came to be called Kanuri about this time—were the Sefuwa, their fellow Magumi clansmen and loyal followers, clients and slaves. The traditions declare that the leader who finally founded the new capital of Birni Ngazargamo curbed the power of his own nobles and insisted that all of them (except one who protected the western boundaries) should live in the capital, leaving subordinates to administer their fief-holdings.[7] It should also be remembered that 175 this newly formed Bornu kingdom (*ca.* 1450–1550 A.D.) tried to regain control over 642 Kanem and many of its other lost vassal territories in the Chad Basin and the 648 southern desert. Thus they very quickly attacked and defeated Bilma 400 miles to the north of Lake Chad which was the center for the Saharan salt trade. They also had to defend the kingdom against raiding desert Tuareg and the rising power of Songhai in the west.

Kanem was a state organized around a confederacy of clans, with one clan and its leading lineage having a senior status. The migration of this leading group into Bornu helps to explain why the Bornu kingdom was more centralized than its 175 predecessor as a political system. In Bornu the Magumi Sefuwa had no other re- 64 lated clan or clan leaders to share power with; instead they were confronted by a group of pagan peoples spoken of under the general term of "So" in the traditions. Against these people they fought battles of conquest to establish their rule in the area and in the end absorbed many of them into a group known today as the Kanuri. It would have been much simpler to unify this one group under a leader who had no rival clan or clan leaders to cope with. Thus the new situation in Bornu 175 642 afforded both a stimulus and an opportunity for increased centralization of power in the political organization of the Kanuri state. It is against this growing centralization in the hands of the ruling monarch of Bornu that the following account of its structure should be gauged, for it is not always easy to portray change and development while describing how a society is organized.

Pre-nineteenth Century Bornu

175 643 At the head of the early Bornu state was the Mai or king. This office was hereditary in the male line, and all men whose fathers had been monarchs were eligible for the succession. The Council of Nobles, and accounts vary as to who these [646] were, chose the new monarch upon the death of the reigning one, although powerful rulers could obviously affect the choice. The royal office carried with it an aura of untouchability, remoteness, and sacredness. People referred to the Mai as "Master" using the term applied by slaves to their owners. People approached the royal cage in which the Mai was seated and prostrated themselves before the bars putting sand on their heads or going through the motions of doing so to indicate the humility and respect they felt in his presence.

175 644 Members of the royal family held titled offices. These included the monarch's own mother, his senior wife, and often a senior female relative, either a sister, half-sister, or more distant female relatives in the male line. The sons and

[7] A fief is a political unit within a state over which a superior has rights of tribute collection and political leadership (not necessarily exclusive rights) given to him by his or his ancestors' relationship to a monarch.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter
642 case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to
631 his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he
634 wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to
648 the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the spe-
793 cialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurispru-
692 dence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom al-
651 though records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MC14

175 ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But
704 local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed
72 through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient
1703 even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

175 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a
178 fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu She-
• 642 hus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachel-
[554] las and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court.

175 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the
554 names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the
642 Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner
178 as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering
175 through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to dis-
554 cuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised
644 dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who
[643] were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient. 175 584 644

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today. 175 644 [662] 175 642 643 692 175 64 793 [178]

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means." 175 681

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There 175 634 642 643 421

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 634 642 643 421 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territorially based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord remained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 634 622 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a village head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both. 175 634 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings expand in size, and he tried to help this process along by not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them from raiders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and ability to supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so that it was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 622 632 634 642 643 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs. 175 632 634 642 643 [662]

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital. 175 692 634

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili. 175 634 614 [192]

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself. 175 642 634 182 731 361 [648]

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations, 175 634 361 643 [563]

In later generations

175 they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial
361 organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his
634 slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked
612 by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of
567 his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craft-work directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or
[792] the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

175 There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the
651 Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on some-
[192] thing, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two
[193] main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

175 One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To
178 understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept
554 of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble ti-
66 tles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The ti-
[551] tles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Political Organization

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THE POLITICAL LIFE of Bornu ties togther the entire society into one overall unit so that it has an identity. As far as we know this has been the case for centuries and still is today, so that, although the Kanuri people see themselves and their society as many things, they view it primarily or basically as a political entity. To the people who live there Bornu represents a culture, a language, an ancient history, but more than anything else it represents a kingdom, or sovereign realm whose definition is political. Thus whether anyone belongs to it or not, and how one should behave within its boundaries depends first and foremost on its organization as a polity, that is, as a system in which there are recognized and legitimate means of distributing authority and making decisions at all levels of the society.

Authority distinctions are present in all organizations, and from this point of view all organizations have a political aspect. However, for our purposes it is easier to limit the discussion to the means by which decisions are made and carried out in those particular sectors of social life having some territorial or bureaucratic identity as sub-parts of the emirate government of Bornu. This excludes such things as trade groupings, like that of Ajimi's uncle described in the last chapter in which there is some hierarchy of authority, but which may not be, and often is not, located in one place. It also means that what we are discussing is a system, since each of its parts is clearly connected to the other to form a working whole. Like most other aspects of Bornu life, this system starts with the household as a basic particle and then builds onto it. It is a complicated and interwoven structure of an ancient, majestic, and yet contemporary kingdom whose stability and adaptability are monuments to men's striving for these illusive goals.

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Households, Wards, and Hamlets

As we have seen in Chapter 3 a household can expand and become a group of linked households under the superior authority of a senior man. When a young man, or a man's younger brother, or his apprentice or client, wishes to get mar-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced. 632 [621] [622]

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan. [651] [692]

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge. 632 622 621 592 571

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate. 632 571 621 [642]

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government. [692] [160]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

578 632 689 692 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

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One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

[166] [651]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job, and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional patterns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meetings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local government from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on. 634 652

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government. 642 634

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas. 634 [178]

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria. 665 634 642 648

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the 665 208

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true reli-
gion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
[563] Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them cor-
[579] rect, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C.
and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us
here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and
eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian par-
ties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-
Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a
one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emi-
rate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There
are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until
January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern re-
gion was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the
former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this re-
gion between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be
represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these
have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more
modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within
this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and
political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals.
Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tra-
dition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it
has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

648 greatly since that time, as Nigeria is an independent nation today.

The policy of the British in Northern Nigeria had been one of indirect rule. In this manner, a small administrative staff was able to govern a huge area, and the chiefs and Emirs of the North remained the political rulers in their own areas.
631 Bornu Province is divided administratively into five Emirates,
642 though the Emirate of Bornu overshadows the remaining four in geographic area, population, and political importance. The Emirates of Bornu and of Bama are Kanuri. The Emirs of Fika, Biu and Gashua rule over three small tribes, discussed in the preceding section, which are within the sphere of Kanuri influ-
634 ence. In addition to the Emirates, the provinces of the North are divided into districts, and each district has an appointed native District Head. The large Emirates are made up of many districts; the small Emirates sometimes have no more than a single district. Bornu Emirate has twenty-one districts.

648 Although the British ruled through the existing political system in Bornu Emirate, they controlled all important policy decisions and they had brought about important changes in the political organization of the Kanuri in order to carry out their policies. The actual relationship between the British Resident, who was in charge of the province, assisted by his staff of District Officers, and the Shehu, his Waziri and the Shehu's Council, differed radically from that officially stated. Although the British administration claimed to be merely advisory, it was

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
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634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appointments formally need not be approved by the British administration, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
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[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times, since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the political system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit, the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which protects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the protection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
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[567] selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[554] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
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567 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbitration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
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642 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicating that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
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642 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu

175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 648 642 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
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648 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
634 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
[642] Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

175 554 565 are individual titles which can be held by only one man at a time. There can be only one Kaigama, one Mastrema, and one Yerima at any given time. A man's son did not invariably inherit his father's title at his father's death. The title was conferred by the Shehu, customarily to the son of the previous title holder. If there were several sons, the one whom the Shehu judged most worthy was given the title; and if a title-holder had no sons, or no sons worthy of holding a title, the title might be given to anyone, though it was almost always given to someone of the household of the title-holder. There are several interesting cases of high titles given to talaka who were members of a household (the present holder of the title Talba is a slave who was given the title because there were no sons of the previous Talba; a horse boy inherited the title of Kaigama in the past; the Malam to the family, and a member of the household, inherited the title of Yirima). A talaka who was considered worthy, and was a member of a household whose head held a title might inherit that title; a common talaka without appropriate household affiliations could never hope to receive a title in former times.

The title was the mark of nobility in Kanuri society, and the embodiment of the several dimensions which, when taken together determined social importance. The title was linked to the system of feudal chimas who paid allegiance to the Shehu and effectively governed the land. The chimas had power, subject only to review by the Shehu himself, over the people in

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their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But, interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.

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Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which determine social position are shared by an entire household, and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

4. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
178 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-
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698 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[643] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Aji.

[GEIDAM]

175 wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indif-
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634 ferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town
66 council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dilelma dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

692 The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to oper-
692 ate independently from the political arm of government, and in particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

174 133 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal swamps. Carpenter[1] feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fezzan rather than the Niger that Etearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems reasonable to suppose that as these enormous wet lands dried up central Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated more densely in this geographically favourable area.

175 Until more historical and archeological research has been carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanciful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings".[2]

175 797 Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D. speaks of the people of Kanem as idolaters.[3] However it is most likely that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older [173] texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king) Hume (1085-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu.[4]

[177] Urvoy feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributaries.[5] Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies

175 642 already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Rhys, op.cit. p. 239.
(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857, p. 643.
(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.
(4) Urvoy, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.
(5) Urvoy, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IFAN, 7, 1949, p.36

175 642 [131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli.(1) Friendship was contracted with 175 648 the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli [779] as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time.(2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo.(3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Ishah al Kanemi".(4)

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travellers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones.(5)

173 669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

(1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit.Vol.II, p. 641.)
(2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
(3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
(4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
(5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans.H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

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• 642 However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly
[103] in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Yo
[361] (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damasak and Geidam, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province.
[648] His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north-
[721] east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire
175 of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portugese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe sometime around the beginning of the 17th century.(1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of Timbuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.(2)

[721] When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have
174 fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.
(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara. London, 1933, p. 73

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• 642 The political organization of the 19th century was almost completely overhauled by Rabeh. Fiefs were re-constructed with new boundaries and given to his own followers, while the old fief holders were often killed. But it should be stressed that complete chaos was not the rule of the day, as many writers have assumed. Rabeh was establishing a state under a new and alien leadership. It had been done by Laminu at the beginning of the 19th century, albeit with much less internal turbulence. It is most probable that had history given him the chance Rabeh would have founded the third dynasty of the Bornu empire and linked its relations much more closely to the east. It was European events that impaired the direction of this development. Rabeh's triumph and abortive attempt at empire building was cut short because in the European world the "scramble for Africa" had come to Nigeria and was rapidly closing in on the would-be king.

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127 The presence of a good sized literature on pre-British Bornu, including travellers's accounts, the extant collections of early Kanuri records, especially the historical writing of Ahmed ibn Fartua,(1) and the so-called "District Notebooks" of early 20th century British Colonial Officers who tried to reconstruct the pre-Rabeh political organization and tax structure of Bornu, enable us to say something about the life of the Emirate in its pre-European period. To this list of sources can be added the oral traditions of contemporary Kanuri, especially some of the older men in and around the Shehu's court.

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642 Very little remains at present (besides the archeological material) to record the life of Bornu in the early pre-Muslim days of the

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua; op. cit.

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642 kingdom. It is probable that the early state was organised as a group of clans, with one clan and a lineage within it as the ruling group. There is the possibility that this dominant group was an intrusive one, but this point has been so over-stressed with no substantiating data by other writers, that it would be wiser to leave it until sufficient archeological research has been done.

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829 After the move to Bornu and the founding of the capital of Birni Gazargamo we have some contemporary data with which to assess the life of the times. Ibn Fartua expresses the feelings of a chief servant of the Mai concerning the ethical nature of the state in the 16th century. He says that " . . .every people relies on imitation of its leaders. The leader goes before and the people follow him. He leads them to the Garden as it were by a bridle, after giving the Book of Direction, glad tidings about the Faith, right direction, and sure guidance in the path of law. So every man knows his rights and his obligations to others. Most excellent is the fame of just deeds, and justice on the part of a Mai for one day is equal to service of God for sixty years . . . A place where there is an evil Mai is better than a place which has none." (1) Thus the structural position of the Mai is extolled as being even more important than its functions, for when a leader is present every man knows his relationship to other men, and the people are enjoined to feel blessed at the fact of political leadership <u>per se</u>.

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631 The political organization of Bornu during the second florescence of the kingdom was structured outwards from the capital at Birni Gazaragame with the cardinal directions of the State under the military protection of four titled noblemen. The south was under the Yuroma or chief eunuch; the north was held by the Mustrema (also a eunuch); the east by the Kaigama (a

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua, op. cit. pp.10-11.

175 631 [173] Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing continuity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organised as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the Shehu.

175 631 642 An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu.(1) Tomlinson found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants.(2) Being a stranger in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced. Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as possible to consolidate his power.

173 634 [562] Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were, as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants in residence at the fief.

173 651 The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of two separate levies. One, the binèmram collected in binèm (winter) was the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

(1) Tomlinson, F.J.F. Report of Mganzai District; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
(2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

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721 since the absence of the local chief with a force of young men had tempted the neighbouring chief, or some wandering nomad raiders, to plunder the town for slaves and booty.

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642 When the British arrived in Bornu to weld the Emirate into their Colonial Empire, it should be emphasized that they were confronted by a way of life, whose known and partly recorded past had been flowing on through at least 1100 years of continuous, unbroken and independent national history. During that time the power of the monarchy had risen and fallen in successive waves of power and decline. In the 12th and 13th centuries the first Kanuri florescence occurred in Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, only to decline in the 14th century and finally beat a forced retreat from the center of their empire into Bornu proper, to the west of the Lake. Here, to the south of the river Yo, they hoped for some safety from the northern raiders which was afforded by the river. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the second emergence of a Kanuri Empire in the Sudan, which, although often neglected by historians of the region, was effective enough to resist the eastward expansion of Songhai at the zenith of its power. Slow decline followed in the 17th and 18th centuries until a near collapse, due to Fulani expansionism at the beginning of the 19th century, could only be avoided by a new dynasty taking over the rule of the kingdom, which maintained itself and the kingdom until Rabeh's desecration of Bornu in 1893. However, even Rabeh was slowly beginning to reorganize the broken kingdom when the British arrived, and it is evident that the complete chaos, conventionally charged to Bornu at the beginning of the 19th century, has been over-emphasized. Forces of re-consolidation were in operation which would have kept the Bornu state in existence, albeit under a new dynasty.

It is evident from an appraisal of Kanuri history that its

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• 642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained.
[701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation
[692] [652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

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thing to join on to, then the size of the state is merely an expression of the administrative and military capacities of the government at any given time in its history, in relation to the same factors amongst its neighbour states.

634 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A.[1] He
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662 had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

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634 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are
642 extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form.[2]

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Wazirí (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

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634 personnel, and ratifies all appointments, dismissals and transfers of
642 the N.A. The DH may be informed of directives either from the Waziri's office or from the relevant Department which would also inform their local District personnel.

648 Officially, today, the British personnel both technical and administrative, perform an advisory, not an authoritative, part in the political organization. Although much of the "advice" is given at the center, there is some contact between the colonial service officials and the District during the touring duty of the officers. Such visits are always publicized beforehand to the local officials and the British officer is always accompanied by a Shehu's Representative. Technical officers are generally concerned with their own particular program in the area and unless they feel that the local authorities are being uncooperative, they do not interfere in local or State politics. The administrative officers have a much wider range of interests which covers all areas of government not directly under the concern of some technical department, i.e. taxation, courts of law, District Councils (local government) and complaints by the peasants against their chiefs. Some also take an interest in one or more technical branch and report their findings to the relevant department after their touring duties have brought them into contact with local programs.

634 Informally the DH has a house in the palace ward in the
203 capital and his followers there are links between himself and the
[631] center. The Wakil (chief follower) in charge of the town house visits the Shehu regularly and represents the DH in the capital. Besides this source of contact with the center, the DH receives information from N.A. messengers, policeman and traders who travel continually from Maiduguri through the Districts. By the judicious giving of gifts to

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Chapter X

Summary and Conclusions

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The description of pre-Colonial Bornu has indicated that despite the rise and fall of its fortune the Kanuri political organization has had a remarkable resiliency throughout the last millenium. As long as the system of feudal organization remained with its nucleus at the capital city and court of the monarch, then the rise and fall of the empire was not fatal to its continuity. Kanuri feudalism is a segmentary corporate political structure; while the top remains intact, the expansion and contraction of the State itself bears no relation to its survival.

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The traditional background from which the present society obtains its roots has been altered in this century by contact with British colonialism. In Northern Nigeria the administration was deeply affected by the views of its founder Lugard, whose own control of the organization of the regional colonial service ensured that many of its norms, procedures and its overall policy would be an embodiment of his personal philosophy of colonialism. In Bornu, this meant that the pre-Rabeh Kanuri leaders regained their old positions, the Shehu was placed at the head of the State (now called the Bornu Emirate), and the fief-holders now called District Heads or Ajias, went to live in "bush" on their respective fiefs. The Village Heads within each district were appointed because of hereditary claims to the position while the District Heads over them were chosen because of their relationship to the monarch and/or other powerful groups at the capital. This set up possible conflicts between DH's and the Village Heads in their districts

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which has lasted to the present day. The policy of the British was to rule through and strengthen the authority of the native leaders, while

175 enforcing compliance with the "fundamental laws of humanity" (which
648 ruled out the slave trade). The European and the African were to co-
642 operate in administering the country but live separate lives socially,
[563] while western ideas and technology were to be introduced slowly when and if they would be acceptable, and only when capable of being financed on local revenues.

175 Out of this organization there grew a readily identifiable
648 English sub-culture whose uniqueness was a product of its particular
563 English upper class background and its adjustment to the common stimulus of Northern Nigeria. Their standards of administrative judgment came from Lugard and their common origins in English society; their hopes and fears, frustrations and satisfactions, grew out of the common work situation to be found in the British administration of the northern Emirates.

Because of the dearth of trained local personnel for carrying on the day to day office work and record-keeping of administration, the southern Nigerian, predominantly the Ibo, was introduced to Bornu. They soon came as skilled and semi-skilled labourers, carpenters, builders, bricklayers, mechanics and traders, and so in Bornu a minority group of southerners, mostly Christian, and more acculturated to Western ways became an established, although separate, part of the society.

175 After the inception of colonial rule the interaction be-
648 tween the British administration and the native political organization soon settled into a fairly steady pattern in which the British pushed continually for conformity to their own values in political organization, education, taxation, trade, etc. The Bornu officials and others who contacted the British, in their response, maintained as much of Kanuri culture as they could while at the same time learning what to

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

621 571 in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name for this constant and fundamental organisation in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organisational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organisation is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organisation of the Emirate.

631 571 The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimized and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organisation of the next higher level in the political structure.

631 642 In practice there are factors present which make it impossible for the Kanuri political organisation to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository [648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organisation, and tends besides to create ambiguous

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642 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political
648 roles.

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642 The results of this complexity leads to large factions
665 each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State. Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

[178] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

631 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of
• 642 political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu
665 have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the BH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

511 Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives
[433] us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of $180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living".(1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1)This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is, the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of *the development* process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[13] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[177] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

Linton (1952: 77) has also suggested that peasants view any attempts to change their economic condition with suspicion when these originate from their rulers. The peasant, often quite justifiably, feels that anything his rulers offer as a chance to improve conditions is probably much more to the ruler's advantage than to his own. 177 829

This was very certainly the case in Magumeri, and had occurred several times before. Thus, only a few weeks before the fertilizer demonstration began, the Village Head of Magumeri had tried to convince people of the worthiness of literacy. His argument centered around the idea that when literate the peasants would be able to catch their rulers, including himself, for issuing false tax receipts (Cohen and Frank, 1960). When the people refused to volunteer he forced a number of individuals to sign up for the literacy courses. It is difficult to say exactly how many were forced to "volunteer" for the fertilizer demonstration, but that coercion was involved is undoubtedly true. 212 177 829 [242]

On the other hand, a strange and almost unprecedented thing occurred at the final meeting when the people were asked whether or not they would use the fertilizer in the coming year. District Council meetings were usually very stiff affairs in which a formal agenda was followed under the guidance of a British District Officer. Very often a District Head rehearsed these "democratic" meetings first to make sure motions would be seconded, voted on properly, etc. On this occasion, an African District Officer was present, and the District Head gave the members of the Council a definite choice as to whether they would accept the fertilizer or not. Bornu is an autocratic country and subordinates are usually ordered about, unless the matter is a trivial one. The outward signs of democratic procedures introduced by colonial rule are very superficially imposed upon feudal autocracy, so that effective social action is carried out dictatorially. This is an ancient society and people are traditionally accustomed to these procedures. That dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use, or not use, fertilizer in years to come, immediately defined it as a trivial and unimportant matter upon which people could make up their own minds. 242 177 634 642.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu. 175 648 167

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[8] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty. 173 648 688 669 174 648

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire. 174 643 174 167 648

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota- 175 643 614 648

[8] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ble, and these men maintained Bornu at an apogee of greatness until well into the
• 643 seventeenth century. One of these rulers, Idris Alooma, had a court scribe at the
[644] beginning of the seventeenth century, who wrote a number of accounts of his royal
[212] master's military expeditions. Luckily these have survived to give us a picture of Bornu warfare and government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, too, that Bornu was first mentioned on European maps, and from this time forward its fame became part of the legends of unknown kingdoms that lay inside the unexplored interior of Africa.

Bornu traditions claim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a decline in the power of the state. This is explained by the claim that the monarchy was becoming weak and overburdened with pomp, rituals, and religious study by the monarch. The ruling Mai appeared in public in a *fanadir*, or cage, which only his most trusted servants could approach and rarely led military expeditions himself. Much of this may be a reinterpretation of Bornu history by the second dynasty and their followers, who would naturally have played up the failures of the previous regime, when they took over in the nineteenth century. Contrarily
175 there are traditions of many successful military campaigns during this period and
648 Bornu's reputation as a great kingdom was still very widespread. Thus a wandering Englishman, Richard Tulley, who visited Tripoli at the end of the eighteenth century, spoke glowingly of what he had heard of Bornu's power. Parenthetically, he claimed that one of the Kanuri noblewomen living in Tripoli could speak the Italian language fluently.[6] On the other side of the case, Tuareg and Tubu raiders attacked the northern boundaries of Bornu and harassed the caravans with greater intensity than before.

The activities of these raiders are said to have increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is important to realize that the entire southern Sahara was a hotbed of unrest during this two hundred year period. In the 1590s the armies of El Mansur of Morocco finally managed to cross the Sahara and destroy the great empire of Songhai. Its cities of Timbuctu and Gau never again became the great emporia of trade, politics, and learning they had once been. The Moroccans could not establish, so far from home, any stable administrative organization capable of replacing the one they had destroyed. This suddenly released vassal groups in the Sahara, many of whom bordered on Bornu, and these were now free to raid, stimulate revolts, and pillage caravans, while their cousins to the west fought over the remains of the Songhai empire and the control of western trade
175 routes across the Sahara. It was during this same period of unrest that, all across
648 the Sudan, wandering holy men, especially nomadic Fulani of Futa Djallon in
668 Guinea, in Masina in the Upper Niger, and even in present day Nigeria, were expressing this disorder in religious terms. They preached through their leaders for a return to a truer and purer form of Islam. Often they claimed that those round them were pagans and had to be subdued in a holy war to reestablish Muslim order and law. It is in the light of all this turbulence that the so-called decline of Bornu
175 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should be seen. Elsewhere empires were
648 tottered or being formed, as in Futa Djallon; but Bornu remained, shaken perhaps by the general unrest of the period but still it survived, controlled its trade routes,

[113] [6] R. Tulley, *Letters Written During a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli*, Vol. II, (London: 1819), p. 51.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ruled its territory, and attempted to keep the peace with its neighbors and tributary states. 175 648

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area of what is now Northern Nigeria was rocked by the Fulani wars under a religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, who proclaimed a *Jihad* or holy war. Ultimately these developments resulted in the founding of the empire of Sokoto. In Bornu the local Fulani organized an attack on the Kanuri kingdom, not so much to support the Sokoto Empire, as to take advantage of it and set up principalities of their own. By 1808, the Fulani in Bornu constituted a dangerous threat. Indeed they had succeeded in attacking, defeating and sacking the ancient capital of Bornu, Birni Ngazargamo. When this happened the ruler and his followers fled towards Lake Chad and were not able to return to the city until some unexpected aid from Kanem enabled them to deliver a powerful defeat to the Fulani forces some six weeks after they had abandoned the capital. A few years later in the winter of 1811–1812 another Fulani force attacked and pillaged the capital. Again the Kanuri were helped by this same Kanembu chief or Shehu who defeated the Fulani and sent them fleeing westward to the borders of Bornu.

However, this aid was to change the entire history of the empire. From 1812 onwards the traditional Bornu government lost its control of the state. The Shehu, Mohammed el Aminu, El Kanemi, or Shehu Laminu as he is remembered locally, had the only effective armed force in the Bornu kingdom, and he used this to control sporadic Fulani uprisings that continued until at least the 1820s. Both the traditional government and the Shehu moved away from the western and northern boundaries and set up in adjacent towns near the west shore of Lake Chad. People soon realized that the Shehu held power in the state and flocked to his town, while that of the old Magumi Sefuwa monarch became a small redoubt for those still loyal to the ancient dynasty. The former leaders still retained the royal title, held court, and collected or were given some of the state revenues. When they intrigued against Shehu Laminu, he simply deposed them. At the same time he made bargains with rival claimants to the old throne so that any changes in the royal office, made under his direction, would be to his own advantage. Meanwhile the ancient rulers came more and more to be simply ceremonial puppets in the hands of the real ruler of Bornu, Shehu Laminu. 175 642 648 643 662

Yet Laminu never asserted ultimate control over the kingdom. Even after he had built a new capital, at Kuka, for himself and his dependents, the small village of Birni nearby was maintained for the ancient monarchy. Across the entire Sudan and beyond, however, he was recognized as the real ruler of Bornu. He was the leader of its administration and his political, military, and judicial sagacity were and still are lauded in praise songs that match these secular skills with his supernatural powers. Indeed his fame spread to Europe as well. This resulted from the writings of Denham and Clapperton, who crossed the desert in the 1820s and remained for an extended period in Bornu learning about its people and of the double regency under Shehu Laminu's control. Laminu died in 1835 and it was not until a decade later in 1845 or 1846 that his son, Omar, finally did away with the last remaining members of the Sefuwa dynasty proclaiming himself and his royal heirs to be the only rulers of Bornu. This was the occasion for the formal inception of Bornu's second dynasty whose descendants are the ruling family in the kingdom at the pres- 175 642 643

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 648 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 came to Bornu—and who also came to be called Kanuri about this time—were the Sefuwa, their fellow Magumi clansmen and loyal followers, clients and slaves. The traditions declare that the leader who finally founded the new capital of Birni Ngazargamo curbed the power of his own nobles and insisted that all of them (except one who protected the western boundaries) should live in the capital, leaving subordinates to administer their fief-holdings.[7] It should also be remembered that 175 this newly formed Bornu kingdom (*ca.* 1450–1550 A.D.) tried to regain control over 642 Kanem and many of its other lost vassal territories in the Chad Basin and the 648 southern desert. Thus they very quickly attacked and defeated Bilma 400 miles to the north of Lake Chad which was the center for the Saharan salt trade. They also had to defend the kingdom against raiding desert Tuareg and the rising power of Songhai in the west.

Kanem was a state organized around a confederacy of clans, with one clan and its leading lineage having a senior status. The migration of this leading group into Bornu helps to explain why the Bornu kingdom was more centralized than its 175 predecessor as a political system. In Bornu the Magumi Sefuwa had no other re- 64 lated clan or clan leaders to share power with; instead they were confronted by a group of pagan peoples spoken of under the general term of "So" in the traditions. Against these people they fought battles of conquest to establish their rule in the area and in the end absorbed many of them into a group known today as the Kanuri. It would have been much simpler to unify this one group under a leader who 175 had no rival clan or clan leaders to cope with. Thus the new situation in Bornu 642 afforded both a stimulus and an opportunity for increased centralization of power in the political organization of the Kanuri state. It is against this growing centralization in the hands of the ruling monarch of Bornu that the following account of its structure should be gauged, for it is not always easy to portray change and development while describing how a society is organized.

Pre-nineteenth Century Bornu

175 643 At the head of the early Bornu state was the Mai or king. This office was hereditary in the male line, and all men whose fathers had been monarchs were eli- [646] gible for the succession. The Council of Nobles, and accounts vary as to who these were, chose the new monarch upon the death of the reigning one, although powerful rulers could obviously affect the choice. The royal office carried with it an aura of untouchability, remoteness, and sacredness. People referred to the Mai as "Master" using the term applied by slaves to their owners. People approached the royal cage in which the Mai was seated and prostrated themselves before the bars putting sand on their heads or going through the motions of doing so to indicate the humility and respect they felt in his presence.

175 644 Members of the royal family held titled offices. These included the monarch's own mother, his senior wife, and often a senior female relative, either a sister, half-sister, or more distant female relatives in the male line. The sons and

[7] A fief is a political unit within a state over which a superior has rights of tribute collection and political leadership (not necessarily exclusive rights) given to him by his or his ancestors' relationship to a monarch.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 704 72 ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient [703] even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

175 178 642 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu Shehus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachel- [554] las and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court.

175 554 642 178 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering 175 through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to dis- 554 cuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised 642 dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who [643] were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 634 642 643 421 were two types of differently named fiefs, the one where membership was territorially based, and the other where membership was ethnic or clan based, that is, based on birth into a particular group regardless of its territoriality. The big lord remained in the capital and administered his various fiefs, sometimes ranging up to twenty or more through his representative, the chima gana, or "the junior lords." Each junior lord lived in one of the fiefs of his superior, the fief-holder, or big lord. This junior lord was the highest authority living in the fief and from him one could appeal to the Shehu, being presented by representatives of the junior lord to the big lord living in the capital, and through this latter person to the court of the monarch.

175 634 622 This central administration was linked up to a local one. There was a village head, or bullama, who usually belonged to the male line of the founder of the settlement. However, he was only one among a group of eligibles. If the local junior lord did not like him or the tributes he delivered, then the junior lord could appoint another member of the same line. There are also some records of junior lords shifting the headship to other lineages as well as to persons within the same lineage. As settlements grew in size, sons, clients, and even slaves of the original village head would hive off and form small settlements or satellite communities nearby under the general jurisdiction of the original village head and the local leadership of the founder of the satellite community. These new heads were called mbarma (hamlet heads) as were heads of sub-sections of the original village that had some sort of unity based on occupation or kinship or a combination of both. 175 634 Thus a big lord with the help of his junior lords could have his fief-holdings expand in size, and he tried to help this process along by not being too excessive in his demands on the peasants, and by protecting them from raiders and other forms of outside depredation. A big lord's wealth and ability to supply militia to the monarch depended upon his success as a fief-holder, so that it was in his best interests to see to it that each fief was well governed. People could complain to other nobles, or emigrate out of the fief, and such indications of mismanagement, if they continued, could lead to the granting of fief rights to someone else. This new big lord could then take over part of the original holding, or in extreme cases the entire fief was transferred to another big lord's administration.

175 622 632 634 642 643 A very successful village head—one with a large and flourishing settlement containing many satellite communities—could be rewarded for his increase in power and authority by being brought to the Shehu's court in the capital and given the title of lawan. The Shehu then performed a ceremony in which a turban was placed on the new lawan's head. This meant he was now a member, albeit a local one, of the titled nobility of the state. In this case, he not only paid accession-to-office-gifts to the junior and senior lord which all local headsmen did, but to the Shehu as well. Once having been advanced from bullama to lawan, it was now possible for some of the leading heads of satellite villages to be made into bullama (by the junior lord and the lawan) with their own mbarma or leaders of satellite communities under them in turn. If these inter-related communities developed even further, the lawan might be brought into the capital again and be made officially into an ajia by the Shehu, giving bullama and mbarma under him the opportunity of becoming lawan with bullama and mbarma in turn under them, all under final authority of the ajia and the most senior of the junior lords. By this time the big

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

578 632 689 692 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, defaùlt of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. [634] On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

632 634 578 66

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

[166] [651]

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 729 [565] [777] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head. 634 651 578 66

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court. 692

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true. 695 [671] [192] [577] [784]

The Organization at the Center

643 •

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em- [368] [361]

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose '<u>Mais</u>' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [565] <u>Shehu</u> (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to
[174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appointments formally need not be approved by the British administration, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
631
178 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times, since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the political system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit, the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which protects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the protection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[645] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
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[178]

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
366
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
[369] into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
• 643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
643 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
565 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families
177 remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
178 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
565 centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
177 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were
565 given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
644 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
565 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
631 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
423 ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments
[651] and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
565
631

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631 selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
[567] those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
[554] eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
[632] the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[622] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (haraji).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
[643] directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
175 and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
643 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
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175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 648 642 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

174 184 563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

173 614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[651] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

173 614 613 from Yemen, consequently the dynasty of the Mais of Bornu is referred to as the Sef dynasty. There are twelve such sub-jilis within the jili Magumi. If within the sub-jili Sef a man should arise to great power and importance, his future descendants would refer to him as the ancestor of their sub-sub-jili (lineage) of the sub-jili Sef. One informant, who is Kanembu (but culturally Kanuri), gave the following pedigree: Kanembu, jili Kuvuri, sub-jili Kongana, sub-sub-jili Malam Shia. Malam Shia was an important historic personage who is considered to be the founder of the lineage which bears his name.

173 643 614 The Sef dynasty came to an end after the Fulani invasions, and Shehu Laminu established the line of the present Shehus though he himself never ruled as king. Shehu Laminu was Kanembu, of the jili Kuvuri. He was followed into Bornu by a number of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, with their retinue, who assisted [178] him in driving back the Fulani. Shehu Laminu was instrumental in further reducing the role of the jilis by appointing a <u>Shetima Kanuribe</u> (Shetima is a noble title) as head of all the Kanuri, replacing the various heads of the jilis; he did the same for the Shuwas under him.

614 178 Today everyone knows his own jili, and the jili of his parents, which may and usually does differ, but the jili no longer performs any social function. Few people can give their sub-jili. [643] Many of the jilis today have a nominal head. The present Shehu is obviously head of all the Kanembu Kuvuri. The head of the Kanuri Magumi is the former Waziri Ibranim. The Shetima Kanuribe

614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tomagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and freebirth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

175 565 554 granting of titles by the Shehu (and before him by the Mais), and the regular practice of slavery.

A title (kagala) which the Shehu bestowed on a man was both a recognition, and a source of his social position, for the title embodied power, wealth and prestige. Power lay in the political office which accompanied the title; wealth lay in the access to land, labor and taxes which followed from title and office; prestige lay in the recognition by all of the symbolic meaning of the title. Aristocracy and slaves were given titles, but talaka, commoners, never were granted titles in former times.

565 554 644 [643] One set of titles is held by royalty. The title of Shehu itself is conferred by a council (modules) according to strict rules of succession, after a Shehu dies. Other titles belong to members of the Shehu's family. These are unlike most titles in that they are titles ascribed by virtue of royal kinship and are not conferred to the individual by the Shehu. They include:

Maina - a prince, the son of a Shehu; also brothers of the present Shehu whose father was himself Shehu.

Mairam- (also called Nana) - the daughter of a Shehu.

Maidugu - the grandchild of a Shehu.

Some royal titles are granted by the Shehu to royalty. These are:

Maira - mother of the Shehu. If the Shehu's own mother is dead, another woman is given the title Maira, and functions as the Shehu's 'mother'. The title can be given to someone not of the Shehu's own family, should he wish to do so.

175 567 554 [304] 175 567 554 592 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The susana of an important noble shares some of that importance by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demonstrates the nature of household unity.

567 428 [643] 567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are

567 576 178 themselves free. A slave says "kəmanyi" (my lord) to his master, though nowadays people say that "kəmanyi" is said only to Allah. Under the Mais of old, all talaka said "kəmanyi" to the

698 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[643] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Aja.

him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

175 721 to Bello and complained that violence was being used for political aggrandizement, not religious conversion. Bello replied that the attacks were justified because of the oppression of the Fulani in Bornu, and the heathen practices of the Kanuri people, and because of aid given by Bornu to Kano and Katsina to resist the holy war.

Between 1809 and 1811 the capital fell again to the Fulani and was retaken a second time by Laminu for the Kanuri, but it was abandoned from this time forward as the center of the Bornu state. The results 175 178 727 643 of these few years were cataclysmic for the history of Bornu. The Fulani invasion was halted, although the western vassals were now under the sovereignty of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto. Bornu had survived the Jihad (holy war), but at the cost of her famous capital of Birni Gazargamo, and the loss of a dynasty of rulers, the Magumi Sefuwa, who had retained the monarchy for 1000 years. For in appealing to Laminu for help, the Kanuri Mai triggered off the beginning of his and his family's end as the effective monarchs of Bornu, meanwhile initiating the beginning of the Kanembu dynasty which sits on the Bornu throne today.

175 643 [103] [361] The traditional Mai set up a new capital, called Kafela (open place) near the present town of Monguno, and Laminu resided for a while at nearby Ngorno on the shores of Chad. However the constant threat of inundation from the Lake forced him to move his headquarters further inland to [721] Kuka which became the 19th century center of the Bornu state. Ruling from behind the scenes, with the Mai still on the throne as a puppet, Laminu tried to re-consolidate the kingdom from 1820-35, by recapturing the western vassals, and even at one point (1826) by menacing Kano. It was during this period that Denham and Clapperton visited Bornu and in their publications we have a good record of the contemporary court life and politics of the kingdom, as well as some glimpses into the nature of everyday life in

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643 Bornu in the 1820's.(1)

In 1835 Shehu Laminu retired and his son Umar (1835-1880) took over the effective headship of the Bornu state. Like his father, he attempted to maintain and expand the kingdom, while keeping the old Mai on the throne. During one of Umar's western campaigns against Zinder, the puppet Mai, Ibrahim appealed to Wadai for help in restoring him as the rightful ruler of Bornu against the Kanembu Shehu who had usurped the power. Umar returned from his Zinder campaign to find himself being attacked from the east by Wadai. Hearing of the Mai's instigation of this aggression, Umar put the puppet ruler in irons and tried to fight the Wadai forces at Logone, south of Lake Chad, but he was soundly defeated. Kuka was sacked, and the Wadai leader put Ali the young brother of the Mai on the throne. Umar, in high dudgeon, executed Ibrahim and bribed the Wadai forces to withdraw from Bornu. The young Ali and his small following were now attacked and defeated, during which encounter Ali lost his life. And so ended the dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa of Bornu. Shehu Umar declared himself the sole ruler of Bornu and rebuilt the city of Kuka which Barth visited in the 1850's. Local tradition marks this occasion by telling how Shehu Umar was the first of the Bornu monarchs ever to sit on a chair. Before this time leaders had always sat on rugs. It is also related of him that he took a member of the royal family, Ali Mairami, who was the son of a daughter of Mai Dunama (1810-1818), (i.e. he was not in line for the succession) and made him a Maisuli or joking king, who could joke with and chastise the Shehu in a manner prohibited to anyone else. This practice is still carried on today by the descendant of Ali Mairami in the court of the Shehu at Maiduguri.

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(1) Denham, Dr. Clapperton H. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1826.

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With minor disturbances, including one by the brother of Shehu Umar, in 1854, the Bornu kingdom maintained itself in a fairly stable condition, throughout the reign of Umar, and even afterwards during the reign of his son Bukr (1880-4). However, trouble was soon to come from the east.

In the Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur region of the present independent Sudan, an adventurer named Rabeh was slave raiding under the power of the first Egyptian governor of the Bahr, named Zubeyr,(1) in the 70's and early 80's. However Zubeyr's son Stiman headed a rebellion against Egyptian authority and was defeated, and his army disbanded. A remnant of this force headed westward under Rabeh who transformed this band of freebooters and pillagers into a disciplined army which, in the late 80's under the banners of the Mahdi, terrorized the Bahr el Ghazal, conquered
175 Wadai, and defeated the Baghirmi kingdom east of Chad. In 1893, he engaged
721 the Bornu army near Ngala and vanquished it. Whereupon he entered a defeat-
727 ed Bornu and literally raped the countryside. From 1893-6, he despoiled the entire area, putting to death many of the leading figures in Bornu who opposed him, and tried to spread his conquest as far west as possible. In this latter effort he was checked by a union of western forces and
175 refugee Kanuri at the present site of Geidam in northwest Bornu. After
643 1896 from his capital at Dikwa, Rabeh seems to have attempted a consolidation of the kingdom and due to these efforts at administration a more
[173] moderate policy was followed. Nevertheless, his rule is remembered in Bornu
[661] today as the blackest period of their history. Old men are still alive who tell of the pillaging, burning, slave-raiding, killing and excessive extortion of the peasants, that was carried on during the "Rabeh period."

(1) c.f. Balfour-Paul, H.G. History and Antiquities of Darfur; Sudan Antiquities Service, Museum Pamphlet #3 Khartoum, 1955.

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692 whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper
693 of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the
[645] third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

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692 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu
643 served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjud-
[631] ication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

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182 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with
463 its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in
[44] Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.
175 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A
439 complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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701 cause its soldiers were peasant subjects and rural followers of fief holders, whose homes were not in the capital but out in the Bornu countryside. In the pre-19th century military system, each of the four regional military leaders (the Yurema, Mustrema, Kaigama, and Yerima) had under him a force of Kachellas, each of which in turn headed up a regiment of foot-soldiers and cavalry.

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727 Very often a diplomatic Bornu ruler, after having defeated his enemy in battle would assess the situation and try to decide whether or not the chief of the opposing side (if Muslim) was worth keeping. If not he was executed. But very often the rebel or enemy leader was humbled, then raised up after a defeat and encouraged to become a loyal vassal of the King of Bornu.

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726 It is also interesting to note that at least part of the morale of Shehu Laminu's army resided in the general belief in his supernatural powers as a military leader. The night before the battle witnessed by Denham it was reported that Laminu had written charms (verses from the Koran) and his enemies' spears and arrows were blunted and found so in the morning by their owners on the day of battle. Laminu was extremely anxious that Denham set off a rocket for him on the night before the battle, presumably for the same reason.

War itself was highly organized. The maintenance of the state required elaborate rituals and ceremonies to dramatize militarism, and the belief in the supernatural power of the leader or his religious associates helped maintain the morale of the army, which was also goaded on by a comprehensive system of sharing in the plunder. However, this tended to create for the average citizen an areal mobility not usually associated
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721 with peasant life in Africa. A man might return from the wars to his village on the borders of the state to find no village, nor wife, nor home,

Chapter III

The Colonial Period

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The particular events and social changes occurring in Bornu during the last half century must be viewed as taking place within the larger setting of the British colonial regime of Northern Nigeria. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that during this period an English colonial administration had been grafted onto the indigenous social systems of the Northern Region through the use of what has come to be called "indirect rule".(1) This conjunction of the African social systems under the subordination of colonial rule has resulted in expanding trade, the inception of western education, the development of a native civil service, increased contact with other tribal groups, and a network of modern roads and means of communication. How these changes and the policy of "indirect rule" have affected Bornu is the concern of the present chapter.

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Before the British arrived in Bornu, the French had already defeated and killed Rabeh and his son. They then re-instated the Kanuri Shehu, Sanda Kura, and subsequently his younger brother Garbai. These two ruled from Dikwa, Rabeh's old capital, which at the turn of the century was considered to be in French territory. The French allowed the Kanuri rulers to institute any system of political organization they wished as long as they could deliver 80,000 Maria Theresa dollars per annum to the French as tribute. In 1902, Governor Lugard sent Captain Morland to Bornu and it is reported that the Captain ". . . sent for Garbai and formally installed him as Shehu of British Bornu at Kuka.(2)

(1) See Lugard, F.D. (Sir) The Dual Mandate, (London) 1929; Cook, A.N. British Enterprise in Nigeria, (Philadelphia) 1943; Burns, (Sir) Alan, History of Nigeria, (London) 1955; Coleman, J.S., Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, (California) 1958.

(2) Annual Report: Bornu Province 1909. In the Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Province, Nigeria.

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648 Data on how this was accomplished were not available in the public
643 records of Bornu province. Therefore it can only be assumed (provisionally, until more information becomes available) that the British promise to rebuild Kuka, the old 19th century capital, must have appealed to the Shehu, and/or the French conceded to British demands for the Shehu to be brought to Bornu. Certainly since Britain had claim to Bornu as part of Nigeria from the days of the Chartered Companies (late 19th century), and was making good the claim, it was only logical from their viewpoint that the traditional ruler of Bornu should be allowed to sit on the throne
175 in the area historically connected with his reign. Taking the evidence
648 of the French defeat of Rabeh, and their entry into Bornu with an armed force to defeat and kill his son, plus their establishment of the Shehu, it would seem as if the French from east of Lake Chad were trying to limit British expansion into Bornu by a fait accompli of possession, even though the western Chad basin had been ceded to England in the councils of European diplomacy.(1) In any event, all this manoeuvring on the part of the French proved of no avail, for it had also been decided in Europe that the Cameroons were to be administered by Germany, and the French soon had to cede even the area south of Lake Chad to that country.

175 "The first important step by the new British overlords was
648 the sending out of the fiefholders to live in their fief-ships in 1903 ...
634 These fiefs afterwards evolved into Districts and the most suitable men available were put in charge of them, the Shehu always being consulted
[631] in the selection. These men are now Ajia or District Headmen. This formed a chain of responsibility in the administration which the size of the Emirate and its small European staff immediately demanded."(2) However

(1) Langer, W.L. The Diplomacy of Imperialism, (New York) p. 131
(2) Annual Report 1909; op. cit.

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648 before the fiefs developed into Districts it was discovered that a divi-
634 sion of interests was involved between the British authorities and the
643 Shehu. The British were motivated by their own ideas of administration, i.e. to form "a chain of responsibility" from the local level up through the Shehu to the Resident, while the Shehu evidently tried to have as many fiefs created as possible in order that there would be a multitude of District Heads, thereby increasing the number of offices with which he could reward his supporters. The matter was settled by the British who limited the number of districts to a compromise between what they believed to be the traditional structure, and what they considered to be a workable arrangement in terms of their own requirements of administering the Emirate.

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648 When the District Head arrived in his District with his retinue
634 of supporters he found that the local Village Headmen (the Lawan), who
632 were strange to him, were being supported by the British because of their hereditary claims to village leadership. The British soon discovered that it had been the policy of the traditional fief-holder "to supplant the hereditary headmen by slaves (or followers) of the China."(1) Nevertheless, when a new fief-holder took office they conducted investigations to find who were the pre-British (and usually pre-Rabeh) Village Headmen and proceeded to appoint these people as Village Heads. In following this policy a political structure was created which utilized two potentially conflicting principles of social organization. In appointing District Heads the personal relationships of upper class leaders to the Shehu was considered to be the acceptable criteria, while the hereditary claims of local leaders were considered to be the basis for Village Headships. Thus,

(1) Patterson, J.R. Report on Naguseri District 1920; in Naguseri District Notebook; Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Prov. Nigeria.

175 648 634 632 During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930, Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situation. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admitted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the Lawans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order. The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr. Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O. arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri for hearings on the matter.

175 648 634 643 692 On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had requested the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignorance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising of personal tax levies.

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In another meeting between the Shehu and the Resident later that month, the Mobber matter was brought up again and the Shehu agreed that things did not seem to be going too well in Mobber. On the 14th of August, the Shehu suggested to the Resident when the Mobber misdemeanours were mentioned that the Mobber peasants were an extremely difficult group to manage and possibly chimas might be required for the proper administration of the District. At the end of August the Shehu requested of the Resident that the five men who had been arrested by A.D.O. Reed be sent back to their homes. The Resident agreed in principle, but felt that the one who had beaten a villager should be kept in Maiduguri for a little longer yet. He added that the men could be sent back to their homes only if the Shehu would take full responsibility for any further trouble in the Mobber area.

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In September and again in October of 1930, A.D.O. Reed was sent up to check the situation in Mobber District. The chimas were operating as before and the District Head was [illegible]ed as being "not respectful" to the British officer on tour. Only [illegible] change
[632] had occurred. An entire village area appeared to have been relinquished by the District Head since one of the Shehu's sons had been appointed its Lawan (Village Head) by the Wazirí.

Several months later in February 1931, the District Head of Mobber appeared in Maiduguri for an annual meeting and was warned by the Resident that "unless considerable improvement was shown he would be dismissed." From this point on, there were very few items in the Mobber District file in which the "Mobber case" was actually referred to. One short item tells of a rumour picked up by a junior officer to the effect that the District Head of Mobber was a favor-

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ite of the Shehu and was married to a daughter of the Wazirí (head of the Shehu's council). By the end of 1931 the matter began to congeal. The D. O. of Bornu Emirate wrote a note to the Resident claiming that the time had come to dispose of the District Head of Mobber since he obviously would not reform, and then suggested several names as replacements. In early 1932 the matter was mentioned briefly in a report to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces from the Resident of Bornu. It stated that "the Shehu and Council have found it necessary to depose the District Head of Mobber." Several people were nominated by the D. O. and by the Council for the replacement and the matter was closed when a man suggested by the Council was mentioned in reports as the new District Head of Mobber.

The British administrators had tried to persuade the District Head of Mobber for two years to stop using his own system of political organization and work through the Village Heads, i.e., the political structure recognized by themselves. His inability to comply finally brought about his removal. But the entire push and pull of the deposition did not materially disturb relations between the British and the political leadership of Bornu.

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Certainly the case hints at a well-organized Kanuri political system operating independently of the one formally recognized by the British. However, it also illustrates the formalized and balanced relationship which existed between the Resident and the Shehu. The Resident patiently tried to press forward with his own conception of government, while the Shehu was at the same time attempting to mollify English demands in order that the Emirate political organization could be maintained unmolested. The unsettling feature of the relations between the Kanuri and the English

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661 He therefore supported the lower class person against his fellow upper class member.

632 Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against
661 a Fulani herder whose cows had eaten his millet. The case came
683 before Lawan who ruled that although the Fulani had pulled a
684 knife on Bukar (a serious offence), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cows to wander over Bukar's field and devour his, as well as another man's, crops. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops and given an extra fine of five shillings as kafelo for the District Head. (Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started; besides this, pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offence to the fight itself, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanour).

632 In discussing the matter, Bukar's senior, the teacher ex-
661 plained that Lawan was angry at Bukar for his behaviour over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine he was told by the teacher to give the money to Lawan and to say that he (Bukar) was a small insignificant poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell Lawan that if there was any help that Lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future. If Lawan continued to adjudicate against him and give him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with Lawan, but if this were impossible then higher authorities would be resorted to and Lawan's power by-passed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected within limits.

This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

632 A Lawan is installed officially by the Shehu at an invest-
[643] iture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawans well back into the 19th century,

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651 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts, the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

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648 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

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[368] In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization.
[101] As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

643 The Shehu is also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
793 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed
796 ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
[123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

643 That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocen-
648 tricism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy
[114] to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Wazirí and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in
[829] reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state.(1)

645 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has
647 the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Wazirí, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

[Footnote continues on p. 258]

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kantuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565 554 [369]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ble, and these men maintained Bornu at an apogee of greatness until well into the
643 seventeenth century. One of these rulers, Idris Alooma, had a court scribe at the
• [644] beginning of the seventeenth century, who wrote a number of accounts of his royal
[212] master's military expeditions. Luckily these have survived to give us a picture of Bornu warfare and government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, too, that Bornu was first mentioned on European maps, and from this time forward its fame became part of the legends of unknown kingdoms that lay inside the unexplored interior of Africa.

Bornu traditions claim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a decline in the power of the state. This is explained by the claim that the monarchy was becoming weak and overburdened with pomp, rituals, and religious study by the monarch. The ruling Mai appeared in public in a *fanadir*, or cage, which only his most trusted servants could approach and rarely led military expeditions himself. Much of this may be a reinterpretation of Bornu history by the second dynasty and their followers, who would naturally have played up the failures of the previous regime, when they took over in the nineteenth century. Contrarily
175 there are traditions of many successful military campaigns during this period and
648 Bornu's reputation as a great kingdom was still very widespread. Thus a wandering Englishman, Richard Tulley, who visited Tripoli at the end of the eighteenth century, spoke glowingly of what he had heard of Bornu's power. Parenthetically, he claimed that one of the Kanuri noblewomen living in Tripoli could speak the Italian language fluently.[6] On the other side of the case, Tuareg and Tubu raiders attacked the northern boundaries of Bornu and harassed the caravans with greater intensity than before.

The activities of these raiders are said to have increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is important to realize that the entire southern Sahara was a hotbed of unrest during this two hundred year period. In the 1590s the armies of El Mansur of Morocco finally managed to cross the Sahara and destroy the great empire of Songhai. Its cities of Timbuctu and Gau never again became the great emporia of trade, politics, and learning they had once been. The Moroccans could not establish, so far from home, any stable administrative organization capable of replacing the one they had destroyed. This suddenly released vassal groups in the Sahara, many of whom bordered on Bornu, and these were now free to raid, stimulate revolts, and pillage caravans, while their cousins to the west fought over the remains of the Songhai empire and the control of western trade
175 routes across the Sahara. It was during this same period of unrest that, all across
648 the Sudan, wandering holy men, especially nomadic Fulani of Futa Djallon in
668 Guinea, in Masina in the Upper Niger, and even in present day Nigeria, were expressing this disorder in religious terms. They preached through their leaders for a return to a truer and purer form of Islam. Often they claimed that those round them were pagans and had to be subdued in a holy war to reestablish Muslim order and law. It is in the light of all this turbulence that the so-called decline of Bornu
175 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should be seen. Elsewhere empires were
648 tottered or being formed, as in Futa Djallon; but Bornu remained, shaken perhaps by the general unrest of the period but still it survived, controlled its trade routes,

[113] [6] R. Tulley, *Letters Written During a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli*, Vol. II, (London: 1819), p. 51.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 came to Bornu—and who also came to be called Kanuri about this time—were the Sefuwa, their fellow Magumi clansmen and loyal followers, clients and slaves. The traditions declare that the leader who finally founded the new capital of Birni Ngazargamo curbed the power of his own nobles and insisted that all of them (except one who protected the western boundaries) should live in the capital, leaving subordinates to administer their fief-holdings.[7] It should also be remembered that 175 this newly formed Bornu kingdom (*ca.* 1450–1550 A.D.) tried to regain control over 642 Kanem and many of its other lost vassal territories in the Chad Basin and the 648 southern desert. Thus they very quickly attacked and defeated Bilma 400 miles to the north of Lake Chad which was the center for the Saharan salt trade. They also had to defend the kingdom against raiding desert Tuareg and the rising power of Songhai in the west.

Kanem was a state organized around a confederacy of clans, with one clan and its leading lineage having a senior status. The migration of this leading group into Bornu helps to explain why the Bornu kingdom was more centralized than its 175 predecessor as a political system. In Bornu the Magumi Sefuwa had no other re- 64 lated clan or clan leaders to share power with; instead they were confronted by a group of pagan peoples spoken of under the general term of "So" in the traditions. Against these people they fought battles of conquest to establish their rule in the area and in the end absorbed many of them into a group known today as the Kanuri. It would have been much simpler to unify this one group under a leader who 175 had no rival clan or clan leaders to cope with. Thus the new situation in Bornu 642 afforded both a stimulus and an opportunity for increased centralization of power in the political organization of the Kanuri state. It is against this growing centralization in the hands of the ruling monarch of Bornu that the following account of its structure should be gauged, for it is not always easy to portray change and development while describing how a society is organized.

Pre-nineteenth Century Bornu

175 643 At the head of the early Bornu state was the Mai or king. This office was hereditary in the male line, and all men whose fathers had been monarchs were eligible for the succession. The Council of Nobles, and accounts vary as to who these (646) were, chose the new monarch upon the death of the reigning one, although powerful rulers could obviously affect the choice. The royal office carried with it an aura of untouchability, remoteness, and sacredness. People referred to the Mai as "Master" using the term applied by slaves to their owners. People approached the royal cage in which the Mai was seated and prostrated themselves before the bars putting sand on their heads or going through the motions of doing so to indicate the humility and respect they felt in his presence.

175 644 Members of the royal family held titled offices. These included the monarch's own mother, his senior wife, and often a senior female relative, either a sister, half-sister, or more distant female relatives in the male line. The sons and

[7] A fief is a political unit within a state over which a superior has rights of tribute collection and political leadership (not necessarily exclusive rights) given to him by his or his ancestors' relationship to a monarch.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But
704 local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed
72 through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient
[703] even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

175 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a
178 fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu She-
642 hus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachel-
[554] las and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court.

175 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the
554 names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the
642 Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner
178 as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering
175 through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to dis-
554 cuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised
644 dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who
[643] were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 929 [565] [117] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
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565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
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565 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weakness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
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565 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, according to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well understood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
• 644
565 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
631 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
423 to the central government and for their own uses. In like fashion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments
[651] and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
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632 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks,
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342 with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.
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361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are sim-
[363] ilar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern,
[492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 Wards may have different characters, especially in large
[563] towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided
[463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called
361 the <u>dandal</u>. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's
[644] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the <u>Shehuri</u>) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

175 565 554 granting of titles by the Shehu (and before him by the Mais), and the regular practice of slavery.

A title (kagala) which the Shehu bestowed on a man was both a recognition, and a source of his social position, for the title embodied power, wealth and prestige. Power lay in the political office which accompanied the title; wealth lay in the access to land, labor and taxes which followed from title and office; prestige lay in the recognition by all of the symbolic meaning of the title. Aristocracy and slaves were given titles, but talaka, commoners, never were granted titles in former times.

565 554 644 [643] One set of titles is held by royalty. The title of Shehu itself is conferred by a council (modulos) according to strict rules of succession, after a Shehu dies. Other titles belong to members of the Shehu's family. These are unlike most titles in that they are titles ascribed by virtue of royal kinship and are not conferred to the individual by the Shehu. They include:

Maina - a prince, the son of a Shehu; also brothers of the present Shehu whose father was himself Shehu.

Mairam- (also called Nana) - the daughter of a Shehu.

Maidugu - the grandchild of a Shehu.

Some royal titles are granted by the Shehu to royalty. These are:

Maira - mother of the Shehu. If the Shehu's own mother is dead, another woman is given the title Maira, and functions as the Shehu's 'mother'. The title can be given to someone not of the Shehu's own family, should he wish to do so.

554 565 644 Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Karliroma - head of the Shehu's chirs.

175 423 631 565 554 644 Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.

175 565 554 567 The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaigama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

175 554 565 The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

175 567 554 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas, ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna, 175 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely 567 different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of 644 the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding 839 for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of [304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six, who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's 175 household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are: 567 644 839 554

Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the four greatest chimas. On his death his title goes to the adim presently holding the title of:

Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim, and another of the four greatest chimas. He is succeeded by the holder of the title:

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Shetima Abu Karim - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Aɔadi. All other adim are called abagana. Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Borsari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Maiduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title Digma is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

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Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled freeman, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the susana, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one

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643 Bornu in the 1820's. (1)

In 1835 Shehu Laminu retired and his son Umar (1835-1880) took over the effective headship of the Bornu state. Like his father, he attempted to maintain and expand the kingdom, while keeping the old Mai
175 on the throne. During one of Umar's western campaigns against Zinder,
669 the puppet Mai, Ibrahim appealed to Wadai for help in restoring him as the
721 rightful ruler of Bornu against the Kanembu Shehu who had usurped the power. Umar returned from his Zinder campaign to find himself being attacked from the east by Wadai. Hearing of the Mai's instigation of this aggression, Umar put the puppet ruler in irons and tried to fight the Wadai forces at Logone, south of Lake Chad, but he was soundly defeated. Kuka was sacked, and the Wadai leader put Ali the young brother of the Mai on the throne. Umar, in high dudgeon, executed Ibrahim and bribed the Wadai forces to withdraw from Bornu. The young Ali and his small following were now attacked and defeated, during which encounter Ali lost his life. And
[643] so ended the dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa of Bornu. Shehu Umar declared himself the sole ruler of Bornu and rebuilt the city of Kuka which Barth
173 visited in the 1850's. Local tradition marks this occasion by telling how
643 Shehu Umar was the first of the Bornu monarchs ever to sit on a chair.
• 644 Before this time leaders had always sat on rugs. It is also related of him that he took a member of the royal family, Ali Mairami, who was the son of a daughter of Mai Dunama (1810-1818), (i.e. he was not in line for the succession) and made him a Maisuli or joking king, who could joke with and chastise the Shehu in a manner prohibited to anyone else. This practice is still carried on today by the descendant of Ali Mairami in the court of the Shehu at Maiduguri.

(1) Denham, Dr. Clapperton H. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1826.

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
178
175 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
726 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.(1) The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. [476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

634 The District organization is roughly similar throughout the twenty-one such divisions in Borno Emirate. Each District shares the [368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a [491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

634 A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in
64 consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

634 The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most [644] impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the 634 palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household
571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

643 The Shehu is
793 also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
796 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
[123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

634 general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies [645] in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Wazir. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by 634 662 marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

634 In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of 592 the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound [342] is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in [361] office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to 634 represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of fol- 592 lowers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men 571 form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

634 At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants 571 except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, disci- 634 pline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully 571 trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the dis- 578 trict head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize 634 his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to disci- 571 pline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan 578 complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil- 632

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if 647
he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district 634
school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his direc- 571
tive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district [554]
head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before enter- [576]
ing his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and 634
result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of 647
the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is re- 645
sponsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Au- [651]
thority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major [652]
voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial 631
Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the 634
largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the dis- 642
trict head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally [648]
from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have al- 634
ready noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his 571
followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu- 592

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

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692 whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper
693 of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the
[645] third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175
692 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu
643 served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjud-
[631] ication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175
182 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with
463 its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in
[44] Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.
175 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A
439 complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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648 out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over
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651 in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilization
[166] by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

175 In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to
648 strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted
645 a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organization, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

175 The newly introduced European governmental services demanded
463 some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of
871 Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were
[167] necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Magumeri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

643 648 [114] That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocentricism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Waziri and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in [829] reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state.(1)

645 647 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Waziri, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

[Footnote continues on p. 25]

• 645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
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[631] advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial government, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

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643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 came to Bornu—and who also came to be called Kanuri about this time—were the Sefuwa, their fellow Magumi clansmen and loyal followers, clients and slaves. The traditions declare that the leader who finally founded the new capital of Birni Ngazargamo curbed the power of his own nobles and insisted that all of them (except one who protected the western boundaries) should live in the capital, leaving subordinates to administer their fief-holdings.[7] It should also be remembered that 175 this newly formed Bornu kingdom (*ca.* 1450–1550 A.D.) tried to regain control over 642 Kanem and many of its other lost vassal territories in the Chad Basin and the 648 southern desert. Thus they very quickly attacked and defeated Bilma 400 miles to the north of Lake Chad which was the center for the Saharan salt trade. They also had to defend the kingdom against raiding desert Tuareg and the rising power of Songhai in the west.

Kanem was a state organized around a confederacy of clans, with one clan and its leading lineage having a senior status. The migration of this leading group into Bornu helps to explain why the Bornu kingdom was more centralized than its 175 predecessor as a political system. In Bornu the Magumi Sefuwa had no other re- 64 lated clan or clan leaders to share power with; instead they were confronted by a group of pagan peoples spoken of under the general term of "So" in the traditions. Against these people they fought battles of conquest to establish their rule in the area and in the end absorbed many of them into a group known today as the Kanuri. It would have been much simpler to unify this one group under a leader who 175 had no rival clan or clan leaders to cope with. Thus the new situation in Bornu 642 afforded both a stimulus and an opportunity for increased centralization of power in the political organization of the Kanuri state. It is against this growing centralization in the hands of the ruling monarch of Bornu that the following account of its structure should be gauged, for it is not always easy to portray change and development while describing how a society is organized.

Pre-nineteenth Century Bornu

175 643 At the head of the early Bornu state was the Mai or king. This office was hereditary in the male line, and all men whose fathers had been monarchs were eligible for the succession. The Council of Nobles, and accounts vary as to who these 646 were, chose the new monarch upon the death of the reigning one, although powerful rulers could obviously affect the choice. The royal office carried with it an aura of untouchability, remoteness, and sacredness. People referred to the Mai as "Master" using the term applied by slaves to their owners. People approached the royal cage in which the Mai was seated and prostrated themselves before the bars putting sand on their heads or going through the motions of doing so to indicate the humility and respect they felt in his presence.

175 644 Members of the royal family held titled offices. These included the monarch's own mother, his senior wife, and often a senior female relative, either a sister, half-sister, or more distant female relatives in the male line. The sons and

[7] A fief is a political unit within a state over which a superior has rights of tribute collection and political leadership (not necessarily exclusive rights) given to him by his or his ancestors' relationship to a monarch.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 829 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, tele-
571 phones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional pat-
576 terns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the
[179] conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in
[663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

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634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

631 661 Another good example of this point was observed in the field. The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of [602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 647 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A. are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of [178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years, and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred, or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy (571) out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A. officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which 634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the 647 651 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues, and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration with the Chief Scribe.

634 647 661 631 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

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hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

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In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat [565] with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to mulct the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

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However, this and other moves by the DH to obtain friendship and loyalty from the N.A. employees in his area can never be totally successful in creating a unified political organization in the District. First of all, they can be moved to other Districts by their superiors and often are, thus creating the problem of new N.A. personnel constantly arriving. Secondly, their income from N.A. salaries allows them to be independent of the DH economically if they wish, while the power and authority of their own departmental superiors in the capital always acts to lessen the degree of sensitivity and possible subservience they may feel towards the DH.

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This does not mean to imply that the N.A. employees are completely independent of the DH. In many branches of N.A. activity it is either difficult or impossible at present to initiate or continue civil service programs without a modicum of cooperation from the DH. This is another way of saying that in the rural area the independent existence of other sources of power and authority besides the line leading from Lawan through the DH to the Shehu is hardly recognized.(1)

For example, it is impossible to establish a local forest reserve without the DH issuing orders to all Lawans ordering them to cooperate with a newly arrived District representative of the Forestry Department. Or again, it is the DH who at present enforces and maintains a regular flow of children into the Junior Primary School in his District capital. On the other hand, if the DH continually refuses to cooperate with N.A. officials and civil service programs are obstructed, complaints by local N.A. personnel, plus the failure of program goals can bring sharp reprimands down upon the DH.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a

(1) The exception here is the European, who the peasant knows has much power.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a
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647 highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are
554 ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus
[576] if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the
647 extended household organization of the DH, then the factional member-
662 ships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials
647 disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household or-
557 ganization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[828] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

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554 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connections to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri. The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from [661] Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to [203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to guage properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

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662 The prison warder who kept the little jail in Magumeri, although not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

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• 647 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A.[1] He
662 had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

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634 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are
642 extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form.[2]

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Wazirí (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

643 648 [114] That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocentricism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Waziri and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in [829] reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state.(1)

645 647 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Waziri, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

[Footnote continues on p. 258]

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
• 647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

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643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

647 557 traditional one. One of the senior members of an individual's agnatic group arranges an audience with some person connected to an N.A. department. One informant in the N.A. commented on recruitment in the following manner.

> If you want a job in the Treasury, one of your relatives (a senior male agnate) will find out, if he does not already know, the name of some person who is known to "help" people and go to greet him some night. Your relative will give him some money and he will say that you must come back the next day and he will tell you. Then he will find you a job in the Department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him, and then the job is yours, and you are in the N.A. . . . Sometimes it takes a long time.

647 Because of the constant shifts in personnel, some to higher positions, others because of dismissals or jail terms, there is much unpredictability of job tenure in the N.A. and suspicion of unorthodox 647 576 behaviour is a common rule. Thus one junior N.A. official remarked that he must be careful in his department to always dress less well than his superiors, or it would be considered ro kura (ambitious, proud), and therefore threatening. On the other hand, he must not dress too poorly or his superiors will consider him a wastrel, who 647 spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again, it is extremely difficult to transfer (through own effort) from one branch of the service to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to the person's own department heads and N.A. council; if a release is granted, then a further application to the desired department [829] can be submitted. To the Kanuri such a transfer is not considered a rejection of the work, but of the people in the department. Thus informants claimed that they would be considered ingrates and trouble- [662] makers if they were ever to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends "visiting at night", i.e. paying tribute to the appropriate

647 662 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647 [557] Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense 647 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However, 571 within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the DH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or [641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

647 661 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his [183] laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismis- [671] sals) to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence.

Political Parties

665 In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

665 641 [186] it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 647 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should support the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate [648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union),(1) is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565 554 [369]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Setting

The Land and the People

FOR AT LEAST a thousand years the drama of empires rising, falling, expanding, and shrinking has been played out in an immense area of Africa at the southern edge of the Sahara known as the Sudan. These states, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, the Hausa kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu, Baghirmi, Wadai, Darfur, and others like them, from the upper Senegal River basin to the upper Nile, form a band from east to west across Africa. Their histories provide some of the most resplendent grandeur of Africa's past. Many of these states have now been consigned to the history books; Ghana and Mali have disappeared although modern countries have resuscitated their names; Songhai was destroyed by the Moroccans at the end of the sixteenth century; the Hausa states were altered as they came under the hegemony of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and little is known as yet about the early states to the east of Lake Chad. On the other hand, Bornu in the northeastern corner of Nigeria has continued its sovereignty in the Chad Basin throughout a millennium of tribulations and triumphs and it goes on today organized as a separate emirate within Bornu Province.

Like most of the Sudan, Bornu is open savannah country, generally quite flat except for a few stable dunes covered with scrub in the north and several long low ridges running northwest to southeast in the southern part of the country. The ridges are probably ancient lake-shores of a great inland sea whose contemporary remnant is Lake Chad—a large shallow fresh water lake into which flow a number of rivers from the south and west. The soil is sandy and covered with scrub bush grass, and scattered trees, mostly thorny ones, except for the large spreading boabab, which dots the horizon here and there. In the 1930s the Nim, a hardy shade tree from India that thrives on the semi-desert conditions of northern Nigeria, was introduced to provide some forest preserves and year round shade in the villages. Here and there, especially at the bottom of the ridges, are large flat surfaces of hard clay that turn into gray-black mud during the rainy season. These provide clay for building materials and pottery, as well as water holes for the cattle of local villages and wandering nomads.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Today the empire of Bornu is a Muslim emirate, or kingdom, which forms a subdivision of Bornu Province in the northeastern corner of Nigeria. The emirate covers an area of 24,000 square miles and, according to the 1952 census, has a population of about 1 million people of whom 626,000 are Kanuri—the dominant ethnic group of the kingdom. There are also about 160,000 Fulani and Shuwa who tend their cattle in the area and who carry out a semi-nomadic way of life. Another 225,000 people belong to small pagan groups, from south of the province and the Cameroons, as well as from the Hausa-speaking areas to the west and from the other regions of Nigeria. The emirate also includes about 5000 non-Nigerians, who are from Europe, America, the Near East, and other African countries.

Including the emirate, Bornu Province has approximately 1,600,000 people, 750,000 of whom are Kanuri. Thus many Kanuri live outside the political boundaries of the emirate. Indeed Kanuri can be found in all major cities of northern Nigeria in substantial numbers as well as in the neighboring territories of Chad and Niger. In order to identify the population with a particular territory, however, it is convenient to think of the emirate sub-division of Bornu Province as Bornu, the traditional homeland of the Kanuri kingdom. These are the people who are the subject of this book; they describe themselves as "Kanuri—the people of Bornu." As noted above, outside this entity—of Bornu—there are many other Kanuri, and a political entity, Bornu Province. However, these will be referred to by their full names, while the word "Bornu" will be reserved for the political system, whose present expression, the emirate or kingdom, is continuous with the Bornu of precolonial times. This reflects as well the attitude of the people themselves, who use the term "Bornu" to refer primarily to the emirate rather than the larger area of Bornu Province.

One other point should be kept in mind about the population figures. There has been a more recent Nigerian census since 1952, and although the details are unknown as yet, it is generally accepted that the more recent figures are in the neighborhood of thirty-five to forty-five percent higher than those of 1952. This means that Bornu may actually have nearly 900,000 in population, and Bornu Province may reach as high as two million persons, as of 1966.

The Kanuri of Bornu live spread out over the entire area of the emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, with its 80,000 population, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. Most of the people, about two-thirds of them, live in 248 named village units that range in size from 1000 to 5000. About one-quarter of the population, on the other hand, live in eleven cities whose population is 10,000 or over. This statistical information from the census masks an important point, however, for the towns and villages are really area units and each has within its territory, a set of satellite hamlets that often total to more than half the population of the town or village area. It is this pattern that gives to Bornu its "filled-up" quality even though the population density is approximately twenty-five to forty persons per square mile when calculated from the 1952 census figures or perhaps as much as forty to sixty persons per square mile on the basis of more recent counts. Riding out on horseback into the bush one never feels alone; here and there sprinkled in one or two mile intervals in all directions are little hamlets with their surrounding farmlands while more intermittently, perhaps every five or six miles, are the larger towns and villages. Ev-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

173 Given the fact that very many of the Muslim peoples of West Africa have legends concerning their origins in the Near East and often more specifically in Yemen, we can, I believe, think of the local origin theory as a mythical genesis story that is part of a widespread cultural heritage of the Muslim people of West
174 Africa, likening it in this way to western stories about the Garden of Eden. On the other hand we do have "hard" linguistic evidence that the Kanuri people are related to peoples of the central Sahara northeast of Bornu. We also have very suggestive evidence from the geographic history that relates the people speaking these languages to one another and gives us grounds for positing immigration into the Chad basin and an increasing population density in the area. The exact details of this theory are matters for future research, but the major conclusion which places the origin of the Kanuri in the central Sahara seems to be a valid one.

At any rate, by the end of the first millennium A.D. the Muslim world outside the Sudan knew of the existence of Kanem, a sovereign state due south of Tripoli on the southern rim of the Sahara. Local traditions associated with the king lists (these have been collected periodically since 1850) assert that Islam came at least to the rulers of Kanem in the eleventh century. According to the traditions an eleventh-century Mai or king is supposed to have died in Egypt on his
175 way to Mecca. Certainly by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Kanem became a well-known state in the Islamic world. Trans-Saharan commerce was completely controlled, garrisons were built to protect the trade routes, and treaty relations were established with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis. In the mid-thirteenth century a travelers' house for Kanem pilgrims was constructed in Cairo so that they might have proper accommodation while on the long journey to Mecca via Egypt. At the other extreme of the Islamic world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was renowned in the court of El Mansur (1190–1214 A.D.) in Seville for his praise songs of the Sultan. This was a great period of Islamic civilization and Kanem played its part in that florescence.

175 648 From the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century a period of dark ages befell the kingdom. This is sometimes referred to as "the time of troubles." The dynastic chronicles indicate this period by including a great many rulers all holding sway for very short periods. The kingdom seems to have become a tempestuous stage for civil wars within and continuous attack from without. A letter to Cairo from this period has turned up, sent by a Kanem ruler, asking that the Caliph of Egypt send word to Sudanese Arabs who were helping Wadai to the east of Kanem raid amongst the people of Kanem for slaves even though such actions are considered to be against the precepts of Islam, since one must not raid for slaves amongst other Muslim peoples.[4] The main source of trouble is supposed to have come from one particular group—the Bulala. These people were either an allied subordinate tribe or a clan whose leading lineage had split off from the Kanem royal line and had then grown in its independence and power until its leaders challenged the Kanem control of the kingdom.

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members of a lineage know exactly how they are related to all the other members of it, and together, they often form a corporate group, clan members may not be able to trace genealogical links with other clan members and often clansfolk are widely dispersed." See John Beattie, *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom* Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 3.

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[4] See R. H. Palmer, *Bornu, Sahara, and Sudan*, (London: John Murray, 1936), p. 195.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu. 175 648 167

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[5] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty. 173 648 688 669 174 648

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire. 174 643 174 167 648

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota- 175 643 614 648

[5] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ble, and these men maintained Bornu at an apogee of greatness until well into the
643 seventeenth century. One of these rulers, Idris Alooma, had a court scribe at the
[644] beginning of the seventeenth century, who wrote a number of accounts of his royal
[212] master's military expeditions. Luckily these have survived to give us a picture of Bornu warfare and government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, too, that Bornu was first mentioned on European maps, and from this time forward its fame became part of the legends of unknown kingdoms that lay inside the unexplored interior of Africa.

Bornu traditions claim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a decline in the power of the state. This is explained by the claim that the monarchy was becoming weak and overburdened with pomp, rituals, and religious study by the monarch. The ruling Mai appeared in public in a *fanadir*, or cage, which only his most trusted servants could approach and rarely led military expeditions himself. Much of this may be a reinterpretation of Bornu history by the second dynasty and their followers, who would naturally have played up the failures of the previous regime, when they took over in the nineteenth century. Contrarily
175 there are traditions of many successful military campaigns during this period and
648 Bornu's reputation as a great kingdom was still very widespread. Thus a wandering Englishman, Richard Tulley, who visited Tripoli at the end of the eighteenth century, spoke glowingly of what he had heard of Bornu's power. Parenthetically, he claimed that one of the Kanuri noblewomen living in Tripoli could speak the Italian language fluently.[6] On the other side of the case, Tuareg and Tubu raiders attacked the northern boundaries of Bornu and harassed the caravans with greater intensity than before.

The activities of these raiders are said to have increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is important to realize that the entire southern Sahara was a hotbed of unrest during this two hundred year period. In the 1590s the armies of El Mansur of Morocco finally managed to cross the Sahara and destroy the great empire of Songhai. Its cities of Timbuctu and Gau never again became the great emporia of trade, politics, and learning they had once been. The Moroccans could not establish, so far from home, any stable administrative organization capable of replacing the one they had destroyed. This suddenly released vassal groups in the Sahara, many of whom bordered on Bornu, and these were now free to raid, stimulate revolts, and pillage caravans, while their cousins to the west fought over the remains of the Songhai empire and the control of western trade
175 routes across the Sahara. It was during this same period of unrest that, all across
648 the Sudan, wandering holy men, especially nomadic Fulani of Futa Djallon in
668 Guinea, in Masina in the Upper Niger, and even in present day Nigeria, were expressing this disorder in religious terms. They preached through their leaders for a return to a truer and purer form of Islam. Often they claimed that those round them were pagans and had to be subdued in a holy war to reestablish Muslim order and law. It is in the light of all this turbulence that the so-called decline of Bornu
175 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should be seen. Elsewhere empires were
648 tottered or being formed, as in Futa Djallon; but Bornu remained, shaken perhaps by the general unrest of the period but still it survived, controlled its trade routes,

[113] [6] R. Tulley, *Letters Written During a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli*, Vol. II, (London: 1819), p. 51.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ruled its territory, and attempted to keep the peace with its neighbors and tributary states. 175 648

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area of what is now Northern Nigeria was rocked by the Fulani wars under a religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, who proclaimed a *jihad* or holy war. Ultimately these developments resulted in the founding of the empire of Sokoto. In Bornu the local Fulani organized an attack on the Kanuri kingdom, not so much to support the Sokoto Empire, as to take advantage of it and set up principalities of their own. By 1808, the Fulani in Bornu constituted a dangerous threat. Indeed they had succeeded in attacking, defeating and sacking the ancient capital of Bornu, Birni Ngazargamo. When this happened the ruler and his followers fled towards Lake Chad and were not able to return to the city until some unexpected aid from Kanem enabled them to deliver a powerful defeat to the Fulani forces some six weeks after they had abandoned the capital. A few years later in the winter of 1811–1812 another Fulani force attacked and pillaged the capital. Again the Kanuri were helped by this same Kanembu chief or Shehu who defeated the Fulani and sent them fleeing westward to the borders of Bornu.

However, this aid was to change the entire history of the empire. From 1812 onwards the traditional Bornu government lost its control of the state. The Shehu, Mohammed el Aminu, El Kanemi, or Shehu Laminu as he is remembered locally, had the only effective armed force in the Bornu kingdom, and he used this to control sporadic Fulani uprisings that continued until at least the 1820s. Both the traditional government and the Shehu moved away from the western and northern boundaries and set up in adjacent towns near the west shore of Lake Chad. People soon realized that the Shehu held power in the state and flocked to his town, while that of the old Magumi Sefuwa monarch became a small redoubt for those still loyal to the ancient dynasty. The former leaders still retained the royal title, held court, and collected or were given some of the state revenues. When they intrigued against Shehu Laminu, he simply deposed them. At the same time he made bargains with rival claimants to the old throne so that any changes in the royal office, made under his direction, would be to his own advantage. Meanwhile the ancient rulers came more and more to be simply ceremonial puppets in the hands of the real ruler of Bornu, Shehu Laminu. 175 642 648 643 662

Yet Laminu never asserted ultimate control over the kingdom. Even after he had built a new capital, at Kuka, for himself and his dependents, the small village of Birni nearby was maintained for the ancient monarchy. Across the entire Sudan and beyond, however, he was recognized as the real ruler of Bornu. He was the leader of its administration and his political, military, and judicial sagacity were and still are lauded in praise songs that match these secular skills with his supernatural powers. Indeed his fame spread to Europe as well. This resulted from the writings of Denham and Clapperton, who crossed the desert in the 1820s and remained for an extended period in Bornu learning about its people and of the double regency under Shehu Laminu's control. Laminu died in 1835 and it was not until a decade later in 1845 or 1846 that his son, Omar, finally did away with the last remaining members of the Sefuwa dynasty proclaiming himself and his royal heirs to be the only rulers of Bornu. This was the occasion for the formal inception of Bornu's second dynasty whose descendants are the ruling family in the kingdom at the pres- 175 642 643

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 648 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

mans and ruled it after World War I as a League of Nations Trust Territory, (later a U.N. Trust Territory) which meant in practice that it was part of the administrative responsibility of the colonial officials in Northern Nigeria. To appreciate more clearly what changes were brought about by colonialism, however, it is necessary to understand something of the social, economic, and in particular the political structure of Bornu, as it developed during pre-colonial times, and it is to this task that the remainder of the chapter is devoted.

Kanem-Bornu: The Social and Political Background

Only the sketchiest oddments of information are available about the nature of Kanem society. One Arabic record speaks of its capital as a city of tents, and traditions tell of a "Council of Nobles" that had a great deal of power over decision-making by the king, or Mai as he was called. From this and a few other data, such as the emphasis placed on the clan membership of persons mentioned in the early periods of the dynastic lists, we can attempt a reconstruction that fits the facts. The early kingdom seems to have been made up of patrilineal, named clans under senior or noble lineages (also named) whose heads formed the so-called "Council of Nobles" under the king or Mai. The Mai himself was head of the senior lineage of a senior clan considered to be the most important or powerful in the region. In all probability the term "Mai" or "king" was used for all leaders of clans just as it is today among some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of the Sahara to the north of Lake Chad who are closely related to the Kanuri. It also appears that the great Kanuri king lists are just what local people say they are—lists of the leaders of the Magumi Sefuwa or Sefuwa lineage heads of the Magumi clan. People in the clan considered themselves related by ties of descent to a common ancestor; but they could not describe the exact link with him, while they could describe the genealogical ties through men that made them all Sefuwa. Very probably these people utilized both cattle and domesticated plants although their early city of tents, referred to by Arabic historians, also suggests a greater emphasis on nomadism and the use of cattle. This is consistent with the clan organization described above; indeed this form of organization is widespread among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples in the Sahara, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Arabia. Later, as attested by the ruins at Garamoulé northwest of Lake Chad they probably built more permanent settlements and very likely used slaves from the south of Lake Chad as trade goods and as agricultural laborers.

How centralized and developed the early stages of the Kanem state really were is an intriguing and difficult question and one that can be solved only by extensive historical and archaeological research. Certainly concepts of statecraft from Islamic areas to the north of the desert and trips by Kanem monarchs to Mecca would have acquainted the rulers with the ideas of very highly centralized states. How much this actually affected Bornu is unknown, although it is possible that tensions over the power of the central monarch were another reason for the civil strife which led eventually to the migration of the Sefuwa from Kanem to Bornu.

After the Sefuwa set up their kingdom in Bornu the state became a much more highly organized and centrally controlled political system. The people who

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 came to Bornu—and who also came to be called Kanuri about this time—were the Sefuwa, their fellow Magumi clansmen and loyal followers, clients and slaves. The traditions declare that the leader who finally founded the new capital of Birni Ngazargamo curbed the power of his own nobles and insisted that all of them (except one who protected the western boundaries) should live in the capital, leaving subordinates to administer their fief-holdings.[7] It should also be remembered that 175 this newly formed Bornu kingdom (*ca.* 1450–1550 A.D.) tried to regain control over 642 Kanem and many of its other lost vassal territories in the Chad Basin and the • 648 southern desert. Thus they very quickly attacked and defeated Bilma 400 miles to the north of Lake Chad which was the center for the Saharan salt trade. They also had to defend the kingdom against raiding desert Tuareg and the rising power of Songhai in the west.

Kanem was a state organized around a confederacy of clans, with one clan and its leading lineage having a senior status. The migration of this leading group into Bornu helps to explain why the Bornu kingdom was more centralized than its 175 predecessor as a political system. In Bornu the Magumi Sefuwa had no other re- 64 lated clan or clan leaders to share power with; instead they were confronted by a group of pagan peoples spoken of under the general term of "So" in the traditions. Against these people they fought battles of conquest to establish their rule in the area and in the end absorbed many of them into a group known today as the Kanuri. It would have been much simpler to unify this one group under a leader who had no rival clan or clan leaders to cope with. Thus the new situation in Bornu 175 642 afforded both a stimulus and an opportunity for increased centralization of power in the political organization of the Kanuri state. It is against this growing centralization in the hands of the ruling monarch of Bornu that the following account of its structure should be gauged, for it is not always easy to portray change and development while describing how a society is organized.

Pre-nineteenth Century Bornu

175 643 At the head of the early Bornu state was the Mai or king. This office was hereditary in the male line, and all men whose fathers had been monarchs were eligible for the succession. The Council of Nobles, and accounts vary as to who these [646] were, chose the new monarch upon the death of the reigning one, although powerful rulers could obviously affect the choice. The royal office carried with it an aura of untouchability, remoteness, and sacredness. People referred to the Mai as "Master" using the term applied by slaves to their owners. People approached the royal cage in which the Mai was seated and prostrated themselves before the bars putting sand on their heads or going through the motions of doing so to indicate the humility and respect they felt in his presence.

175 644 Members of the royal family held titled offices. These included the monarch's own mother, his senior wife, and often a senior female relative, either a sister, half-sister, or more distant female relatives in the male line. The sons and

[7] A fief is a political unit within a state over which a superior has rights of tribute collection and political leadership (not necessarily exclusive rights) given to him by his or his ancestors' relationship to a monarch.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 631 634 tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 648 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 793 692 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the specialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 651 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom although records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroi-
439 dered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and
437 later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa,* a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

175 Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the
648 kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu
175 under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had
177 not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do
648 as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade,
634 which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the
175 nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was
177 called *ajia,* which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of vil-
648 lage areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area
632 head was—like the *ajia,* appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore
634 called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now
[622] headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

175 The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which
177 were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

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throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

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they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 929 [565] [1117] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on. 634 652

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government. 642 634

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas. 634 178

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria. 665 634 642 648

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the 665 208

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
[563] riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
[579] but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 121 182 592 829 44 571 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 121 178 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators [648] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding [177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid 177 [148] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 567 [439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose '<u>Mais</u>' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [565] <u>Shehu</u> (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to
[174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

648 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[131] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and
563 are numerous in the western sections of the province. In sim-
177 ilar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[463] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

177 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are
563 many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 The culture of a people never remains static; it is con-
105 stantly changing in response to forces, both external and in-
177 ternal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957)
[01] Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

648 greatly since that time, as Nigeria is an independent nation today.

The policy of the British in Northern Nigeria had been one of indirect rule. In this manner, a small administrative staff was able to govern a huge area, and the chiefs and Emirs of the North remained the political rulers in their own areas.

631 Bornu Province is divided administratively into five Emirates,
642 though the Emirate of Bornu overshadows the remaining four in geographic area, population, and political importance. The Emirates of Bornu and of Bama are Kanuri. The Emirs of Fika, Biu and Gashua rule over three small tribes, discussed in the preceding section, which are within the sphere of Kanuri influence. In addition to the Emirates, the provinces of the North are divided into districts, and each district has an appointed native District Head. The large Emirates are made up of many districts; the small Emirates sometimes have no more than a single district. Bornu Emirate has twenty-one districts.

648 Although the British ruled through the existing political system in Bornu Emirate, they controlled all important policy decisions and they had brought about important changes in the political organization of the Kanuri in order to carry out their policies. The actual relationship between the British Resident, who was in charge of the province, assisted by his staff of District Officers, and the Shehu, his Waziri and the Shehu's Council, differed radically from that officially stated. Although the British administration claimed to be merely advisory, it was

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appointments formally need not be approved by the British administration, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
631
178 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times, since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the political system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit, the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which protects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the protection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

175 643 642 was indeed absolute. Only the advice of his Imam or of his Koranic Malams might sway or alter his decisions, but this was no more than advice. It might be pointed out to him that a particular course of action was counter to the writings of the Koran, and he might ignore the advice at his peril, but the ultimate decision was his.

2. The Political Organization of the Empire in the Twentieth Century.

175 • 648 642 178 In 1893 the empire of Bornu suffered what seemed to be the final blow. An army under the leadership of Rabeh, a follower and foster son of Zubeir Pasha of the Sudan, defeated the army of the Shehu of Bornu, overran the empire, and for seven years subjected it to their plunder. In 1900 the French captured and killed Rabeh. Two years later the British entered Bornu. Their first act was to restore the line of the Shehus to the throne. Thus, the empire of Bornu was perpetuated by the colonial powers, though itself unable to resist attack successfully. Restoration by the British brought about a continuation and revival of the old political organization which persists into the present. Through this structure, with some additions and modifications, the British ruled for 58 years in Bornu.

175 648 634 178 From the point of view of the Kanuri villager, the political system under the British was hardly different from that under which his father had lived before the coming of Rabeh. The British did away with the chimas, replacing them with District

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
• 648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the
[642] two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [363] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and freebirth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

4. Changes in the Stratification System.

• 648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
178
565 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

698 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[643] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Ajia.

[GEIDAM]

491 dam with other towns first skirts the several canteens of the
[366] European trading companies as it enters the town, proceeds
across a wide open area of a mile until it reaches the town
361 proper, and terminates in a parking area. The town itself has
no wall, and no sharp boundary line marks its outer edges. In
three directions, south, east, and north, the town is bounded
by fields of millet, which begin immediately after the outlying
compounds end. To the west of the town lies the river Yobe,
but a strip of land about half a mile in width separates the
[249] river from the edges of the town. In that area are to be found
[134] garden plots, since the land along the river is particularly
[36] fertile, and, closer to the town, stock yards, the slaughtering
[232] area, and the cattle market, with its pens. Northwest of the
town is the tiny adjoining village of Koldi.

361 Southwest of the town, and south of the cattle market, is
648 the Government Reserve Area, a section of land reserved by the
colonial administration in every sizeable town and city where
Europeans are supposed to reside. It is physically set apart
from the African town. In this case, the sole government build-
ing is the Touring Rest house, over a mile from the town, high
on the banks overlooking the Yobe River. Another larger house,
remnant of a time when an army unit was stationed here years
ago, was rebuilt during the course of the year, and occupied
by the Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir James Robertson, during
a brief stay in Geidam. The Government Rest House is occupied
by British administrative officials in their tours of inspection

[GEIDAM]

361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 177 [439] There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

[GEIDAM]

44 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of
439 matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kero-
177 sene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cow-
[237] hides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same Euro-
[244] pean trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts
44 as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth,
439 once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the
452 use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends
244 to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balasma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into
[448] the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

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44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

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634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
692 a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
812 the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
632 of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

648 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
178 trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the
692 Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

634 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to oper-
692 ate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of
178 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri
648 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional
63 political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly
178 in the following example describing the functioning of the po-
625 lice in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian
648 Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of
[661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

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177 178 625 648 branches of the NA administration. Geidam has a Police Charge Office and a prison. Heading the police contingent in Geidam is a Sergeant, with two corporals and about fifteen men in his command. In September, 1956 the Sergeant in command was Sergeant Ali. He seemed to have a good relationship with both Alkali Baba Kura and with Yerima Mustapha, yet two months later he was replaced by a new man, Sergeant Usman. The reasons given were that he had had difficulties with the Ajia, who had asked that he be replaced. Sergeant Usman was not seen in the Ajari frequently, although Sergeant Ali had often been present 177 178 625 648 567 571 there. It was not until late in the field trip that the information was revealed (in private, of course) that the new Sergeant, Sergeant Usman, was a slave of Yerima's. Years ago, at the death of Laminu Jitia, the great-grandfather of Yerima Mustapha, the Shehu took for himself most of his property including a slave called Kazella Kadria. This, of course, is the Shehu's prerogative towards his kabuna, of which Laminu Jitia was one of the most prominent. Kazella Kadria was the grandfather of Sergeant Usman, who, strictly speaking, was a slave of the Shehu's. His own father grew up as a slave of the Shehu, but Sergeant Usman knows that Yerima Mustapha is the direct lineal descendant and successor to the position of his great-grandfather Laminu Jitia, to whom Sergeant Usman's grandfather once belonged, and he behaves accordingly to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia of Geidam. This relationship is never mentioned by either party, but it can be seen permeating every

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177 178 625 648 567 571 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 662 178 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a [Sol] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

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571 his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to
662 replace him with one of his own men.
178

178 The kabuna represent a special category in the adminis-
571 tration of the district. The colonial administration makes no
631 provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are
66 all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

571 Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some
634 are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

175 The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town
[103] called Dəmjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

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175 was an old town called Geidam Balara, from which the town today
[103] takes its name. In the eighteenth century, when the capital of Bornu was at Birni Ngazargamo not far off, Geidam was part of the Mai's lands. Later, when Kukawa became the capital, and the Mais were replaced by the Shehus, Geidam became part
175 of the fief granted to the Imam. Since Geidam District is
634 very large, it was divided among a number of chimas. The town
[632] of Geidam (Dəmjeri and Geidam Balara, at that time) was controlled by Kazella Ibrahim Geidama, a slave of the Imam who served as chima gana (literally little chima--serving the real chima who lived in the capital). Geidam was a kalyari, an area under the authority of a slave.

The first Ajia of Geidam, in the early years of the twentieth century was Kazella Sulama, a slave of the Shehu's. He was followed by Aba Rəfəgə, a son of Shehu Ibrahim, who served
[648] as Ajia of Geidam until his death in 1915. Maiduguri had not yet been built and the Mounted Infantry, along with many Europeans, were stationed in Geidam. Aba Rəfəgə was the most important of the Ajias at that time. Kazella Kakami (Kaigama) then became the Ajia of Geidam, where he served for almost thirty years until his death in January, 1944. Kaigama Kakami was the son of Kaigama Bilel, the commander of the army during the days of Shehu Laminu. His son, Kaigama Zubairu, succeeded to the title of Kaigama and to the office of Ajia of Geidam. Kaigama Zubairu remained Ajia of Geidam for ten years, until he was demoted to a smaller district, Dəmboa, in 1954. In 1954 Yerima

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693 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri
554 District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another yeung man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the same families tend to retain their positions of power and
[66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a reliable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group
692 justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Disputants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the zogors arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has disputants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia
[648] for sholo. The Alkali will settle disputes out of court. The British officially forbade Lowans and Ajias from hearing cases
[779] and arbitrating in disputes. However, Alkali Baba Kura says that according to the Koran, the settlement of disputes through

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627 Alkalis as Yerima is with Alkali Baba Kura, but Yerima would
663 put his influence to use only when affairs arise which directly
661 concern him.

627 In the eyes of talaka, sholo is the major means for keeping
829 the peace. They do not distinguish sharply between the resolu-
671 tion of conflicts through sholo and through judgments handed down in the courtroom. The Kanuri do not conceive of an impartial legal system which grants all individuals equal protection. Law is conceived of as mediation granted by particular individuals, some more trustworthy than others. Whether one brings one's complaint before the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan depends on whether one has greater trust in the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan. In any case, one brings one's complaint to be heard by a single man, with his particular whims, idiosyncracies and prejudices, and one chooses the man in whom one has the greatest confidence. According to the British view, sholo given by an Ajia or Lowan is not permitted,and is therefore not binding on the parties involved. A man who has received an unfavorable decision in sholo can complain to the court and the decision will be overruled. The Ajia or Lowan who heard the case will have difficulty because of it. This rarely happens because the talaka sees the situation from an entirely different viewpoint. When he brings a case for sholo and receives an adverse ruling, the dispute must end there as he has done everything possible for him to do in the situation, particularly if no bribes have been given (to his knowledge)

000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [563] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

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651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangali		3,000
haraji		41,000
	total taxes	£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
156 [648] in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

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56 177 [554] prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

The direct influence of the British colonial administration has removed the legal support behind the master-slave relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold, and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to their masters by the police. This has radically altered the relation between master and slave, so that the distinction between slave and free-born is significant only in special cases.

177 567 565 648

64 177 178 565 By and large, the colonial administration, because of its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as previously held power. However, some changes have been made by the British, so that representatives are elected to a Northern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam, political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapted to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order. Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another traditional group which has continued on into the present in Geidam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

634 177 178 565

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634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
[648] ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
665 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
648 sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

than Kanuri, and communication with the managers of the various trading companies in Geidam is in Hausa. Knowledge of Hausa among the Kanuri canteen operators is reflected in their attitudes towards the Hausa generally. This can be seen in the willingness of the Canteen Operators to marry Hausa women (see Table XXXV). Hausa is also the language of the colonial bureaucracy in Northern Nigeria, and all Europeans in administration have learned to speak Hausa. The number of Kanuri speakers among the European administrative personnel in Bornu Province is negligible. Therefore most of the Aristocracy and all of the NA Malams speak Hausa. In the remaining five groups, 11 individuals speak Hausa and 16 do not. Most of the lower class groups do not have much contact with Hausas and consequently do not speak their language.

With respect to knowledge of English, the picture is even more clear-cut. Only seven people in the sample speak English. One aristocrat (Yerima Mustapha) speaks a little English, and the entire group of NA Malams, all having been educated in European-style schools, speak English. No one else has any knowledge of the language.

It is interesting to note that knowledge of other languages is a common occurrence in this area. Fifteen cases of speakers of six additional languages are found in this small sample. Of course a few individuals speak several languages, while others speak only Kanuri. There are six speakers of Shuwa Arabic, and five speakers of Fulani represented. There are almost as many

*177 the usefulness of the activities in which the agents of this
75 authority engage. Taken at face value, the response of the
*829 Aristocracy in column 5 seems to make little sense. Its mean-
*565 ing becomes apparent when the role of this group within the
744 social structure is understood in relation to the behavioral area being investigated.

691 Arbitration of disputes between individuals has been dis-
627 cussed in some detail in the sections dealing with political
*177 organization. The traditional Kanuri way of dealing with inter-
648 personal disputes is for the complainant to bring his dispute before an authority figure for arbitration. For the bulk of the populace this means that disputes are brought before the Lowan or the Ajia. The Alkali is also a part of traditional Kanuri society but his authority now derives from external sources. British colonial government has set up the judiciary as an arm of government, and the Kanuri Alkali is part of this larger system. The decisions of the Alkali given in court are backed up by this external source of power. The judgments of the Lowan or the Ajia when he hears cases in sholo receive their support solely from the power vested in positions within Kanuri society. Willingness to take disputes to court, therefore, represents a tendency to seek for sanctions outside of
*177 traditional Kanuri society. The data on this question are pre-
691 sented in Table XXVIII. Responses in column 1 state simply
627
*829 that the individual would bring his complaint before the Ajia (or Lowan). The attitude of the Talaka whose response is re-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 291]

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311 is also supported by estimates made by officials of the Bornu agricultural department whose records indicate that only seven per cent of the total Emirate land area is under cultivation while another eight to nine per cent is resting land. Since the agricultural potential of the area is relatively homogeneous this means that there is no land pressure and no problem of over-population.

631 Bornu Emirate is a political unit, among others, within Bornu Province and the latter is in turn one of the provinces making up the Northern Region, the largest of the three regions, of Nigeria. The Emirate is under the nominal rule of the Shehu of Bornu and his council, with this latter body under the executive direction of the Wasiri of Bornu. These leaders all reside at the Emirate capital, Maiduguri, which is also the capital of Bornu Province. The entire area of the Emirate is divided into twenty-one districts each under a District Head who resides in the district capital. In its turn, each district is sub-divided into village areas under the headship of a Lawan (village area head). Finally under the Lawan are the wards of his village and the hamlets surrounding his village within the village area boundaries. These wards and hamlets are headed by men called Bolama.

648 The colonial government cuts across this semi-traditional structure. Its center is at Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region of Nigeria, and its representatives reside throughout the region, with their headquarters at each provincial capital. The Resident Officer of Bornu Province is the senior colonial official in the province and is responsible to Kaduna for the administration of several Emirates and divisions of the province of which Bornu Emirate is only one, albeit the largest. Government departments of education, forestry, agriculture, and the like are responsible for their programs throughout the entire province and work through local native authority departments in each Emirate.

175 642 [131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central 175 • 648 Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli.(1) Friendship was contracted with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli [779] as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time.(2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo.(3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Ishah al Kanemi".(4)

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travellers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones.(5)

173 669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

(1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit.Vol.II, p. 641.)
(2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
(3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
(4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
(5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans.H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

173 669 ing fashion. The legend claims[1] that Dunama, the great 17th Mai of Kanem (1221-1259 A.D.) "laid the foundation for the ensuing disaster of the Empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu", for it (the talisman) called forth and provoked every powerful man to ambition and intrigues, and there followed after this reign a period of civil wars, and rapid changes in the monarchy, often involving regicide. It was at this time that the vassal state of the Bulala on the eastern boundary of Kanem grew towards an ever stronger independence, and finally toppled the Kanuri kingdom. We are told in the Chronicle translated by Barth that during the reign of the 27th Mai, Daud (1377-1386 A.D.) the Kanuri were decisively [131] beaten by the Bulala.[2] By 1394 A.D., the 31st Mai, Omar (1394-1398 A.D.) finally gave up Kanem and came to Bornu proper to set up a kingdom in retreat somewhere between the present city of Maiduguri and the town of Gujba.

There followed a period of unrest and internal strife for about 75 years, during which many kings took the throne and were in turn overthrown or murdered. The kingdom was in a constant state of civil war 175 within and set upon by enemies from without. Palmer[3] in his researches 648 has found references to a letter sent at this time to Cairo from the Kanuri monarch, asking the Caliph to order the Arabs of Wadai to stop helping the Bulala raid amongst the Kanuri for slaves, since they (the Kanuri) were all good Muslims, and not infidels to be treated as potential slaves for the taking. More evidence of the "Sturm und Drang" quality of the period is indicated by the fact that a Mai of this time lived away from Bornu in the Hausa city of Kano which had been in the past a vassal state of the Kanuri empire.

(1) Barth, H., op. cit. Vol. II; King list, pp 633-671.
(2) Ibid; p. 634.
(3) Palmer, R. The Bornu Sahara and Sudan, (London) 1936, p. 218

175
642 However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly [103] in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Ye [361] (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damasak and Geidam, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province. [648] His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north- [721] east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire 175 of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portugese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe sometime around the beginning of the 17th century.(1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of Timbuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.(2)

[721] When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have 174 fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.
(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara, London, 1933, p. 73

174 area before the arrival of the Kanuri. French workers claim that the Kotoko tribe who live today around the area of Fort Lamy are the contemporary descendants of the ancient So peoples, and French archeologists have been digging up "So" sites for some years.(1) Kanuri traditions speak of the So as "giants" whom they finally vanquished after suffering great tribulations. Many of the monarchs in the Bornu King lists are described as dying in battle against the So. The stories of these "giants" are not however confined to Kanuri traditions, but can be found all over the Chad area, and well up into the desert, especially around Bilma.(2) This last point suggests a hypothesis that the So were really not any one group of people but a linguistic category in the Central Sahara, referring to aboriginal inhabitants who opposed the incoming group, or, against whom "our" group had to fight in times gone by. To support this argument, there is the evidence that the word So is an Arab usage from the Maghreb, which refers generally to all dark skinned peoples of Tibesti and the Sudan.(3) When it is realized that the first writers of Kanuri history must have been able to speak Arabic, as well as having a knowledge of its script, it is not surprising that this North African word for the indigenous people of the Sudan should be carried down to the present day. This leads to the conclusion that any search for the So culture, using the traditions of the present day inhabitants, is doomed to disappointment, for it is most likely that there was not one, but many So cultures and peoples.

175 • 648 Soon after the founding of the city of Birni Gazargamo, Bornu achieved a florescence in its history. During this second zenith of the Kanuri empire, Bornu vied with Songhai as the most powerful of the great Sudanic states. Embassies were maintained at Tripoli and the Hausa states

(1) Seliquer Capitaine; Elements d'une Etude Archeologique du Pays du Tchad, Bull. IFAN, Vol. 7, 1945, pp.191-209.
(2) Buchanan, Angus; Sahara, quoted in Palmer, R. op. cit., p. 126.
(3) Bovill, W.E., op. cit. p.23.

175 648 paid tribute to imperial Bornu, although very often the Songhai would extend themselves and the Hausa would face around for a short while to bow to the suzerainty of Timbuctu.(1) Kanuri power also extended up into the Fezzan taking in the important salt works of Bilma. In the east, Bornu hegemony probably reached into the Darfur region and in the south to the present town of Biu in south Bornu.(2)

175 178 From this pinnacle of majesty at the beginning of the 17th century a slow decline ensued which continued from the time of the 55th Mai, Muhammed (1602-1618 A.D.), son of Mai Idris Alooma, through the 18th century until the collapse of the second Kanuri empire in 1808. Although none of the writers are agreed on the causes of this decline it is possible that the monarchy and the court life had become so overly elaborate and ritualized, that it hampered the operation of effective leadership in a state requiring constant vigilance and warfare for its survival. It is reported that throughout almost the entire 18th century, the Mais rarely, if ever, left the confines of the palace during their reigns.(3) Traditions during this period tell of famines and pious leadership, rather than administrative and military successes.

175 721 From about the 14th century onwards a nomadic cattle people, the Fulani, had been filtering into the Sudan from the northwest and slowly moving across the whole of what is today Northern Nigeria. In February of 1804, for a number of political and religious reasons, a Fulani religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, declared a Hejira, or Flight from Digal (evil), which was an expression of defiance and aggression towards the Hausa leaders. From this period forward he and his warrior-scholar son, Bello, carried on a holy war in the Sudan that resulted finally in an empire

(1) Shaw, F. L. (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p. 279
(2) Arkell, A.J. The History of Darfur; Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33 p. 246.
(3) Stennings, D. Nomads of the Great Forest (Ms.) 1955

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Chapter III

The Colonial Period

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The particular events and social changes occurring in Bornu during the last half century must be viewed as taking place within the larger setting of the British colonial regime of Northern Nigeria. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that during this period an English colonial administration had been grafted onto the indigenous social systems of the Northern Region through the use of what has come to be called "indirect rule".(1) This conjunction of the African social systems under the subordination of colonial rule has resulted in expanding trade, the inception of western education, the development of a native civil service, increased contact with other tribal groups, and a network of modern roads and means of communication. How these changes and the policy of "indirect rule" have affected Bornu is the concern of the present chapter.

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Before the British arrived in Bornu, the French had already defeated and killed Rabeh and his son. They then re-instated the Kanuri Shehu, Sanda Kura, and subsequently his younger brother Garbai. These two ruled from Dikwa, Rabeh's old capital, which at the turn of the century was considered to be in French territory. The French allowed the Kanuri rulers to institute any system of political organization they wished as long as they could deliver 80,000 Maria Theresa dollars per annum to the French as tribute. In 1902, Governor Lugard sent Captain Morland to Bornu and it is reported that the Captain ". . . sent for Garbai and formally installed him as Shehu of British Bornu at Kuka.(2)

(1) See Lugard, F.D. (Sir) The Dual Mandate, (London) 1929; Cook, A.N. British Enterprise in Nigeria, (Philadelphia) 1943; Burns, (Sir) Alan, History of Nigeria, (London) 1955; Coleman, J.S., Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, (California) 1958.

(2) Annual Report: Bornu Province 1909. In the Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Province, Nigeria.

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648 Data on how this was accomplished were not available in the public
643 records of Bornu province. Therefore it can only be assumed (provisionally, until more information becomes available) that the British promise to rebuild Kuka, the old 19th century capital, must have appealed to the Shehu, and/or the French conceded to British demands for the Shehu to be brought to Bornu. Certainly since Britain had claim to Bornu as part of Nigeria from the days of the Chartered Companies (late 19th century), and was making good the claim, it was only logical from their viewpoint that the traditional ruler of Bornu should be allowed to sit on the throne
175 in the area historically connected with his reign. Taking the evidence
648 of the French defeat of Rabeh, and their entry into Bornu with an armed force to defeat and kill his son, plus their establishment of the Shehu, it would seem as if the French from east of Lake Chad were trying to limit British expansion into Bornu by a fait accompli of possession, even though the western Chad basin had been ceded to England in the councils of European diplomacy.(1) In any event, all this manoeuvring on the part of the French proved of no avail, for it had also been decided in Europe that the Cameroons were to be administered by Germany, and the French soon had to cede even the area south of Lake Chad to that country.

175 "The first important step by the new British overlords was
648 the sending out of the fiefholders to live in their fief-ships in 1903 ...
634 These fiefs afterwards evolved into Districts and the most suitable men available were put in charge of them, the Shehu always being consulted
[631] in the selection. These men are now Ajia or District Headmen. This formed a chain of responsibility in the administration which the size of the Emirate and its small European staff immediately demanded."(2) However

(1) Langer, W.L. The Diplomacy of Imperialism,(New York) p. 131
(2) Annual Report 1909; op. cit.

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648 before the fiefs developed into Districts it was discovered that a divi-
634 sion of interests was involved between the British authorities and the
643 Shehu. The British were motivated by their own ideas of administration, i.e. to form "a chain of responsibility" from the local level up through the Shehu to the Resident, while the Shehu evidently tried to have as many fiefs created as possible in order that there would be a multitude of District Heads, thereby increasing the number of offices with which he could reward his supporters. The matter was settled by the British who limited the number of districts to a compromise between what they believed to be the traditional structure, and what they considered to be a workable arrangement in terms of their own requirements of administering the Emirate.

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648 When the District Head arrived in his District with his retinue
634 of supporters he found that the local Village Headman (the Lawan), who
632 were strange to him, were being supported by the British because of their hereditary claims to village leadership. The British soon discovered that it had been the policy of the traditional fief-holder "to supplant the hereditary headmen by slaves (or followers) of the Chima."(1) Nevertheless, when a new fief-holder took office they conducted investigations to find who were the pre-British (and usually pre-Rabeh) Village Headmen and proceeded to appoint these people as Village Heads. In following this policy a political structure was created which utilised two potentially conflicting principles of social organization. In appointing District Heads the personal relationships of upper class leaders to the Shehu was considered to be the acceptable criteria, while the hereditary claims of local leaders were considered to be the basis for Village Headships. Thus,

(1) Patterson, J.R. Report on Maguseri District 1920; in Maguseri District Notebook; Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Prov. Nigeria.

175 648 634 632 the new District Head going out to his district was confronted with a situation in which he had a territory comprising a group of villages which were to be under his organized administration, and which were at the same time headed by people with whom he had no personal relationships.

Entering into this situation, the District Head responded in several ways. He could try to win the loyalty of the local Village Heads to himself, or conversely some Village Heads, sensing danger in the new situation, might come to the District Head and ask to be "his man." This meant that the District Head had expanded his following to include the Village Head. However, there were obstacles to this simple method of rapprochement. If the Village Head already had a strong functioning relationship to some other "big man" in the Kanuri state who was a powerful person in the post-1900 organization, or if the District Head was anxious to reward his own supporters with lucrative and prestige giving roles, 175 648 634 632 661 then this method was not too successful. The District Head could also try to manipulate the situation so that the Village Heads who he found the most truculent in accepting his overlordship, were regarded as inefficient, corrupt, or immoral in the eyes of the British, so that they would be deposed and then he could replace them with recruits from among his own following. Thus, in 1919, a British District Officer (D.O.) visiting Magumeri District, was told by Abba Kiari, then District Head of Magumeri, that two of the Village Heads in his District were inefficient and should be deposed. He felt also that because of the proximity of the two towns they should be united under one Village Head, and he offered one of his own followers as the logical candidate for the new appointment.(1) Finally, the District Head could simply carry on as if the British were

(1) Whitely: Report on Magumeri 1919; in Magumeri District Notebook

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648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
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632 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organisation from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

(178) Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

(166) The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilization by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organization, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Maguméri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

175 441 452 The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilized for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradeness well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

175 439 The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones.(1)

175 177 648 The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

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177 schools, a few more roads were built or improved and once in a while
648 extended, local European trading Companies reported "steady progress" in business volume, living conditions in the province for European staff "steadily improved", medical facilities "steadily expanded" and so on. Certainly there always seemed to be a rather high turn over in chiefs, but this came to be part of the expected regularity of life in Bornu.

What in effect had occurred was an adjustment. The British administration had set up the organization of its indirect rule and the task of each new Resident Officer in Bornu was to implement Lord Lugard's policies to the best of his abilities. The general methods of resistance to the English administration were well known by both the Kanuri and the English and no jarring outside influence entered the scene to upset the gentlemanly tug-of-war which characterized the colonial contacts as a kind of game in which everyone knew the rules and the conditions of play, while the over-all techniques of the players did not change much through time.

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How the "game" was played at the political level can be seen in the following example of the deposition of a chief, taken from the provincial records at Maiduguri, concerning the District Head of Mobber between 1929 and 1931.(1) Mobber District is in the extreme northeast of Bornu Emirate on the border between Nigeria and French West Africa. Its relative isolation from British surveillance contributed to the maintenance of officially prohibited practices well into the late 1920's.

During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that

(1) c.f. Mobber District File; Provincial Office, Maiduguri.

175 648 634 632 During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930, Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situation. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admitted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the Lawans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order. The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr. Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O. arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri for hearings on the matter.

175 648 634 643 692 On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had requested the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignorance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising of personal tax levies.

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In another meeting between the Shehu and the Resident later that month, the Mobber matter was brought up again and the Shehu agreed that things did not seem to be going too well in Mobber. On the 14th of August, the Shehu suggested to the Resident when the Mobber misdemeanours were mentioned that the Mobber peasants were an extremely difficult group to manage and possibly chimas might be required for the proper administration of the District. At the end of August the Shehu requested of the Resident that the five men who had been arrested by A.D.O. Reed be sent back to their homes. The Resident agreed in principle, but felt that the one who had beaten a villager should be kept in Maiduguri for a little longer yet. He added that the men could be sent back to their homes only if the Shehu would take full responsibility for any further trouble in the Mobber area.

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In September and again in October of 1930, A.D.O. Reed was sent up to check the situation in Mobber District. The chimas were operating as before and the District Head was reported as being "not respectful" to the British officer on tour. Only one change [632] had occurred. An entire village area appeared to have been relinquished by the District Head since one of the Shehu's sons had been appointed its Lawan (Village Head) by the Wazirí.

Several months later in February 1931, the District Head of Mobber appeared in Maiduguri for an annual meeting and was warned by the Resident that "unless considerable improvement was shown he would be dismissed." From this point on, there were very few items in the Mobber District file in which the "Mobber case" was actually referred to. One short item tells of a rumour picked up by a junior officer to the effect that the District Head of Mobber was a favor-

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ite of the Shehu and was married to a daughter of the Wazirí (head of the Shehu's council). By the end of 1931 the matter began to congeal. The D. O. of Bornu Emirate wrote a note to the Resident claiming that the time had come to dispose of the District Head of Mobber since he obviously would not reform, and then suggested several names as replacements. In early 1932 the matter was mentioned briefly in a report to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces from the Resident of Bornu. It stated that "the Shehu and Council have found it necessary to depose the District Head of Mobber." Several people were nominated by the D. O. and by the Council for the replacement and the matter was closed when a man suggested by the Council was mentioned in reports as the new District Head of Mobber.

The British administrators had tried to persuade the District Head of Mobber for two years to stop using his own system of political organization and work through the Village Heads, i.e., the political structure recognized by themselves. His inability to comply finally brought about his removal. But the entire push and pull of the deposition did not materially disturb relations between the British and the political leadership of Bornu.

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Certainly the case hints at a well-organized Kanuri political system operating independently of the one formally recognized by the British. However, it also illustrates the formalized and balanced relationship which existed between the Resident and the Shehu. The Resident patiently tried to press forward with his own conception of government, while the Shehu was at the same time attempting to mollify English demands in order that the Emirate political organization could be maintained unmolested. The unsettling feature of the relations between the Kanuri and the English

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648 political organisation was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

178 This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's re-
434 vealed, by such examples as the Mobber case, has been upset by recent
[435] events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend."(1) Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials."(2) The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mustering out pay of the returning soldiers(3) had hit Bornu unprepared.

178 In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the
433 part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as
648 there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemp-

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1946
(2) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1947
(3) Pedler, F.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Zaria; in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

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648 orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organization of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A. [511] salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs.

178 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
619 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
648 brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim popula-
177 tion of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

[184] Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an
571 ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers;
614 pepper sellers and kola-nut wholesalers. Joking relations also hold
• 648 between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tàra; Kuburi and Tàra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bédde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to
602 cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

582 557 For example, in 1930 the District Head of Mobber, who was in grave danger of being dismissed from his position by the British, contracted a marriage with a daughter of the Wazirí of Bornu.(1) This was his own way, the Kanuri way, of attempting to strengthen his waning political position in the State. He felt that a marriage link between himself and the household of the Wazirí would make it more difficult for the higher powers to dispose of him, and would enlist the aid of the Wazirí, the second most powerful man in the Kanuri political organisation, on his behalf. [648] The British administration, however, did not take into account the feelings of fathers-in-law for sons-in-law(2) when judging political performance, and so the manoeuvre was in the end to no avail.

The nyia kam rukatabe can also refer to a marriage which is initiated purely for the sake of marrying a woman or a girl, whose attachment to ego will obviously profit him economically. She is often wealthy herself, or is a wealthy heiress. Thus a high ranking person was observed to spend a great deal of money (this might almost be termed an "investment") for a virgin girl who was the only heir of a rich old man of lower social rank to himself. Informants described this as a true nyia kam rukatabe (marriage with a rich man's girl).

582 587 557 565 By their very nature marriages of this variety are more commonly of the virgin type. However, young girls who divorce and return to the households of their luwali, as tradition prescribes, very often can be utilized for such marriages in their second or possibly even third unions. Since high ranking women are more often in seclusion there is a greater probability that successive dispensations after div-

(1) See above; chap. III.
(2) The official records do not give the actual biological linkage of the girl to the Wazirí, and it is therefore impossible to tell what kind of a ward she was in the Wazirí's household.

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the [648] beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [271] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are [369] sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in the large urban centre. 565 463 602 At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Maguneri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

[p. 229]

Chapter VIII

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 ### The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organiza- [571] tion with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] [632] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

632 if the matter is ratified by a person of authority in their community. Thus if a man in Magumeri town wishes to move his compound walls in order to expand the size of his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it and they both go to the Lawan and speak to him of the decision. Lawan asks his men to find out if the contiguous neighbours object, and if not, the action is ratified. This supervisory function of political leaders, especially the Lawan, is a well used mechanism for avoiding possible conflicts in the interpersonal relations of people in town and village settlements.

632 651 The Lawan collects two kinds of taxes, although only one is officially recognized by the N.A. Firstly, there is a tax collected for the state from all settled people in the village area which is in the form of a property assessment on all males over the age of eighteen to twenty. Any amount the Lawan obtains with the aid of his organization above the amount written on the tax receipt stubs, is (illegally) [661] his own income. Overtaxing in this manner is a widely accepted prac- [648] tice, but must be kept within limits, since a complaint to the British by a resentful peasant could bring on the dismissal of the Lawan.

632 651 661 The second tax collected by the Lawan is the zakat or tithe on farm produce. Unlike the first tax, there is no official sanction for this levy beyond that of tradition, and the power and authority of [648] the Lawan in his Village Area. Colonial officials assured the writer that this practice was illegal and occurred only sporadically. In a survey of 75 households in three Village Areas (i.e., under three different Lawans) all peasants who had produced a farm crop reported paying a tithe in kind or approximately ten per cent of their millet crop. In twelve cases the household heads declared that they had given ten per cent of all crop production including millet, beans and groundnuts.

634 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A. He (1)
647 had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the
662 DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

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634 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are
642 extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form. (2)

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Waziri (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

631
634 personnel, and ratifies all appointments, dismissals and transfers of
642 the N.A. The DH may be informed of directives either from the Wazirí's office or from the relevant Department which would also inform their local District personnel.

648 Officially, today, the British personnel both technical and administrative, perform an advisory, not an authoritative, part in the political organization. Although much of the "advice" is given at the center, there is some contact between the colonial service officials and the District during the touring duty of the officers. Such visits are always publicized beforehand to the local officials and the British officer is always accompanied by a Shehu's Representative. Technical officers are generally concerned with their own particular program in the area and unless they feel that the local authorities are being uncooperative, they do not interfere in local or State politics. The administrative officers have a much wider range of interests which covers all areas of government not directly under the concern of some technical department, i.e. taxation, courts of law, District Councils (local government) and complaints by the peasants against their chiefs. Some also take an interest in one or more technical branch and report their findings to the relevant department after their touring duties have brought them into contact with local programs.

634 Informally the DH has a house in the palace ward in the
203 capital and his followers there are links between himself and the
[631] center. The Wakil (chief follower) in charge of the town house visits the Shehu regularly and represents the DH in the capital. Besides this source of contact with the center, the DH receives information from N.A. messengers, policeman and traders who travel continually from Maiduguri through the Districts. By the judicious giving of gifts to

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
634 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
665
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments
of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions
representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked
to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection
than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had in-
herited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an
effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than a-
nother DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Waziri
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant
contact of the Waziri with all of the agencies of government including
the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the
workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realised
662
648 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his
faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the
state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as leg-
itimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a
DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bersum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

634
651 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts, the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

634 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their
631 enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of
• 648 changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

643 In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the
[368] palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization.
[101] As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

643 648 [114] That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocentricism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Wazirí and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in [829] reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state.(1)

645 647 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Wazirí, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

[Footnote continues on p. 258]

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

665 it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come
641
[186] to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should sup-
647 port the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate
[648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union)(1), is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar (1) and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Kagumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organising relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

Chapter X

Summary and Conclusions

178
642 The description of pre-Colonial Bornu has indicated that despite the rise and fall of its fortune the Kanuri political organization has had a remarkable resiliency throughout the last millenium. As long as the system of feudal organization remained with its nucleus at the capital city and court of the monarch, then the rise and fall of the empire was not fatal to its continuity. Kanuri feudalism is a segmentary corporate political structure; while the top remains intact, the expansion and contraction of the State itself bears no relation to its survival.

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631 The traditional background from which the present society obtains its roots has been altered in this century by contact with British colonialism. In Northern Nigeria the administration was deeply affected by the views of its founder Lugard, whose own control of the organization of the regional colonial service ensured that many of its norms, procedures and its overall policy would be an embodiment of his personal philosophy of colonialism. In Bornu, this meant that the pre-Rabeh Kanuri leaders regained their old positions, the Shehu was placed at the head of the State (now called the Bornu Emirate), and the fief-holders now called District Heads or Ajias, went to live in "bush" on their respective fiefs. The Village Heads within each district were appointed because of hereditary claims to the position while the District Heads over them were chosen because of their relationship to the monarch and/or other powerful groups at the capital. This set up possible conflicts between DH's and the Village Heads in their districts
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642 which has lasted to the present day. The policy of the British was to rule through and strengthen the authority of the native leaders, while

175 enforcing compliance with the "fundamental laws of humanity" (which
• 648 ruled out the slave trade). The European and the African were to co-
642 operate in administering the country but live separate lives socially,
[563] while western ideas and technology were to be introduced slowly when and if they would be acceptable, and only when capable of being financed on local revenues.

175 Out of this organization there grew a readily identifiable
648 English sub-culture whose uniqueness was a product of its particular
563 English upper class background and its adjustment to the common stimulus of Northern Nigeria. Their standards of administrative judgment came from Lugard and their common origins in English society; their hopes and fears, frustrations and satisfactions, grew out of the common work situation to be found in the British administration of the northern Emirates.

Because of the dearth of trained local personnel for carrying on the day to day office work and record-keeping of administration, the southern Nigerian, predominantly the Ibo, was introduced to Bornu. They soon came as skilled and semi-skilled labourers, carpenters, builders, bricklayers, mechanics and traders, and so in Bornu a minority group of southerners, mostly Christian, and more acculturated to Western ways became an established, although separate, part of the society.

175 After the inception of colonial rule the interaction be-
648 tween the British administration and the native political organization soon settled into a fairly steady pattern in which the British pushed continually for conformity to their own values in political organization, education, taxation, trade, etc. The Bornu officials and others who contacted the British, in their response, maintained as much of Kanuri culture as they could while at the same time learning what to

175 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the
648 British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The
178 ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been
[433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the
[494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 The introduction of the few European trading houses has
441 served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

177 441 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 • 648 642 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political [182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 571 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behaviour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

621 571 in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name for this constant and fundamental organisation in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organisational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organization is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organization of the Emirate.

631 571 The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimized and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organization of the next higher level in the political structure.

631 642 In practice there are factors present which make it impossible for the Kanuri political organization to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository [648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organization, and tends besides to create ambiguous

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648 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political roles.

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665 The results of this complexity leads to large factions each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State. Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

[172] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 3]

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(Top) A district head in his reception room; behind him his clients are counting tax returns. The bags on the floor are shillings.

(Bottom) The palace of the Shehu of Bornu.

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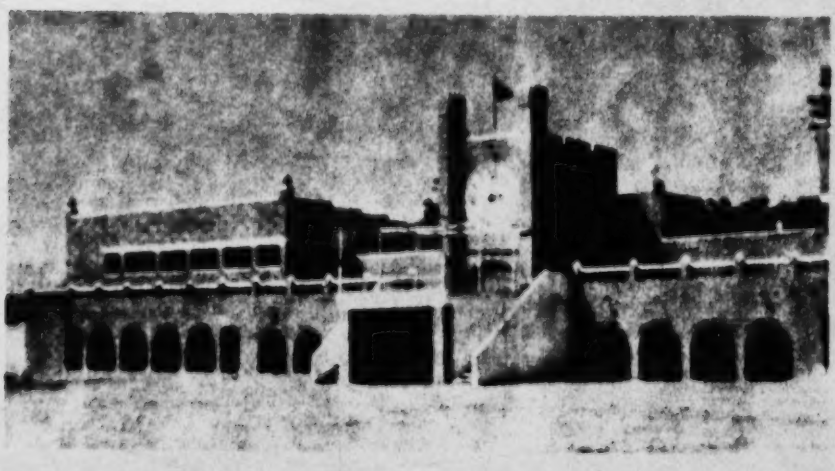

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter
642 case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to
631 his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he
634 wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to
648 the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the spe-
793 cialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurispru-
692 dence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom al-
651 though records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Tributes could be quite large; there are records of payments from Kanem to Bornu in the sixteenth century that mention amounts of 1000 head of cattle per year. 175 651

Along with taxation and other demands such as annual military service, there was a system of exemption whereby persons or groups were released from their obligations to the state in return for some service—usually prayers and other religious duties. These exemptions, *Mabram,* were made by royal declaration in writing which stipulated that facets of a person's obligation were henceforward considered to be *haram* or forbidden, like the eating of pork. One of the oldest of these, given to the family of Umme Jilma, declares that the family is forever exempt from (a) entertaining the king's men during the dry-season military and tax collection campaigns, (b) from *diya* or blood compensation for injuries inflicted on others by accident, and (c) all forms of tribute and taxes. In time, however, all these exemptions were often honored more in the breach or renegotiated. Thus one sixteenth-century monarch ordered a large group to go to war. These people promptly refused on the basis of a *Mabram* given them by a previous ruler. When the king insisted, the entire group prepared to leave his kingdom. However a compromise was worked out in which they accepted military service and paid practically no taxes. This very same group is mentioned again in the traditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Shehu Laminu ruled that their exemptions should pertain only to the leaders of the group, not the entire set of male line descendants of the original holders of this privilege, who by this time had become a very large population. 175 651 701

In its apogee during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bornu kingdom was an expansionist power, and warfare was the state function par excellence. According to traditions and written records, as many as seven or eight military campaigns a year were not uncommon; this meant an expedition might leave Bornu every six or eight weeks during the dry season. With so much militarism the techniques of warfare elaborated accordingly. From at least the sixteenth century onward, Bornu imported muskets, swords, chain mail which were vital and ancient parts of the Saharan trade, although such armaments were also manufactured by Bornu craftsmen as well. 175 721 [411] [914] [439]

The army itself was organized into regiments, representing a local area or an ethnic group under their own leaders, and they went into battle according to a well laid out military strategy. Campaigns were amost always conducted against walled towns. The shield bearers advanced first; then after it was felt that the poison arrows of the enemy were exhausted, the rest of the army would advance either storming the walls or forcing the town dwellers to come out and fight—whereupon muskets and cavalry were used. Generally speaking open encounters were quite unusual; the Bornu army was large, well disciplined, and well equipped, while the town dwellers were weak in all these respects and would usually try to flee once the siege went against them. Fallen towns were then mercilessly looted and the inhabitants killed or enslaved. 175 704 72

After the campaign and the distribution of booty by the leaders, the army disbanded. Leaders of various territorial ethnic groups swore allegiance to the king and arranged for the next campaign to be held so many days hence. At that time, criers were sent around to local markets stating the date and place of rendezvous for the army. Able bodied men were expected to go or send a representative bear- [203]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

came a very powerful group of chiefs through whom the kingdom was administered. When these men went to their districts, sometimes they had precolonial ties in these areas as big lords—some of the constituent towns in the district were their former fiefs; sometimes however they were complete strangers to the area. Besides this there was a constant shuffling of different district heads through transfers, dismissals, retirements, and deaths. The various village area heads under each district head were chosen on the basis of investigations conducted by the British colonial officials to find out who among the population had the hereditary right to leadership for a particular local settlement and its satellite communities. Very often there was no tie of previous loyalty between the village area head and the new district head. Previously the problem had been solved by sending out a chima gana or junior lord who represented the fief-holder. He had lived in the fief and created a set of loyal local followers. At first district heads did the same things. They sent out their own representatives—now called chima—to run the village areas in their district for them. This practice was soon discovered by the British and as early as 1910 was declared illegal, although it continued on until well into the 1930s, and there are even some district heads today who admit they use chima to ensure control of their district. In Chapter 6 we will take up this problem again and examine it in more detail within the organization of the district.

The central government of the emirate has undergone a number of significant changes under colonialism. At first the Shehu collected taxes on settled peoples through the district heads and taxes on nomads through two trusted slave nobles. This proved unsatisfactory to the British who very early in the century changed the system so that each district head was responsible for tax collection on both settled and on nomad populations in his district. This weakened the power of the Shehu, but at the same time (*ca.* 1914) the British began enforcing among themselves the idea that they must deal with the Bornu government through the Shehu and his Council. Thus good or bad reports of the district heads or village area heads had to be officially put through the Shehu giving him a great deal of either protective or punitive power over his district and village chiefs.

After 1914 there was an increasing effort to create a working Council for the Shehu with a modern treasury from which local planning could be financed. Starting with only a few members it has grown slowly through the years to function as a cabinet with a Waziri or chief minister at its helm. Each councilor has a portfolio or Native Authority department, such as Education, Works, Agriculture, and so on, and these have central offices in the capital with representatives spread out in district capitals throughout Bornu. The experience in this twentieth-century emirate has produced Kanuri who now take part in regional and national politics so that men from Bornu sit in Kaduna, Lagos, London, and even at the United Nations in New York.

The movement of fief-holders out into the bush to administer districts produced a district capital where the ajia or district head resides. To this capital he brought his urban followers; and to the village as well came the district judge and his retinue. As the Native Authority departments developed, local representatives of the various civil service departments of the emirate government came out to the district capital as well. This makes the district capital a more complex and urbanized center and has forced the effects of such urbanization to spread widely

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
[578] are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
[627] outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
[692] in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in
all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
[103] either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
[651] present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken
by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
622 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
159 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
621 that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
[627] tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not ac-
[692] cepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
[592] named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few
[571] unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these com-
[651] pounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he
recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always
[692] consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
[592] sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

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621
622 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such
[633] as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced.

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan.

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge.

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate.

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government.

632 593 [893] The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have positions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration. His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subordinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside because there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the households of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 593 571 626 182 66

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in [621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the [692] action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which 632 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu, 182 especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

632 651 626 692 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assessments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is common in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

578 632 689 692 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

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Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. [634] On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

632 634 578 66

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for [166] example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or [651] by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appoint-
ments formally need not be approved by the British administra-
tion, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
631
178 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times,
since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[329] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view
the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the polit-
ical system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions
of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit,
the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which pro-
tects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri
could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the pro-
tection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his
own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might
have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to
take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of
Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178 A number of material changes have been introduced which
494 have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178 312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[603] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563] [651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

El Kanemi brought
175 with him a group of Kanembu and Shuwa nobles, who formed the
643
565 nucleus, along with their men, of the army which drove back
177 the Fulani invaders of Bornu. These noble Kanembu families
remained in Bornu and adopted Kanuri culture. El Kanemi built
the new capital of Bornu at Kukawa, and his son Shehu Omar
175 ruled from Kukawa. The empire of Bornu had declined greatly
178
565 from its zenith in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
centuries, and the Fulani attacks were both a sign of its weak-
ness and an additional factor in furthering the decline. In
form, however, the empire remained much the same. Many of the
old families who had been aristocrats under the Mais retained
175 their titles, their lands and their position. The new noble
177
565 Kanembu and Shuwa families that had followed el Kanemi were
given Kanuri titles and entered the social system as Kanuri
aristocracy. In time, they accepted Kanuri culture, accord-
ing to accepted procedures of assimilation which are well un-
derstood by the Kanuri and apply to conquerors and conquered
alike, to slaves and to freemen.

175 The Shehu and his court ruled in Kukawa. Members of the
644
565 royal family were given large tracts of land, including many
631 villages, and from their lands they took money for taxes paid
423
[651] to the central government and for their own uses. In like fash-
ion, the nobility, who were the commanders of army regiments
and holders of high titles, had their lands and villages. These
were the chimas. Even religious leaders, such as the Imam, were
175 given land. The nobles who were chimas, continued to live in
565
631

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the
[642] two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. *Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-*
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

174 184 563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

173 614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[65] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

175 554 565 [642] [556] [651] 175 554 565 567

their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But, interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be respected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.

554 565 592

Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which determine social position are shared by an entire household, and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large household. The more important the man, and the greater his title, the larger will be his household, including: number of wives, slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsibility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, administer the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by which time they themselves will have large and important households.

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up
to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River,
whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the
shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in
the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly accul-
turated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet
beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri
youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[285]
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128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
[125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[451] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it-
[662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
671
[651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

627 and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dis-
829
671 pute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the
[626] case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al-
[693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political of-
• 651 ficial are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and
[565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [563] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

lists.

651 The essential problem in the collection of nomad jangali is to find the cows and their owners, who are wandering in search of good grazing, and who are most likely to wander into the deeper thickets when the time for jangali collection nears. Once the cattle owners and their cattle are found, their names are recorded along with the number of cows which each man owns. Then, as he usually has no cash, it is necessary for the owner of a herd of cattle to sell some of them so that he can obtain cash with which he will pay the jangali tax. After his name is recorded, he does not attempt to evade payment. He is then given several weeks to pay his tax. Nomad jangali rates are [652] five shillings for each cow. If a man attempts to conceal cows, if he reports that he owns a number of cows and then is discovered to have more than announced, he pays at the rate of ten shillings per cow.

653 654 The prescribed method for collecting jangali is for the Ajia personally to ride after the Fulani and collect the tax from them for their cattle. In a district the size of Geidam [655] this is obviously impossible. It is necessary for an Ajia to have many horsemen in order to canvass his entire district so that he will collect an amount in jangali which corresponds to the actual number of cows in his district. This is the primary role of the kabuna. There are several approaches to the problem of jangali collection, relying on differing tactics, all used by Yerima. One is to assign important kabuna, who can be

[GEIDAM]

651 634 trusted, to large areas. A number of less important kabuna collect the jangeli, under the responsibility of the chief kabuna in their area. The wakil, Wakil Ali, tours the entire district. Occasionally Yerima himself tours key sections, accompanied by a special wakil (formerly Wakil Guloma had this assignment, but [112] he has been replaced). A second tactical approach is to keep a certain number of horsemen in reserve. When an unusually large number of cattle are reported in any one area, horsemen are rushed into that area, assuring that all the cattle will be reported and that the kabuna there will not be swamped in their work. A third approach which Yerima used successfully in Magumeri District is to divide the entire district into strips several miles in width. Several kabuna comb a strip moving from east to west looking for Fulani with cattle, while other kabuna are simultaneously combing similar strips to the north and the south. When a group of kabuna have gone through their own strip, they exchange strips with another group and return in the opposite direction.

563 651 In Geidam today the Fulani are organized under Ardos and Mais. A Fulani lineage is under an Ardo, appointed by the Ajia, Yerima Mustapha. When an Ardo dies, his people bring the man that they would like to succeed the dead Ardo, usually his son, to Yerima who appoints him Ardo. The Mai governs over all Fulani in a large area; he has many Ardos under him. In Geidam District there are four Fulani Mais who fall within the territories of particular Lowans. These are Mai Musa, Mai Kusur, Mai

563 Maganuwa, and Mai Mar. Several other Mais roam in the brush
651 areas without being attached to particular lowanships. A new man may come to Yerima with a group of Fulani followers and ask to be made an Ardo. If he is appointed Ardo, he is then asked to which Mai he wishes his group to be affiliated. A kabuna sent by Yerima to collect jangəli from a particular area records the number of cows reported by the Ardo or Mai for his group of followers in that area. Then the kabuna hunts down the cows [687] and their individual owners. If the kabuna finds that an Ardo actually has more cows than he originally reported, the Ardo is fined five shillings for every additional cow found. Each Fulani Mai receives a percentage of the total jangəli collected from his group. The percentage that he receives (wujira) is in the neighborhood of six pence for each pound of jangəli collected. The Mai then distributes money to his Ardos, according to the amount of jangəli that they brought in.

651 When Yerima left Magumeri District in 1953 there were
634 28,000 cows on which village jangəli was paid, and 59,700 cows on which nomad jangəli was paid. In 1956, under the new Ajia, Digma, the number of cows on which nomad jangəli was paid had dropped to 23,000. The drop in the reported number of cows may be because Fulani have left Magumeri District, but it is more likely that Digma is unable to have them tracked down so that the jangəli tax is paid. This is because Digma has insufficient kabuna to do the job adequately. When Yerima first arrived in Geidam in 1953 there were 33,000 cows reported for nomad jangəli. By 1956, there were 39,000 cows reported, an

[GEIDAM]

651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangali		3,000
haraji		41,000
	total taxes	£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
156 in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima
[648] brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

[GEIDAN]

651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
563
662

651 634 563 662 cattle is to deal directly with the Ardos and Mais, bribing them with gifts to come into the district. This is highly improper, as the Fulani of a district are considered a part of that district. Movement of Fulani from one district to another merely alters the source of jangali, but does nothing to increase the total amount which flows into the central NA treasury. Indeed, one source of concern to Yerima is that the Fulani Ardos of Geidam District will hear that the Ajia of Magumeri District, which is directly south of Geidam and shares with it a long unprotected border, has an inadequate number of horsemen, and will move south into Magumeri District out of reach of Yerima's kabuna, to avoid paying jangali. Should such a movement out of his district occur, Yerima would notify the Waziri in Maiduguri, who would in turn force Digma to patrol his side of the border to prevent the Fulani from moving unnoticed into his district. It is clear, however, that Yerima is not above offering inducements to Fulani Ardos to move into his territory and increase his tax lists.

651 634 563 66 Yerima's overall scheme depends on the stationing of important kabuna who are in charge of jangali collection in their areas. These are as follows:

Grema Jisami - responsible for all the territory north of the Yobe River.
Kolo Kime - responsible for the area around Gumsa, and all the Fulani under Mai Musa.
Aba Chiari - responsible for the area around Kusur, and all the Fulani under Mai Kusur.
Kangadi - responsible for the Maganuwa area, and the Fulani under Mai Maganuwa.
Kazella Dokalia - responsible for the Zurukuduk area, but with no single Fulani Mai in his area.

[GEIDAM]

651 634 563 66 Mai Mar, the fourth important Fulani Mai does not have assigned to him a kabuna in charge of jangəli collection from his people. All other kabuna remain located in Geidam town, and are sent out to particular areas on demand. The primary method used by Yerima is to send out horses to areas in which cattle are reported. One aspect of Aba Chiari's job is to let Yerima know if Fulani are crossing over into Magumeri District, as his area is along the Geidam-Magumeri border.

Yerima is willing to reach a compromise in assigning jangəli payment to a particular Ardo or Mai which is below the full amount according to the actual count of cattle belonging to his group. If the Ardo is willing to accept Yerima's assessment, then both sides benefit: Yerima benefits because his kabuna have less work to do and can turn their attention elsewhere where it may be needed, the Ardo benefits because the total jangəli is less for his group than it would be if every cow were counted. It is through such methods that the Fulani Ardos are induced to remain in Geidam or to come to Geidam should they find themselves in the district of an Ajia who is erratic or uncompromising. Should the Ardo feel that he can get away with paying less jangəli than the amount assigned to him by Yerima, on the basis of information given him by his chief kabuna, he might try to hide cattle or to sneak away. Then Yerima would descend on his people with many kabuna and every single head of cattle would be counted and taxed. The threat of Yerima's many kabuna makes this an unwise course of action,

[BEIDAM]

651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[64] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from Jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing continuity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organized as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the Shehu.

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An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu.(1) Tomlinson found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants.(2) Being a stranger in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced. Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as possible to consolidate his power.

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Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were, as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants in residence at the fief.

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The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of two separate levies. One, the binkuram collected in binem (winter) was the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

(1) Tomlinson, F.J.F. Report of Nganzai District; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
(2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
[792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

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651 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.(1)

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651 From the earliest records extant of the Kanuri empire in Kanem right up until the arrival of the British, a system of tax exemption obtained called the Mahram. Although it most often applied to religious mallams, who were recognized in this way for their esoteric knowledge in matters of law and religion, special services to the king were sometimes
[212] rewarded in the same way. These exemptions were always recorded in writ-
[451] ing, so that when the British arrived and began instituting their own form of universal taxation many of these documents, some claiming 990 years of
[114] exemption, turned up. They were collected, translated and subsequently published by Palmer.(2)

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692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Mainin Kanendi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanendi were twelve
[693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

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not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the District, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings, i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional problem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

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Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

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The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilization by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organization, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Magumeri and Ngansei District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question,
[426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender
[651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village
556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms,
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571 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and
[577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

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621 This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

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632 The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head
[651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years
571 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the
621 founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified
622 as a Bulama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[text continues on p. 233]

If the extended household head can maintain the
621 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
571 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
554 position of Hamlet or ward head (Bèlama), depending upon the location
622 of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bèlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bèlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
[565] persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
(651) Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 if the matter is ratified by a person of authority in their community. Thus if a man in Magumeri town wishes to move his compound walls in order to expand the size of his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it and they both go to the Lawan and speak to him of the decision. Lawan asks his men to find out if the contiguous neighbours object, and if not, the action is ratified. This supervisory function of political leaders, especially the Lawan, is a well used mechanism for avoiding possible conflicts in the interpersonal relations of people in town and village settlements.

632 651 The Lawan collects two kinds of taxes, although only one is officially recognized by the N.A. Firstly, there is a tax collected for the state from all settled people in the village area which is in the form of a property assessment on all males over the age of eighteen to twenty. Any amount the Lawan obtains with the aid of his organization above the amount written on the tax receipt stubs, is (illegally) [661] his own income. Overtaxing in this manner is a widely accepted prac- [648] tice, but must be kept within limits, since a complaint to the British by a resentful peasant could bring on the dismissal of the Lawan.

632 651 661 The second tax collected by the Lawan is the zakat or tithe on farm produce. Unlike the first tax, there is no official sanction for this levy beyond that of tradition, and the power and authority of [648] the Lawan in his Village Area. Colonial officials assured the writer that this practice was illegal and occurred only sporadically. In a survey of 75 households in three Village Areas (i.e., under three different Lawans) all peasants who had produced a farm crop reported paying a tithe in kind or approximately ten per cent of their millet crop. In twelve cases the household heads declared that they had given ten per cent of all crop production including millet, beans and groundnuts.

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years, and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred, or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy [571] out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A. officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which 634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the 647 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues, 651 and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration with the Chief Scribe.

634 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe 647 was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All 661 631 efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
634 which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
665 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Wazirí
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Wazirí with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bèrsum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

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651 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts, the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

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648 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

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[368] In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization.
[101] As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

425 571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two [651] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (zakat) which all farmers pay to their [134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through [433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated 242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year 425 571 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted that this soil depletion factor tends to activiate the political organization.(1) The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.(2)

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district.

On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political allianee to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it.

The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa.

Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers.

The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

647 466 571 576 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job, and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 466 571 576 178 [177] On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional patterns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil [667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in [663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

642 634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite 634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet- 634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern- 652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on.

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government.

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas.

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria.

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the

[GEIDAM]

651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangəli - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangəli - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangəli		3,000
haraji		41,000
	total taxes	£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangəli
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangəli collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangəli for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangəli for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
156 [648] in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

178
642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained.
[701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organ-
[692] ization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation
[652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178
494 A number of material changes have been introduced which have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178
312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[603] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[563]
[651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[143] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[151] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Ni-
134 geria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists. 433 241 44 [434] [463]

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kantuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure. 565 554 [369]

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state. 631 [643] [647] [565]

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions. 654 242

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
433 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[241] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[435] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439]
433 sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
237 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
439 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
436 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles. 175 [illegible] 654 66

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs. 175 433 175 423

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area. 175 463 469 [443]

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere. 175 43 [567] [286] [184]

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed. 175 431

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu- 175 439 437

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
571 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
621 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the
[692] contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
632 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu,
182 especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

578 632 689 696 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

[634]

632 634 578 66

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

[166] [651]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to appoint younger brothers to the post of lawan within their own districts. However this has its limits. In one case a lawan confidentially asked the British officials if he could be moved to a district away from the hegemony of his older brother, the district head. That same year (1935) there were a great many complaints by the peasants directed to British officials about the harshness of this particular district head's administration. He was warned but did not comply and was later dismissed. The younger brother sensed that trouble was brewing for the older brother and decided it would be more advantageous to his own career if he could move to another district and not get caught up in the difficulties his brother was creating by his lack of good administration. One district head remarked that he had tried to appoint his own brother in a previous district as lawan, but the young man had done a very bad job and it proved impossible for the district head to control him. The younger brother was finally deposed by the emirate government after his older brother was transferred to a new district. Later he came to his older brother in the latter's new district, hoping for another job as lawan in his brother's administration. However the older brother has no intention of doing so because, as he says, this younger brother is a bad man who oppresses his villagers when he gets a chance and this reflects back on the district head. Thus in Bornu the loyalty of brothers is ameliorated in the political system by the requirements of office.

As we have already noted, local representatives of the various Bornu Native Authority (emirate government) departments are stationed in the district capitals. These include people like the district chief scribe who keeps the books on revenue collection, the district judge, the school teachers, some native authority policemen, veterinary, forestry, and agricultural department representatives and so on. The list varies in length from district to district, but there is a general tendency for it to lengthen through time as the departments expand their programs and services. These officials are paid salaries and live in the district capital although they often get shifted from one district to another. Thus only one of these officials in Magumeri had been there for longer than four years and almost all of them had lived in at least three district capitals during the past ten years. They view themselves as a class apart from the local people; they are city bred or at least city educated; they share a common interest in state and national politics; and their mobility orients them to each other rather than to people outside the civil service. When asked who their best friends are they invariably mention other members of the emirate's civil service. Thus they form a class of urban cosmopolitans on the rural scene.

Their relations to the district head are complex and in some ways similar to that of the district head to his lawans when these latter are appointees of a previous district head. The native authority official is not necessarily a follower of the district head, and he does have a separate salary. Usually the official and the district head maintain a respectful but carefully measured social distance from one another. The local officials are often asked to eat at the compound of the district head which emphasizes their common urban upper-class membership and separateness as a group from the rural population. However, they generally do not become members of the district head's following. They have their own careers to follow, and though friendship with the district head is useful, it could also impede their success because of demands made upon them by the district head which might conflict with those of their own departmental superiors in the capital.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

614 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanem-
178 bu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mal Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in
[648] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mal Manga was appointed chief of his re-
[643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British
Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It
was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the
[563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads
of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which
indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However,
the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatso-
ever. People come to pay them respect (nogana) as a result of
their position, but this is all that remains attached to the po-
sition.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized
565 four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo),
aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya).
One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken
together, determine the social importance of any category of
individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-
birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determin-
ing the rank of a social class, or of a single individual with-
in a class.

121 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social
61 relationship, and which derives from the political structure
• 66
565

121 61 .66 565 of a society. In societies where the state as an institution does not exist, political structure is either coterminous with kinship structure, or there is close co-ordination between the two. In the case of the Kanuri, the separate and distinct administrative organization which serves as the framework of the political structure,[1] implies a lessening of the role of kin groups to the point where they have disappeared among the Kanuri. Aside from relationships within the nuclear family, and to a lesser extent kinship relations generally, power derives its authority, among the Kanuri, from one's position in the political system, and the ability of one man to exert power over another is determined by the roles which the two men play in the political system.

121 556 565 Wealth as a variable used to determine the social importance of a single individual or of a category of individuals is analogous to power. Relative wealth defines a relationship between two individuals or two classes of individuals, and just as power derives from one's role in the political system, wealth derives from one's role in the economic system. In most primitive societies, the economic system is submerged within kinship and within the operation of kin groups. In some, the market has begun to emerge as a separate economic institution and increasingly social relationships are defined in terms of the market.

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1. the distinctions made here as to types of political systems are taken from the Introduction to African Political Systems, edited by Meyer Forres and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to replace him with one of his own men.

The kabuna represent a special category in the administration of the district. The colonial administration makes no provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town called Dəmjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

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175 632 634 was a very young man, whose father had been a Lowan under Kaigama before him. In fact, years earlier Geidam had had one Lowan instead of three--and the single Lowan had been the grandfather of Lowan Kagu. Then the town was split into three wards, each with its Lowan. At that time, Lowan Ashek, who had been a kabuna of Kaigama's and his slave as well, became a Lowan. Lowan Kagu's father was also made Lowan of a ward, succeeding his father; and the young Lowan Kagu in turn succeeded his father at his father's death.

175 632 634 66 The Lowans of Geidam were loyal to the departed Kaigama, but now it was necessary to demonstrate that they could transfer their loyalty to Yerima Mustapha, the new Ajia of Geidam and their new master. Lowan Ashek, an older and more experienced man, was able to do this. He became one of Yerima's kabuna, and while he is far from the most trusted of Yerima's men, he continues to serve as Lowan under Yerima since he knows the people of his ward well and had been performing the job for some years. Lowan Kagu was young, and was unable to control his feelings in the face of strains created by the situation. He, too, might have bridged the difficult transition as Lowan Ashek had done, had he had more experience in office. As it was, he was dismissed shortly after Yerima's arrival because he lost his temper in an argument with Yerima and threw a book in his face.

Yerima was then free to appoint one of his own men to replace Lowan Kagu. When he was approached and asked whom he

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175 wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indif-
632 ferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town
634 council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted
66 for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dilelma dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

692 The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to oper-
692 ate independently from the political arm of government, and in particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

693 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri
554 District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another young man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the same families tend to retain their positions of power and [66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a reliable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group
692 justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Disputants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the zogors arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has disputants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia [648] for sholo. The Alkali will settle disputes out of court. The British officially forbade Lowans and Ajias from hearing cases [779] and arbitrating in disputes. However, Alkali Baba Kura says that according to the Koran, the settlement of disputes through

651 cattle is to deal directly with the Ardos and Mais, bribing
634 them with gifts to come into the district. This is highly im-
563 proper, as the Fulani of a district are considered a part of
662 that district. Movement of Fulani from one district to another merely alters the source of jangali, but does nothing to increase the total amount which flows into the central NA treasury. Indeed, one source of concern to Yerima is that the Fulani Ardos of Geidam District will hear that the Ajia of Magumeri District, which is directly south of Geidam and shares with it a long unprotected border, has an inadequate number of horsemen, and will move south into Magumeri District out of reach of Yerima's kabuna, to avoid paying jangali. Should such a movement out of his district occur, Yerima would notify the Waziri in Maiduguri, who would in turn force Digma to patrol his side of the border to prevent the Fulani from moving unnoticed into his district. It is clear, however, that Yerima is not above offering inducements to Fulani Ardos to move into his territory and increase his tax lists.

651 Yerima's overall scheme depends on the stationing of im-
634 portant kabuna who are in charge of jangali collection in their
563 areas. These are as follows:
66

Grema Jisami - responsible for all the territory north of the Yobe River.
Kolo Kime - responsible for the area around Gumsa, and all the Fulani under Mai Musa.
Aba Chiari - responsible for the area around Kusur, and all the Fulani under Mai Kusur.
Kangadi - responsible for the Maganuwa area, and the Fulani under Mai Maganuwa.
Kazella Dokalla - responsible for the Zurukuduk area, but with no single Fulani Mai in his area.

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651 634 563 66 Mai Mar, the fourth important Fulani Mai does not have assigned to him a kabuna in charge of jangali collection from his people. All other kabuna remain located in Geidam town, and are sent out to particular areas on demand. The primary method used by Yerima is to send out horses to areas in which cattle are reported. One aspect of Aba Chiari's job is to let Yerima know if Fulani are crossing over into Magumeri District, as his area is along the Geidam-Magumeri border.

Yerima is willing to reach a compromise in assigning jangali payment to a particular Ardo or Mai which is below the full amount according to the actual count of cattle belonging to his group. If the Ardo is willing to accept Yerima's assessment, then both sides benefit: Yerima benefits because his kabuna have less work to do and can turn their attention elsewhere where it may be needed, the Ardo benefits because the total jangali is less for his group than it would be if every cow were counted. It is through such methods that the Fulani Ardos are induced to remain in Geidam or to come to Geidam should they find themselves in the district of an Ajia who is erratic or uncompromising. Should the Ardo feel that he can get away with paying less jangali than the amount assigned to him by Yerima, on the basis of information given him by his chief kabuna, he might try to hide cattle or to sneak away. Then Yerima would descend on his people with many kabuna and every single head of cattle would be counted and taxed. The threat of Yerima's many kabuna makes this an unwise course of action,

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651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[64] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63' cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[66] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head.

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization.

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area.

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap-

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634 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to oper-
692 ate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of
178 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri
648 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional
63 political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly
178 in the following example describing the functioning of the po-
625 lice in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian
648 Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of
[661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

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627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 663 661 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition [431] [554] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 431 [671] Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

627 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a
431 case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve
578 marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse
627 her husband. Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the
663 Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively
661 together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

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627 663 661 Alkalis as Yerima is with Alkali Baba Kura, but Yerima would put his influence to use only when affairs arise which directly concern him.

627 829 671 In the eyes of talaka, sholo is the major means for keeping the peace. They do not distinguish sharply between the resolution of conflicts through sholo and through judgments handed down in the courtroom. The Kanuri do not conceive of an impartial legal system which grants all individuals equal protection. Law is conceived of as mediation granted by particular individuals, some more trustworthy than others. Whether one brings one's complaint before the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan depends on whether one has greater trust in the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan. In any case, one brings one's complaint to be heard by a single man, with his particular whims, idiosyncracies and prejudices, and one chooses the man in whom one has the greatest confidence. According to the British view, sholo given by an Ajia or Lowan is not permitted, and is therefore not binding on the parties involved. A man who has received an unfavorable decision in sholo can complain to the court and the decision will be overruled. The Ajia or Lowan who heard the case will have difficulty because of it. This rarely happens because the talaka sees the situation from an entirely different viewpoint. When he brings a case for sholo and receives an adverse ruling, the dispute must end there as he has done everything possible for him to do in the situation, particularly if no bribes have been given (to his knowledge)

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With minor disturbances, including one by the brother of Shehu Umar, in 1854, the Bornu kingdom maintained itself in a fairly stable condition, throughout the reign of Umar, and even afterwards during the reign of his son Bukr (1880-4). However, trouble was soon to come from the east.

In the Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur region of the present independent Sudan, an adventurer named Rabeh was slave raiding under the power of the first Egyptian governor of the Bahr, named Zubeyr,(1) in the 70's and early 80's. However Zubeyr's son Stiman headed a rebellion against Egyptian authority and was defeated, and his army disbanded. A remnant of this force headed westward under Rabeh who transformed this band of freebooters and pillagers into a disciplined army which, in the late 80's under the banners of the Mahdi, terrorized the Bahr el Ghazal, conquered
175 721 727 Wadai, and defeated the Baghirmi kingdom east of Chad. In 1893, he engaged the Bornu army near Ngala and vanquished it. Whereupon he entered a defeated Bornu and literally raped the countryside. From 1893-6, he despoiled the entire area, putting to death many of the leading figures in Bornu who opposed him, and tried to spread his conquest as far west as possible. In this latter effort he was checked by a union of western forces and
175 643 refugee Kanuri at the present site of Geidam in northwest Bornu. After 1896 from his capital at Dikwa, Rabeh seems to have attempted a consolidation of the kingdom and due to these efforts at administration a more
[173] moderate policy was followed. Nevertheless, his rule is remembered in Bornu
[661] today as the blackest period of their history. Old men are still alive who tell of the pillaging, burning, slave-raiding, killing and excessive extortion of the peasants, that was carried on during the "Rabeh period."

(1) c.f. Balfour-Paul, H.G. History and Antiquities of Darfur; Sudan Antiquities Service, Museum Pamphlet #3 Khartoum, 1955.

175 648 634 632 the new District Head going out to his district was confronted with a situation in which he had a territory comprising a group of villages which were to be under his organized administration, and which were at the same time headed by people with whom he had no personal relationships.

Entering into this situation, the District Head responded in several ways. He could try to win the loyalty of the local Village Heads to himself, or conversely some Village Heads, sensing danger in the new situation, might come to the District Head and ask to be "his man." This meant that the District Head had expanded his following to include the Village Head. However, there were obstacles to this simple method of rapprochement. If the Village Head already had a strong functioning relationship to some other "big man" in the Kanuri state who was a powerful person in the post-1900 organization, or if the District Head was anxious to reward his own supporters with lucrative and prestige giving roles, 175 648 634 632 661 then this method was not too successful. The District Head could also try to manipulate the situation so that the Village Heads who he found the most truculent in accepting his overlordship, were regarded as inefficient, corrupt, or immoral in the eyes of the British, so that they would be deposed and then he could replace them with recruits from among his own following. Thus, in 1919, a British District Officer (D.O.) visiting Magumeri District, was told by Abba Kiari, then District Head of Magumeri, that two of the Village Heads in his District were inefficient and should be deposed. He felt also that because of the proximity of the two towns they should be united under one Village Head, and he offered one of his own followers as the logical candidate for the new appointment.(1) Finally, the District Head could simply carry on as if the British were

(1) Whitely: Report on Magumeri 1919: in Magumeri District Notebook

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648 not present and appoint chima gana to live in each village of the Dis-
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632 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Resident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
651 political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

(178) Although well known, this idea has not really ever been transferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

(166) The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to collect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

632 if the matter is ratified by a person of authority in their community. Thus if a man in Magumeri town wishes to move his compound walls in order to expand the size of his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it and they both go to the Lawan and speak to him of the decision. Lawan asks his men to find out if the contiguous neighbours object, and if not, the action is ratified. This supervisory function of political leaders, especially the Lawan, is a well used mechanism for avoiding possible conflicts in the interpersonal relations of people in town and village settlements.

632 651 The Lawan collects two kinds of taxes, although only one is officially recognized by the N.A. Firstly, there is a tax collected for the state from all settled people in the village area which is in the form of a property assessment on all males over the age of eighteen to twenty. Any amount the Lawan obtains with the aid of his organization above the amount written on the tax receipt stubs, is (illegally) his own income. Overtaxing in this manner is a widely accepted practice, but must be kept within limits, since a complaint to the British by a resentful peasant could bring on the dismissal of the Lawan.

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632 651 661 The second tax collected by the Lawan is the zakat or tithe on farm produce. Unlike the first tax, there is no official sanction for this levy beyond that of tradition, and the power and authority of the Lawan in his Village Area. Colonial officials assured the writer that this practice was illegal and occurred only sporadically. In a survey of 75 households in three Village Areas (i.e., under three different Lawans) all peasants who had produced a farm crop reported paying a tithe in kind or approximately ten per cent of their millet crop. In twelve cases the household heads declared that they had given ten per cent of all crop production including millet, beans and groundnuts.

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One of the informants offered the information that if he did not pay zakat to his Lawan, his farmland would be taken away from him. Checking this information proved to be difficult, since no cases were ever reported or observed. Consequently, people only speculated about the results of not paying zakat. The belief that land might be confiscated if the zakat tax is not paid is not universal, but the belief that some sort of reprisal would result from non-payment is held by all peasants.

The following excerpt from field notes illustrates the kind of experience that promotes this belief if the Lawan's authority is not responded to with some degree of subordination.

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Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the Lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat maker and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the town, he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school, an N.A. employee and a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appears to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the town, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

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On one of these occasions of the teacher's absence, Bukar had borrowed some matting from his mentor for use in his own compound. The Lawan, in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony, needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arabic teacher's to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked in the teacher's compound. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the others. He answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting from his own compound and was brought to the Lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the Lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by Lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned Lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar, sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by Lawan (the ceremony was over).

632 661 He therefore supported the lower class person against his fellow upper class member.

632 661 683 684 Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani herder whose cows had eaten his millet. The case came before Lawan who ruled that although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offence), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cows to wander over Bukar's field and devour his, as well as another man's, crops. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops and given an extra fine of five shillings as kafelo for the District Head. (Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started; besides this, pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offence to the fight itself, and the Fulani was not fined for this middemeanour).

632 661 In discussing the matter, Bukar's senior, the teacher explained that Lawan was angry at Bukar for his behaviour over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine he was told by the teacher to give the money to Lawan and to say that he (Bukar) was a small insignificant poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell Lawan that if there was any help that Lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future. If Lawan continued to adjudicate against him and give him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with Lawan, but if this were impossible then higher authorities would be resorted to and Lawan's power by-passed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected within limits.

This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

632 [643] A Lawan is installed officially by the Shehu at an investiture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawans well back into the 19th century,

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571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organization was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

634 that his assessment was too high. The DH promptly sent out some of his
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661 followers and gathered twice the assessment originally stipulated. He then called in the Lawan to the District capital, reprimanded him and gave back one-quarter of the excess tax raised by his followers.

631 Formally the Lawans are subordinate to the DH of their District. The DH relays information to them from the capital concerning the execution of their political duties and it is their responsibility to have these directives carried out. However, for various reasons to be discussed presently, some of the political activity of the DH is illegal under the present regulations. Therefore he often requires more than mere compliance to state regulations. As shown by the example above the DH wants cooperation and complicity in his own political organization of the District. Several factors militate against the absorption of the Lawans into the DH's organization. Firstly, the Lawan's salary and his income from taxes and political duties make him less dependent upon the DH than the latter's more disciplined followers. Secondly, the British have always viewed the Lawan's job as that of a local chief (see above pp.36-39) whose ties should be to the locality and not necessarily the DH. Nevertheless a DH's views are almost always taken into consideration by both the NA and the British when a new Lawan
631 is to be appointed. This last point leads to a conflict. Dismissals
661 and transfers are common occurrences among DH's. Because DH's often manage to get a few of their loyal followers into a Lawan's job, especially in the District capital, each new DH in a District is confronted with a few Lawans who are the loyal followers of his predecessor.

The result of this structural framework is a constant manoeuvring by the DH to either win the loyalty and obedience of his Lawans or replace them with his own followers.

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661 Good examples of these conflicts can be seen in some of the recorded history of Magumeri District in the last fifty years. From 1921 to 1929, Lawan Tayil, a follower of the DH, is only mentioned briefly and always alluded to as a competent Lawan. After the DH left the District in 1929 and was replaced by a new one, adverse reports by British officers (who had talked to the new DH) became more and more common. It was noted that Lawan Tayil was unpopular with the people, that there was emigration out of his village area due to exhortative taxation, and that he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1934 he was deposed and a younger brother of the new DH was installed
631 as Lawan. Examples like this are extremely common from Magumeri's
661 recent past as well as from the other Districts. This is reflected in the length of term of Lawans in office, taken from three widely separated Districts. The average length of tenure for a Lawan who is the follower of reigning Lawan is ten years if the DH remains in the District; on the other hand, the average length of tenure for a Lawan (in the District capital) is four years after a DH has left the District.

There is a tendency indicated in the historical records
631 for DH's to appoint younger brothers as Lawans. But this has its lim-
661 its; sometimes kin are passed over, or relationships are broken because
662 a kin member feels that he will be held responsible for his kinsman's behaviour. Thus in 1935, the Lawan of Magumeri asked the British authorities if he could be moved to another District away from the hegemony of an older brother who was his DH. By 1935 the British had received a great many complaints from Magumeri District about the oppressive taxation of the DH. Thus the DH's younger brother sensing that trouble was brewing for the DH, felt that it would be more advantageous for his own political career if he were out of his older brother's District,

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631 Another good example of this point was observed in the field.
• 661 The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Lawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of
[602] the District. In the politics of Bornu, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

The N. A. Officials in the District

634 Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A.
647 are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of
[178] civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

634 647 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years, and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred, or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy [571] out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to persons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A. officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's predecessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which 634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the 647 651 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues, and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collaboration with the Chief Scribe.

634 647 661 631 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

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hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe.(1)

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In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat [565] with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

(1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to sulct the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

634 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connec-
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554 tions to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri. The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from [661] Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to [203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to guage properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

634 The prison warder who kept the little jail in Magumeri, al-
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662 though not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

647 661 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his [183] laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismissals) [671] to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence.

Political Parties

665 In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ruled its territory, and attempted to keep the peace with its neighbors and tributary states. 175 648

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area of what is now Northern Nigeria was rocked by the Fulani wars under a religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, who proclaimed a *Jihad* or holy war. Ultimately these developments resulted in the founding of the empire of Sokoto. In Bornu the local Fulani organized an attack on the Kanuri kingdom, not so much to support the Sokoto Empire, as to take advantage of it and set up principalities of their own. By 1808, the Fulani in Bornu constituted a dangerous threat. Indeed they had succeeded in attacking, defeating and sacking the ancient capital of Bornu, Birni Ngazargamo. When this happened the ruler and his followers fled towards Lake Chad and were not able to return to the city until some unexpected aid from Kanem enabled them to deliver a powerful defeat to the Fulani forces some six weeks after they had abandoned the capital. A few years later in the winter of 1811–1812 another Fulani force attacked and pillaged the capital. Again the Kanuri were helped by this same Kanembu chief or Shehu who defeated the Fulani and sent them fleeing westward to the borders of Bornu.

However, this aid was to change the entire history of the empire. From 1812 onwards the traditional Bornu government lost its control of the state. The Shehu, Mohammed el Aminu, El Kanemi, or Shehu Laminu as he is remembered locally, had the only effective armed force in the Bornu kingdom, and he used this to control sporadic Fulani uprisings that continued until at least the 1820s. Both the traditional government and the Shehu moved away from the western and northern boundaries and set up in adjacent towns near the west shore of Lake Chad. People soon realized that the Shehu held power in the state and flocked to his town, while that of the old Magumi Sefuwa monarch became a small redoubt for those still loyal to the ancient dynasty. The former leaders still retained the royal title, held court, and collected or were given some of the state revenues. When they intrigued against Shehu Laminu, he simply deposed them. At the same time he made bargains with rival claimants to the old throne so that any changes in the royal office, made under his direction, would be to his own advantage. Meanwhile the ancient rulers came more and more to be simply ceremonial puppets in the hands of the real ruler of Bornu, Shehu Laminu. 175 642 [648] [643] [662]

Yet Laminu never asserted ultimate control over the kingdom. Even after he had built a new capital, at Kuka, for himself and his dependents, the small village of Birni nearby was maintained for the ancient monarchy. Across the entire Sudan and beyond, however, he was recognized as the real ruler of Bornu. He was the leader of its administration and his political, military, and judicial sagacity were and still are lauded in praise songs that match these secular skills with his supernatural powers. Indeed his fame spread to Europe as well. This resulted from the writings of Denham and Clapperton, who crossed the desert in the 1820s and remained for an extended period in Bornu learning about its people and of the double regency under Shehu Laminu's control. Laminu died in 1835 and it was not until a decade later in 1845 or 1846 that his son, Omar, finally did away with the last remaining members of the Sefuwa dynasty proclaiming himself and his royal heirs to be the only rulers of Bornu. This was the occasion for the formal inception of Bornu's second dynasty whose descendants are the ruling family in the kingdom at the pres- 175 642 643

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

general, the Shehu must feel he has gained a loyal supporter and any suspicion to the contrary would bar an eligible contender from the position. The same applies in the case of members of the Shehu's council and especially its chairman, the Waziri. People say that would-be applicants give gifts, attempt to link themselves by marriage, and in general ingratiate themselves with the Shehu and his councilors who play the major part in such decisions; however such things are not easy to observe directly. On the other hand several people have told me that they regularly visit influential men in the city bringing gifts of cash and foodstuff and generally paying their respects to these men in the hopes that one day when a proper vacancy occurs, they will obtain the office of lawan. In other words this traditional mode of soliciting an appointment is admitted to for the office of lawan.

In the district capital the district head's house is always at the east end of the town plaza and is the most impressive compound in the village. The compound is regarded as emirate property and can only be used while the incumbent is in office after which time he must move out. In addition each district head has his own compound in the royal ward of Maiduguri in the capital with a residing chief subordinate (*wakil*) who appears at official state functions in the Shehu's court to represent his superior. In his rural area the district head has a large group of followers who live in his own compound and the surrounding vicinity. These men form a group of linked households under their leader, the chief follower of the district head who serves as his deputy in the latter's absence. In Magumeri a few of these followers have been recruited during their own lifetime, but most of them are the sons of men who have always been followers of this district head and his father before him.

At first glance these followers are indistinguishable from ordinary peasants except for the fact that some of them have expensive looking horses given to them by the district head. They help collect nomad cattle taxes, run messages for the district head, and never fail to ride in honor of their leader on special ceremonial occasions or when an important visitor has come to town. Most important they must be willing to leave town or move to another place whenever their superior is stationed elsewhere, while peasants are most often linked by social relations with a particular spot. These men have only one allegiance—that of subordination, discipline and respect to their superior, the district head. Thus they are never fully trusted by the more permanent local residents. Indeed younger members of the district head's following are often feared as well as mistrusted. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences in the local area, and are felt to be spies for the district head. When such men approach a group of peasant menfolk, the conversation suddenly stops, then slowly begins again on a note of pleasant but iridescent chit-chat in which nothing really serious or informative about local affairs is ever mentioned. Although the hierarchy of lawan and bullama under a district head is his official administrative organization in the district, his followers form an unofficial organization to execute his policies. Unlike the lawan and bullama they are totally dependent upon him for support and status in the society. In return they give him the prestige that comes from having a large retinue of followers. They also organize his tax collections, act as messengers, and sometimes they are even used to discipline lawans who are not complying with administration demands. Thus one lawan complained to a district head that he could not raise the tax assessment for his vil-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
B66 complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji.
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

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128 erally which was discussed in the previous chapter. At times,
[125] quantitative data will be presented on a sample of 44 individuals, representing various selected social categories (see further definition of this sample given in Chapter 4).

1. Farming.

42 All land belongs, in theory, to the Shehu and is distributed by Lowans through the authority given them by the Shehu. A man living in the town of Geidam has a right to land surrounding the town, should he wish to make a farm. Such land becomes his in the sense that no one else can farm there, and it is inherited
[651] by his children like other forms of property. Any man who pays the property tax (haraji) in Geidam has a right to land. A newcomer to the town who desires land to farm asks a Lowan for a
[311] plot of land. Since all farm land up to two miles from the edge of the town is farmed by those previously settled in the town, land given to newcomers is uncleared brush far from the town it-
• [662] self. However, by paying a sum to the Lowan, a man may be assigned land which is much closer and therefore more desirable. Unused sites become available when people leave Geidam.

House sites come under the same provisions as farm land. If a man wishes to build a house in Geidam he must first ask the permission of the Lowan in whose ward he seeks to build his house. If he wishes to build on unoccupied land he must pay a
[435] sum to the Lowan. The sum may vary from three to ten shillings, depending on the man's means. A man can sell a house which he

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177 aspect of their behavior towards one another. Sergeant Usman
178 comes only to report to Yerima each morning; otherwise he is
625 never in the Ajari. He is absolutely trustworthy, and in
648 retrospect it is evident that he was brought to Geidam to be
567 in charge of the NA Police there because of this. The nature
571 of the relationship between the Ajia and the Sergeant is, of course, unknown to the British administration and to the European Assistant Superintendent of Police, but in that relationship and in its effective use by Yerima Mustapha can be seen the persistence of the traditional social system, as well as the frustration of newer bureaucratic forms introduced by the British.

571 The relationship between the Ajia and the Geidam Police
662 is typical in a general sense of all relationships within the
178 political hierarchy centering in Geidam, though it is not always possible to see the structural lines as clearly as in a
[501] slave-master situation. Another special NA appointee in Geidam, Malam Jalo, operates the ferry crossing the Yobe River during its flood. This is a well-paying job, and is highly coveted. Malam Jalo is a member of an important family, and has political influence at the court which enabled him to get the appointment. He acts like a kabuna of Yerima's, and considers himself to be a kabuna though his job is entirely independent of that performed by the kabuna. By placing himself in the relationship of a kabuna to the Ajia, he defines his role in the political system, and at the same time indicates

his allegiance to the Ajia who might otherwise be tempted to replace him with one of his own men.

The kabuna represent a special category in the administration of the district. The colonial administration makes no provision for the kabuna; they are not NA appointees as are all the other officeholders mentioned above; they receive no salary. Yet, the services which they perform are vital if the district bureaucracy is to continue to function smoothly. The kabuna represent a traditional Kanuri social category whose roles are primarily in the political sphere. The roles of the kabuna have been slightly modified and adapted to the modern situation, but the relationship between kabuna and Ajia and between kabuna and populace is a traditional one and is once again typical of the persistence of the old social stratification system into the present.

Yerima Mustapha has fifty-nine kabuna at Geidam. Some are slaves; some are free. Many have been with Yerima for years and years. Head of all the kabuna is Wakil Ali, a slave. The kabuna are each given a house to live in, a horse belonging to Yerima, a plot of land to farm, and ceremonial trappings for themselves and for their horses. In turn, they swear allegiance to Yerima and work for him.

2. A history of important office-holders in Geidam.

The present town of Geidam is on the site of an old town called Dəmjeri. Five miles to the west of the present Geidam

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The
693 personnel who occupy positions in the judiciary, however, are
554 bound to the social system. The Alkalis of Geidam exhibit a pattern in their personal histories, and are representative of specific social strata--the Koranic malams, the Imams and the Alkalis--whose sons follow their fathers and pursue the same
693 goals. Alkali Baba Kura was the son of Imam Komi, the chief
159 Imam at Maiduguri who later became Chief Alkali. He studied the Koran, explanations of the Koran, Hadith (traditions), and Tarikh (chronicles) at his father's house and at the houses of other learned Malams in Maiduguri, and then went to study law at the Kano Law School. He was appointed Alkali for the districts of Magumeri and Gubio when he was only twenty-five years old, at the time when Yerima Mustapha was Ajia of Magumeri, and Yerima became his mentor. Alkali Baba Kura remained in Magumeri for four years. After Yerima moved to Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura was transferred to Geidam. One year later he was elected to serve in the Northern legislature at Kaduna, while continuing on as Alkali of Geidam. Then in August, 1957 he was again promoted, this time to be Inspector of Courts in Mai-
693 duguri. He and two other powerful and important Alkalis make
159
• 662 up the Shehu's court. This is an extremely important position
554 for so young a man, and Alkali Baba Kura owes much of his success to help which he received from Yerima, although his own family connections were still more important in helping rapidly
693 to further his career. Alkali Baba Kura's older brother is to-
554 day Imam Ibrahim, having succeeded his father as chief Imam in

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627 arbitration is encouraged, so long as the complainant has his
692 [779] grievance adjusted.

627 Carrying out sholo is one of the most important functions
662 of the individual in a position of political authority. It is
431 subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be
[192] a source of difficulty. The words kunjo and nasha are used for any sort of gift. Kafelo is the traditional gift which the small man, the talaka, gives to the important man, the kantuoma. Risa (Arabic) means simply a bribe. Wushira is the fee paid
[779] to the court after a dispute is settled. According to Alkali Baba Kura, kafelo and risa amount to the same thing, and both are forbidden by Maliki law since gifts given with the expectation of preferences in the future are haram (forbidden according to religious law). Giving of kafelo is traditionally done nevertheless.

627 Before the hearing of a dispute, both parties give kafelo
[431] to the mediator. If no kafelo is given, the dispute will not be heard. After a ruling is made in the dispute, the side which has received a favorable decision gives wushira to the medi-
[693] ator. The reasoning involved in the giving of wushira is that if the case had gone to court a set fee would have been paid. When a case is heard in Sholo, therefore, the mediator receives as wushira a smaller fee than would have been paid in court.

Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

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651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
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651 cattle is to deal directly with the Ardos and Mais, bribing
634 them with gifts to come into the district. This is highly im-
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662 proper, as the Fulani of a district are considered a part of that district. Movement of Fulani from one district to another merely alters the source of jangali, but does nothing to increase the total amount which flows into the central NA treasury. Indeed, one source of concern to Yerima is that the Fulani Ardos of Geidam District will hear that the Ajia of Magumeri District, which is directly south of Geidam and shares with it a long unprotected border, has an inadequate number of horsemen, and will move south into Magumeri District out of reach of Yerima's kabuna, to avoid paying jangali. Should such a movement out of his district occur, Yerima would notify the Waziri in Maiduguri, who would in turn force Digma to patrol his side of the border to prevent the Fulani from moving unnoticed into his district. It is clear, however, that Yerima is not above offering inducements to Fulani Ardos to move into his territory and increase his tax lists.

651 Yerima's overall scheme depends on the stationing of im-
634 portant kabuna who are in charge of jangali collection in their
563
66 areas. These are as follows:

Grema Jisami - responsible for all the territory north of the Yobe River.
Kolo Kime - responsible for the area around Gumsa, and all the Fulani under Mai Musa.
Aba Chiari - responsible for the area around Kusur, and all the Fulani under Mai Kusur.
Kangadi - responsible for the Maganuwa area, and the Fulani under Mai Maganuwa.
Kazella Dokalia - responsible for the Zurukuduk area, but with no single Fulani Mai in his area.

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661 Good examples of these conflicts can be seen in some of the recorded history of Magumeri District in the last fifty years. From 1921 to 1929, Lawan Tayil, a follower of the DH, is only mentioned briefly and always alluded to as a competent Lawan. After the DH left the District in 1929 and was replaced by a new one, adverse reports by British officers (who had talked to the new DH) became more and more common. It was noted that Lawan Tayil was unpopular with the people, that there was emigration out of his village area due to exhortative taxation, and that he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1934 he was deposed and a younger brother of the new DH was installed
631 as Lawan. Examples like this are extremely common from Magumeri's
661 recent past as well as from the other Districts. This is reflected in the length of term of Lawans in office, taken from three widely separated Districts. The average length of tenure for a Lawan who is the follower of reigning Lawan is ten years if the DH remains in the District; on the other hand, the average length of tenure for a Lawan (in the District capital) is four years after a DH has left the District.

There is a tendency indicated in the historical records
631 for DH's to appoint younger brothers as Lawans. But this has its lim-
661 its; sometimes kin are passed over, or relationships are broken because
662 a kin member feels that he will be held responsible for his kinsman's behaviour. Thus in 1935, the Lawan of Magumeri asked the British authorities if he could be moved to another District away from the hegemony of an older brother who was his DH. By 1935 the British had received a great many complaints from Magumeri District about the oppressive taxation of the DH. Thus the DH's younger brother sensing that trouble was brewing for the DH, felt that it would be more advantageous for his own political career if he were out of his older brother's District,

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 647 554 [576]

Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the extended household organization of the DH, then the factional memberships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 647 662

The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household organization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

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[838] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

634 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connec-
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554 tions to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri. The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from
[661] Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to
[203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to guage properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

634 The prison warder who kept the little jail in Magumeri, al-
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662 though not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

634 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A.(1) He
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662 had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence. In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social relations were with people of the DH's extended household organization. This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of conversation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter, and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

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634 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are
642 extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form.(2)

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the political organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body under the chairmanship of the Wazirí (the Chief Councillor) decides on the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

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[648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri, which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" enthusiasm.

[114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collaboration with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with that of the Russian industrial manager.

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
634 which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
665 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Waziri
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Waziri with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bersum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

647 557 traditional one. One of the senior members of an individual's agnatic group arranges an audience with some person connected to an N.A. department. One informant in the N.A. commented on recruitment in the following manner.

> If you want a job in the Treasury, one of your relatives (a senior male agnate) will find out, if he does not already know, the name of some person who is known to "help" people and go to greet him some night. Your relative will give him some money and he will say that you must come back the next day and he will tell you. Then he will find you a job in the Department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him, and then the job is yours, and you are in the N.A. . . . Sometimes it takes a long time.

647 Because of the constant shifts in personnel, some to higher positions, others because of dismissals or jail terms, there is much unpredictability of job tenure in the N.A. and suspicion of unorthodox 647 576 behaviour is a common rule. Thus one junior N.A. official remarked that he must be careful in his department to always dress less well than his superiors, or it would be considered ro kura (ambitious, proud), and therefore threatening. On the other hand, he must not dress too poorly or his superiors will consider him a wastrel, who 647 spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again, it is extremely difficult to transfer (through own effort) from one branch of the service to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to the person's own department heads and N.A. council; if a release is granted, then a further application to the desired department [829] can be submitted. To the Kanuri such a transfer is not considered a rejection of the work, but of the people in the department. Thus informants claimed that they would be considered ingrates and trouble- [662] makers if they were ever to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends "visiting at night", i.e. paying tribute to the appropriate

647 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved
662 by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647 Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and
[557] diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense
647 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However,
571 within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the DH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or
[641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job, and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional patterns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present-time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meetings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local government from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

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627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan 663 661 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition [83] [54] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which 431 he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the [67] case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

627 431 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 578 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse her husband. Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

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627 663 661 Alkalis as Yerima is with Alkali Baba Kura, but Yerima would put his influence to use only when affairs arise which directly concern him.

627 829 671 In the eyes of talaka, sholo is the major means for keeping the peace. They do not distinguish sharply between the resolution of conflicts through sholo and through judgments handed down in the courtroom. The Kanuri do not conceive of an impartial legal system which grants all individuals equal protection. Law is conceived of as mediation granted by particular individuals, some more trustworthy than others. Whether one brings one's complaint before the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan depends on whether one has greater trust in the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan. In any case, one brings one's complaint to be heard by a single man, with his particular whims, idiosyncracies and prejudices, and one chooses the man in whom one has the greatest confidence. According to the British view, sholo given by an Ajia or Lowan is not permitted,and is therefore not binding on the parties involved. A man who has received an unfavorable decision in sholo can complain to the court and the decision will be overruled. The Ajia or Lowan who heard the case will have difficulty because of it. This rarely happens because the talaka sees the situation from an entirely different viewpoint. When he brings a case for sholo and receives an adverse ruling, the dispute must end there as he has done everything possible for him to do in the situation, particularly if no bribes have been given (to his knowledge)

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627 829 671 and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dispute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the [626] case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al- [693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 651 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political official are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and [565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

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651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows			
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£	17,500
road and market jangali			3,000
haraji			41,000
total taxes		£	61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
• 663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
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[648] in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

[GEIDAN]

651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
• 663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
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651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[64] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-
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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on. 634 652

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government. 642 634

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas. 634 [178]

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria. 665 634 642 648

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the 665 208

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family
208 life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to
[186] power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the South-
ern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu
175 under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The Brit-
578 ish colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Au-
648 thority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder,
[563] riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing
Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing
[579] but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled
[167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means
648 that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the
105 lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times.
178 As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

• 665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents 829 resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

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634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
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565 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
[648] previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
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565 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
• 665 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
648 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through
634 which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
• 665 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Wazirí
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Wazirí with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and barzum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

647 661 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri 261.
values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his [183] laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismis- [671] sals) to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence.

Political Parties

• 665 In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

665 ernment, which means that several Kanuri have been Ministers in the Federal cabinet. Several days a week public meetings are held in various parts of Maiduguri under the green flag of the N.P.C. Followers of the "big men" make long speeches to the assembled crowds, while political leaders, N.A. officials, the DH of Maiduguri, and several Lawans from the main segments of the city sit on chairs near the center of activities, often nodding their approval. Sometimes, although not often, these leaders speak themselves. However, it is more in keeping with Kanuri culture that the actual work, the talking, which in this case is usually a loud harangue against the opposition party, should be done by followers and professionals who specialize in such speeches.

665 641 The overall effect of an N.P.C. meeting is one of traditional and constituted authority. The N.A. officials and the traditional leaders always appear to support the movement. Thus a vote against this party not only means that a different party is being supported, it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference the moral order which holds it together. This last point is particularly evident in the political speeches of N.P.C. The listeners are constantly and almost entirely confronted not with a political platform, but with a moral decision; the opposition party is represented as being against the chiefs, and to the existing order of society. It is argued they are opposed to children obeying their parents. Stories are told of opposition members whose parents support the chiefs, but who have run away and rejected their parents. These are now vagrants - with no families, no proper place in the society, who have little responsible connection to the social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as now known would be destroyed by the opposition, who

665 641 [186] it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 647 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should support the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate [648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union),(1) is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

665 marked that one day their leader would obtain power in Bornu and put them all into traditional offices.

Opposition party meetings, which are well attended, play up the corruption, and abuses of power made by the N.A. and the traditional leaders. European democratic standards of political behaviour are used as criterion for condemning the traditional party and its supporters. Followers are urged to use their votes to bring down from power the officials who take poor peoples' money to buy big cars, fancy houses, trips to Mecca and many wives for themselves. The party is well organized in the big city, but has practically no representation or effect in the rural areas. In the rural communities the Lawan and the DH as well as the local N.A. officials, as the ruling elite, give substance to the leadership of the N.P.C.

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648 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political rules.

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665 The results of this complexity leads to large factions each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State. Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

[178] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

631 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of
642 political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu
665 have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the IH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

511 Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives
[433] us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of $180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living".(1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1)This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is, the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence *as these are conceived of* by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life,
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

1 [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[566] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji.
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 556 565 441 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

647 practically impossible since it meant rejecting your own superiors, not your job,
466 and it would be similar to someone in a household saying he was fed up when he
571 decided to leave. Thus in Kanuri cultural terms, changing a job means rejecting the
576 people with whom one works, and young men claim they would be considered ingrates and trouble-makers if they were to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends who can "visit at night" with the appropriate people and explain the ins and outs of the case so that things can be arranged on this personal basis first before any impersonal bureaucratic procedures are utilized.

647 On the surface the emirate civil service looks very westernized. There are
466 offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense vouchers, committees, memoranda, tele-
571 phones, employee organizations, etc. However within the service, traditional pat-
576 terns of association are still very strongly observed. A man lifts the telephone and
178 traditional greetings and modes of address to a superior flow forth and color the
[179] conversation. People leave their shoes outside a superior's office, and so on. Under these superficial cultural acts there are other things as well. "Big men" (senior officials) have large compounds linked to a number of clients who live either in their households or close by. Some of these subordinates have positions in the civil
[667] service. Others form part of this big man's own group of followers; he must be approached through this group and he uses it to maintain his position and prestige in
[663] the state. It is also important to understand that the western concept of loyalty to an ideal of public service is not widespread as yet. Top leaders are committed to the maintenance of order in a just society that is becoming more modern. Within the Native Authority, department loyalties are to one's superiors and personal advancement is through loyalty and generalized obedience, just as it always has been in Kanuri society, and not to an abstract ideal of public service and bureaucratic efficiency. This does not mean that rationalized bureaucratic behavior will not become more common in Bornu. Indeed everything we know about modernization suggests that this is inevitable. However, it does mean that at present the society is not divided into strict sectors, one labelled modern or western, the other traditional. Instead, each of these permeates the other so that everything new and modern is shot through with traditional culture, and everything traditional has aspects of the modern.

Representative Government

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634 For most intents and purposes the political organization of the emirate is carried out within the system of offices and agencies described above. However there are today the bare bones of some other kinds of organization that are quite
634 likely to prove important in the future. During the 1950s and continuing on to the present time, each district has had a local district council. This body is made up of members from all over the district, sometimes the village area heads, sometimes people appointed by them. They meet only a few times a year for one or two days under the chairmanship of the district head and discuss local affairs. These meet-
634 ings are generally attended as well by members of the departments of local govern-
652 ment from the capital. The councils have a budget based on a small proportion of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 ble, and these men maintained Bornu at an apogee of greatness until well into the
643 seventeenth century. One of these rulers, Idris Alooma, had a court scribe at the
[644] beginning of the seventeenth century, who wrote a number of accounts of his royal
[212] master's military expeditions. Luckily these have survived to give us a picture of Bornu warfare and government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, too, that Bornu was first mentioned on European maps, and from this time forward its fame became part of the legends of unknown kingdoms that lay inside the unexplored interior of Africa.

Bornu traditions claim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a decline in the power of the state. This is explained by the claim that the monarchy was becoming weak and overburdened with pomp, rituals, and religious study by the monarch. The ruling Mai appeared in public in a *fanadir*, or cage, which only his most trusted servants could approach and rarely led military expeditions himself. Much of this may be a reinterpretation of Bornu history by the second dynasty and their followers, who would naturally have played up the failures of the previous regime, when they took over in the nineteenth century. Contrarily
175 there are traditions of many successful military campaigns during this period and
648 Bornu's reputation as a great kingdom was still very widespread. Thus a wandering Englishman, Richard Tulley, who visited Tripoli at the end of the eighteenth century, spoke glowingly of what he had heard of Bornu's power. Parenthetically, he claimed that one of the Kanuri noblewomen living in Tripoli could speak the Italian language fluently.[6] On the other side of the case, Tuareg and Tubu raiders attacked the northern boundaries of Bornu and harassed the caravans with greater intensity than before.

The activities of these raiders are said to have increased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it is important to realize that the entire southern Sahara was a hotbed of unrest during this two hundred year period. In the 1590s the armies of El Mansur of Morocco finally managed to cross the Sahara and destroy the great empire of Songhai. Its cities of Timbuctu and Gau never again became the great emporia of trade, politics, and learning they had once been. The Moroccans could not establish, so far from home, any stable administrative organization capable of replacing the one they had destroyed. This suddenly released vassal groups in the Sahara, many of whom bordered on Bornu, and these were now free to raid, stimulate revolts, and pillage caravans, while their cousins to the west fought over the remains of the Songhai empire and the control of western trade
175 routes across the Sahara. It was during this same period of unrest that, all across
648 the Sudan, wandering holy men, especially nomadic Fulani of Futa Djallon in
668 Guinea, in Masina in the Upper Niger, and even in present day Nigeria, were expressing this disorder in religious terms. They preached through their leaders for a return to a truer and purer form of Islam. Often they claimed that those round them were pagans and had to be subdued in a holy war to reestablish Muslim order and law. It is in the light of all this turbulence that the so-called decline of Bornu
175 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should be seen. Elsewhere empires were
648 tottered or being formed, as in Futa Djallon; but Bornu remained, shaken perhaps by the general unrest of the period but still it survived, controlled its trade routes,

[113] [6] R. Tulley, *Letters Written During a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli*, Vol. II, (London: 1819), p. 51.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu.

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[8] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty.

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota-

[8] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa,* Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 646 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M814 Kanuri M814

175 642 [131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central 175 648 Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli.(1) Friendship was contracted with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli [779] as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time.(2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo.(3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Ishah al Kanemi".(4)

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travellers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones.(5)

173 669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

(1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit.Vol.II, p. 641.)
(2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
(3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
(4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
(5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans.H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

173 669 ing fashion. The legend claims[1] that Dunama, the great 17th Mai of Kanem (1221-1259 A.D.) "laid the foundation for the ensuing disaster of the Empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu", for it (the talisman) called forth and provoked every powerful man to ambition and intrigues, and there followed after this reign a period of civil wars, and rapid changes in the monarchy, often involving regicide. It was at this time that the vassal state of the Bulala on the eastern boundary of Kanem grew towards an ever stronger independence, and finally toppled the Kanuri kingdom. We are told in the Chronicle translated by Barth that during the reign of the 27th Mai, Daud (1377-1386 A.D.) the Kanuri were decisively [131] beaten by the Bulala.[2] By 1394 A.D., the 31st Mai, Omar (1394-1398 A.D.) finally gave up Kanem and came to Bornu proper to set up a kingdom in retreat somewhere between the present city of Maiduguri and the town of Gujba.

There followed a period of unrest and internal strife for about 75 years, during which many kings took the throne and were in turn overthrown or murdered. The kingdom was in a constant state of civil war 175 648 within and set upon by enemies from without. Palmer[3] in his researches has found references to a letter sent at this time to Cairo from the Kanuri monarch, asking the Caliph to order the Arabs of Wadai to stop helping the Bulala raid amongst the Kanuri for slaves, since they (the Kanuri) were all good Muslims, and not infidels to be treated as potential slaves for the taking. More evidence of the "Sturm und Drang" quality of the period is indicated by the fact that a Mai of this time lived away from Bornu in the Hausa city of Kano which had been in the past a vassal state of the Kanuri empire.

(1) Barth, H., op. cit. Vol. II; King list, pp 633-671.
(2) Ibid; p. 634.
(3) Palmer, H. The Bornu Sahara and Sudan, (London) 1936, p. 218

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643 Bornu in the 1820's.(1)

In 1835 Shehu Laminu retired and his son Umar (1835-1880) took over the effective headship of the Bornu state. Like his father, he attempted to maintain and expand the kingdom, while keeping the old Mai on the throne. During one of Umar's western campaigns against Zinder, the puppet Mai, Ibrahim appealed to Wadai for help in restoring him as the rightful ruler of Bornu against the Kanembu Shehu who had usurped the power. Umar returned from his Zinder campaign to find himself being attacked from the east by Wadai. Hearing of the Mai's instigation of this aggression, Umar put the puppet ruler in irons and tried to fight the Wadai forces at Logone, south of Lake Chad, but he was soundly defeated. Kuka was sacked, and the Wadai leader put Ali the young brother of the Mai on the throne. Umar, in high dudgeon, executed Ibrahim and bribed the Wadai forces to withdraw from Bornu. The young Ali and his small following were now attacked and defeated, during which encounter Ali lost his life. And so ended the dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa of Bornu. Shehu Umar declared himself the sole ruler of Bornu and rebuilt the city of Kuka which Barth visited in the 1850's. Local tradition marks this occasion by telling how Shehu Umar was the first of the Bornu monarchs ever to sit on a chair. Before this time leaders had always sat on rugs. It is also related of him that he took a member of the royal family, Ali Mairami, who was the son of a daughter of Mai Dunama (1810-1818), (i.e. he was not in line for the succession) and made him a Maisuli or joking king, who could joke with and chastise the Shehu in a manner prohibited to anyone else. This practice is still carried on today by the descendant of Ali Mairami in the court of the Shehu at Maiduguri.

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(1) Denham, Dr. Clapperton H. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1826.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

121 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin
60 group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may in-
61 clude only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we
602 do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in the parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group.
611 In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to
• 671 court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two por-
428 tions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to
562 your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth
578 to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

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which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

796 ceremony. Naming of children, circumcision, marriage and burial all have a religious aspect, though of course the nature of the ceremony is strongly Kanuri in character, and differs from the same ceremony as practiced by Moslems generally or from that ceremony as practiced by other nearby African Moslems. Similarly, the ceremonial holidays in the yearly cycle follow the Moslem calendar. Days of celebration include: the new year, the prophet's birthday, the sacrifice of the ram, and of course the month of Ramadan.

2. Islamic Law.

• 671 779 577 Several aspects of Kanuri culture are most profoundly affected by Islam, and will here be given more extended discussion. Law is perhaps the foremost of these. Acceptance of Islam means the acceptance of Islamic law. This involves two broad areas: one's conduct in everyday life, and formal, written law which is a part of political organization. With respect to the first, the Kanuri view of the "good man" is synonymous with being a good Moslem. In one's every-day conduct one should be properly humble and respectful of superiors, and false pride (ro kura) is considered a despicable trait. One should be devout not only in performing ritual acts, such as prayer, but in one's thoughts. It is commendable for a man to awake early in the morning, long before the time one begins the day's work, for contemplation and the counting of prayer beads (tasbimi). [692] Disputes are taken to the Lowan and to the Ajia for arbitration,

671 779 692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

871 779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
876 779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

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42 has built, as it was built through his labor or his money.
[435] Since there is great pressure for desirable house sites, an old house which is no longer worth much but is located on a good site will be sold for an amount far exceeding the value of the house itself. To all intents and purposes the owner is selling
42 the land on which the house stands. Fishing sites along the
226 river are under the "ownership" of the Lowans, and sites are given to people to use. Fishing sites are inherited but may not be sold.

425 As was pointed out earlier, land is increasingly viewed as
178 a commodity which can be bought and sold. Original Kanuri ideas about land have been undergoing change. Just as house sites within the town are sold, so too farm land is sold under
425 certain conditions. The legality of these proceedings, accord-
67
[651] ing to Kanuri law, is still somewhat vague. A stranger coming to Geidam will be given land to farm only if he intends to remain in Geidam and will pay his haraji there. A Geidam man who moves elsewhere, and does not intend to return, will consequently be paying his haraji in the new town where he will settle. He
[427] forfeits the rights which he held to farmland in Geidam. Nor may he sell that land except under special conditions. However, one Geidam man may give, rent or sell his farm land to another Geidam man. Both, of course, continue to pay haraji in Geidam. According to the Alkali of Geidam, sale of farm land is legally viewed in the following manner: if a man's father worked a piece of land and he in turn inherited that land, his possession of the

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425 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he
• 671 wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the
Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the
land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a suf-
ficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and
forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by
the new owner.

241 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm
565 the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A
592 wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm
land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead
the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land
for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head
[465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment
241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some
565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
464 may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
[178] proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm
241 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out
427 sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable loca-
tion. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops
belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
634 Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to
[423]

[BEIDAM]

627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan 663 661 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition [431] [654] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which 431 he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the [671] case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

[GEIDAM]

627 Alkalis as Yerima is with Alkali Baba Kura, but Yerima would
663 put his influence to use only when affairs arise which directly
661 concern him.

627 In the eyes of talaka, sholo is the major means for keeping
829 the peace. They do not distinguish sharply between the resolu-
• 671 tion of conflicts through sholo and through judgments handed down in the courtroom. The Kanuri do not conceive of an impartial legal system which grants all individuals equal protection. Law is conceived of as mediation granted by particular individuals, some more trustworthy than others. Whether one brings one's complaint before the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan depends on whether one has greater trust in the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan. In any case, one brings one's complaint to be heard by a single man, with his particular whims, idiosyncracies and prejudices, and one chooses the man in whom one
[648] has the greatest confidence. According to the British view, sholo given by an Ajia or Lowan is not permitted, and is therefore not binding on the parties involved. A man who has received an unfavorable decision in sholo can complain to the court and the decision will be overruled. The Ajia or Lowan who heard the case will have difficulty because of it. This rarely happens because the talaka sees the situation from an entirely different viewpoint. When he brings a case for sholo and receives an adverse ruling, the dispute must end there as he has done everything possible for him to do in the situation, particularly if no bribes have been given (to his knowledge)

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627 829 671 [626] and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dispute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al- [693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 651 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political official are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and [545] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

601
602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kàsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kàsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kàsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different [591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the [428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on [67] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanua (your [603] mother) or yansà (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Buxton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

647 661 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri 261.
values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his [183] laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismis- [671] sals) to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence.

Political Parties

665 In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

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567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "komanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and [673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to disinherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is immediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
[554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[369] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an important man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expectations of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

586 779 ing, "I divorce you," or, "The marriage is over." When a husband divorces his wife she leaves his house and goes to the house of her luwali. A wife cannot divorce her husband, but, as the Alkali of Geidam phrased it, "The power of a woman is in the law; the law helps her." As an example, he noted that if a woman hits her husband, that is nothing, but if a man hits his wife, the marriage can be dissolved by an Alkali. She can ask the court to grant her a divorce if her husband is impotent, and therefore not a real husband. If he disputes the accusation the court may actually attempt to ascertain whether it is true or not, by witnessing whether the husband is capable of having intercourse with his wife.

A man may divorce his wife twice, and take her back within the three months and ten day waiting period, or at any time after that. After the third time, he is forbidden from taking [784] her back until she has married and divorced another man. If they continue to live together after the third divorce, they are living in a state of sin called dəl for which the punishment is hell. A man may divorce his wife only once and say dəla to her, and the marriage is dissolved, just as if he had divorced her for the third time.

When a man divorces his wife, friends and neighbors frequently come to attempt to arbitrate their dispute (sholo). 586 681 The husband may finalize the separation by saying, "Yanyi" (She is like my mother). Having said this, the marriage is ended, and the husband may not take back his wife unless he pays a fine

586 779 • 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is <u>haram</u> (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the 586 779 626 695 husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a [784] wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

651 634 563 66 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compromised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is demanded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 63 The roles of a number of political figures have been discussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

634 178 177 554 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-

[GEIDAN]

177 441 accepting attitude towards Western material goods.

Having accepted these new behavioral alternatives and having achieved great success in their new activities, the status of the group of canteen operators began to change. Their roles were new and strange to them; they were unclear of their obligations in the changing situation. Though they now had important statuses in the community, there was no title to accompany these statuses. A pious Moslem who becomes wealthy is able to fulfill his obligation to carry out the pilgrimage to Mecca, and this the Canteen Operators did at the first opportunity. Five of the six members of that group in the present study became Alhajis, a title by which the pilgrim is henceforth addressed. This is a means to acquire prestige in the community, but it also serves another purpose --it demonstrates that the individual concerned is a pillar of faith in the community and may be expected to uphold traditional ways.

177 441 156 The "self" which the Canteen Operators seek to communicate to others is of an individual who is conservative, an upholder of tradition. This is in contrast to their acceptance of new sorts of behavior and to the recent changes to which they have been party within the social structure. Indeed, it is because of these things that the Canteen Operators present such a conservative "self" and in so doing they exhibit behavior which is predicted in hypothesis 3. In the case of the Canteen Operators the sanctions involved would be the rejection

[GEIDAN]

*177 441 156 [681] by others of the right of the Canteen Operators to occupy important positions in the community. This would be brought about by a denial of power and prestige on the part of other community members. In order to prevent this from happening, the Canteen Operators assert their identity as part of the Kanuri community by stressing traditional Kanuri values. It is their considerable degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas, taken with their extreme conservatism, frequently in the same area of behavior, which leads to the characterization of the group as an unstable group.

Their inconsistencies, as exhibited in Table XLII, occur in almost every area of behavior. They would wear European shoes, but decidedly would not wear European trousers, thus indicating their extreme sensitivity to the difference between these two items of clothing. They fast at Tsuro Mbulo, though they rarely wear charms. They would visit a European doctor and prefer European medicine, though they prefer the Kanuri method of treatment for five of the six diseases. They would take their disputes to court and tend to place conditions on the giving of charitable gifts, and both of these have been discussed in terms of the ambiguity of expectations in their roles. They would send their son to school though they state a preference for the Koranic Malam over the Western school. They would marry a Hausa woman, though not a woman of any of the other tribes. Their most pronounced inconsistency is in the final two items of their profile. They are strongly in favor

634 571 561 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows approaches the group.

634 692 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against [681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 571 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and [illegible] in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued. [557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another 634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and 571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District, 661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

602 elicited with little difficulty:

[682] [683] It is the father's family that is responsible for the dia (blood-money, compensation to a non-group member and his group for physical injuries or death brought about by the activity of own group members), they will support you if you get into trouble, it is from them that you get your property, if you marry and have no money, they will collect it for you, and you don't have to pay it back, but you will help them when asked for other people in the family - they are the mai durbe (king of the families).

Upper class members made the following generalization in their statements about the father's family: they felt that the great utility of the patrilateral group is its readiness to support an individual member when he is in trouble, and of course its eventual material use to him in terms of property.

When informants were asked at some other time about the matrilateral kin group without any reference to the father's family and in the context of a conversation having to do with loans and credit, the answer was similar to the following given by a small hamlet farmer:

> Oh yes, for these things (credit) you must go to your mother's family, they will not refuse you anything, for they feel for you like a mother feels for her child.

Upper class members observed similarly that if summa kalewa (if all was well) then people like their mother's family better, it is more [184] affectionate. They also felt that it might be easier to borrow money from the matrilateral groups but were not as unanimous in this respect as the lower class member (neither class was completely unanimous).

[152] In answer to questions about jealousy (kandulɨ) differences, all informants agreed that there was much more of this among the patrilateral group. One informant expanded this as follows:

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661 fellow upper class member.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against
632 a Fulani herder whose cows had eaten his millet. The case came
661 before Lawan who ruled that although the Fulani had pulled a
knife on Bukar (a serious offence), it was Bukar who had started
683 the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cows to wan-
684 der over Bukar's field and devour his, as well as another man's,
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crops were already eaten before the fight started; besides this,
pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offence to the
fight itself, and the Fulani was not fined for this middemeanour).

632 In discussing the matter, Bukar's senior, the teacher ex-
661 plained that Lawan was angry at Bukar for his behaviour over the
mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When
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teacher to give the money to Lawan and to say that he (Bukar)
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to tell Lawan that if there was any help that Lawan needed in
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ices. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future. If
Lawan continued to adjudicate against him and give him heavy
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Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace
with Lawan, but if this were impossible then higher authorities
would be resorted to and Lawan's power by-passed. In other
words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town
should be respected within limits.

This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

632 A Lawan is installed officially by the Shehu at an invest-
[643] iture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawans well back into the 19th century,

593 The husband has absolute claim to the sexual rights of his
595 wife. Should he have more than one wife, he must regularly alternate his stay at the house of the wife with whom he sleeps, spending one night in turn with each of his wives. Though he might not have sexual intercourse with her, he must spend the
[692] night in her house. Should he, for any reason, break the regu-
[684] lar alternation, his wife can bring him before the Alkali who would force him to observe the rule or dissolve the marriage. In this way, although the husband has absolute rights, the law once again helps to protect the wife. It can, and frequently does happen that a man will have preferences among his wives. He may recently have married a young girl whom he finds more attractive than an older wife, but he may not allow his attraction for her to cause him to favor her by sleeping with her, at night,
[846] more frequently than he does with his other wives. After a woman has borne a child, her husband must not have intercourse with her for forty days, but he must sleep in her house when her turn comes despite the fact that he may not have intercourse with her.

595 Where there is more than one wife, the wife who has been married to the household head for the longest period of time is senior wife in the household. This is a position of authority in the household. Though she may not curse or beat the other wives, she does give orders which are obeyed by the other wives. Disputes between lesser wives are settled by the head wife. If one lesser wife will not cease making trouble after being warned, the head wife may tell her husband that the lesser wife is a per-

837
836 available only to her husband and this turns to sexual freedom and
562 experimentation when she is a divorced woman.(1)

837 This results in much marital infidelity on the part of
562 married men and women. As we have seen, this can take a sanctioned and an unsanctioned form for men, while for married women any extra-marital sexual intercourse is considered to be adultery. Thus X, a Magumeri man, well known for his extra-marital sex relations woke up a local official late one night and asked him to come and see the woman whom X had brought to his compound. This was to ensure public recognition of the fact that he was sleeping with a power (divorced
[593] woman) and not someone's wife. When asked what his wife thought of his behaviour X replied that she did not like it. He added that it was none of her business and she could leave him if she wished.

593 On the other hand, Kanuri men are usually extremely sus-
837 picious of their wives. One man whose wife attended local dances used
• 684 to come to these evening celebrations to make sure that no one shone a flashlight on his spouse while she was dancing. The only time that this did occur the husband reported the incident to the Village Head who in turn locked up the voyeur for the night. This same woman was observed on several occasions entering single men's sleeping huts while her husband was away on trading trips.

837 Even one seemingly submissive woman, the wife of an upper class man, was observed to blossom out suddenly and visit strange

[589] (1) This is not meant to imply that the woman has complete freedom, even when divorced. A woman may have one or two men supporting her and sleeping with her while she is divorced (one at a time is more common), often for only periods of a week or two at a time. Women who sleep with too many men at the same time while divorced are considered bad marriage risks and tend to be regarded as acting somewhat more like a prostitute, rather than a divorced woman, who should really be going through a series of "trial" marriages, one of which will eventually lead to the real thing.

837 households when her husband was away. Several informants remarked that it was apparent, now her husband was away, that she wished to have some tum-tum (pleasure, with a sexual implication).

593 837 Whether or not the husband is away, women must leave the compound for ceremonies, water carrying, helping other women to prepare for ceremonies, going to market, etc. Only men with wives in seclusion can restrict, and then only partially, female activities beyond the household. Within this framework, all Kanuri men know from their own experience how easily liaisons can be set up with married women, and therefore become anxious and mistrustful of wives who leave the compound too often.

837 584 The covert subversion of marital fidelity norms is also illustrated in the role of the sersér. The sersér is an old woman who for a fee, acts as an intermediary between a man and a married woman in promulgating a future marriage between them, which presumes the divorce of the woman from her present husband. The relationship arranged between the man and the married woman by the sersér often infers an adulterous sexual union as well. If discovered by the husband, the old woman is often taken into court with her male employer and fined heavily. However, among males who value their respectability, the old woman is usually warned at first to stay away from the compound, and the wife admonished not to have anything to do with her.

[684]

832 Another illustration that documents the social recognition of female desire for sexual freedom is the concept of tarwo which refers to walking about looking for a partner for sexual intercourse. Any man or woman walking about the town alone is suspect of tarwo. There are a few definitive signs such as man having his hat pushed for-

632
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This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

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[643] iture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawans well back into the 19th century,

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar (1) and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

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[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

632 689 578 692

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

632 689 578 692 159 [571]

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

632 685 689 578 692 159

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

578 632 689 692 [159] [685]

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643]

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. [634] On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

632 634 578 66

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for [166] example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or [651] by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

A man who started using his wife's dowry without
583 her knowledge and con-
593 sent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most prob-
[586] ably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son
[685] over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates
156 from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal
583 worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value
[585] in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

581 The Kanuri recognize different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kamu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is
[832] good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

[192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desirability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, workmanship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kanuri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rarely wear prints).

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ccalists.

651 The essential problem in the collection of nomad jangali is to find the cows and their owners, who are wandering in search of good grazing, and who are most likely to wander into the deeper thickets when the time for jangali collection nears. Once the cattle owners and their cattle are found, their names are recorded along with the number of cows which each man owns. Then, as he usually has no cash, it is necessary for the owner of a herd of cattle to sell some of them so that he can obtain cash with which he will pay the jangali tax. After his name is recorded, he does not attempt to evade payment. He is then given several weeks to pay his tax. Nomad jangali rates are [487] five shillings for each cow. If a man attempts to conceal cows, if he reports that he owns a number of cows and then is discovered to have more than announced, he pays at the rate of ten shillings per cow.

651 634 The prescribed method for collecting jangali is for the Ajia personally to ride after the Fulani and collect the tax from them for their cattle. In a district the size of Geidam [492] this is obviously impossible. It is necessary for an Ajia to have many horsemen in order to canvass his entire district so that he will collect an amount in jangali which corresponds to the actual number of cows in his district. This is the primary role of the kabuna. There are several approaches to the problem of jangali collection, relying on differing tactics, all used by Yerima. One is to assign important kabuna, who can be

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563 Maganuwa, and Mai Mar. Several other Mais roam in the brush
651 areas without being attached to particular lowanships. A new man may come to Yerima with a group of Fulani followers and ask to be made an Ardo. If he is appointed Ardo, he is then asked to which Mai he wishes his group to be affiliated. A kabuna sent by Yerima to collect jangəli from a particular area records the number of cows reported by the Ardo or Mai for his group of followers in that area. Then the kabuna hunts down the cows
[687] and their individual owners. If the kabuna finds that an Ardo actually has more cows than he originally reported, the Ardo is fined five shillings for every additional cow found. Each Fulani Mai receives a percentage of the total jangəli collected from his group. The percentage that he receives (wujira) is in the neighborhood of six pence for each pound of jangəli collected. The Mai then distributes money to his Ardos, according to the amount of jangəli that they brought in.

651 When Yerima left Magumeri District in 1953 there were
634 28,000 cows on which village jangəli was paid, and 59,700 cows on which nomad jangəli was paid. In 1956, under the new Ajia, Digma, the number of cows on which nomad jangəli was paid had dropped to 23,000. The drop in the reported number of cows may be because Fulani have left Magumeri District, but it is more likely that Digma is unable to have them tracked down so that the jangəli tax is paid. This is because Digma has insufficient kabuna to do the job adequately. When Yerima first arrived in Geidam in 1953 there were 33,000 cows reported for nomad jangəli. By 1956, there were 39,000 cows reported, an

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Finally in the late fourteenth century, a rebellious Bulala group east of Lake Chad upset the Magumi Sefuwa rulers of Kanem, who ultimately came to the southwest portion of the Chad basin to establish what later became the empire of Bornu.

The collapse of the great Kanem empire in the fourteenth century is attributed by tradition to internal civil wars resulting from the Bulala revolt against the Sefuwa dynasty. The ultimate cause is rationalized in legend by an alleged irreligious act of the seventeenth king or Mai of Kanem, one Dunama, (*ca.* 1220–1260 A.D.) who is supposed to have "laid the foundations for the ensuing disaster of the empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu" which subsequently provoked men of ambition to entreat against the state.[5] It may or may not be true, but it is very likely not the entire explanation even if we were to know what the "sacred talisman" was—which we do not; knowledge of its meaning and content have long since disappeared. Other reasons for the collapse of the kingdom besides that of a civil war against the Bulala can be suggested. The kingdom was in all likelihood not highly centralized and the nobles could quite easily unite, obtain outside help, and try to gain control. Indeed all of the traditions of the Bulala tell of them obtaining help from the Tubu of the central Sahara (a rebellious group who were tributary to Kanem) against the ruling Kanem dynasty.

Another factor is the nature of succession to the throne. Throughout the Sudan, and for as long as any traditions go back in Bornu, succession to the throne has always been open to those whose fathers have been monarchs. However, given many short reigns, this custom increases the number of contenders enormously and therefore exacerbates competition for royal office in the state so that the danger of civil wars and lack of unity is accelerated; the state is then much weakened as an effective political force. In other words, given a few short reigns, the possibility that more will follow becomes even greater unless a strong man with very strong backing emerges to quell the factions supporting various royal contenders. Finally it should be realized that Bornu was a much greener land than Kanem and it might have actually attracted the Kanem ruling group and their followers away from the drier, more inhospitable northern shores of Lake Chad. Certainly the kingdom of Kanem was not of such a nature that it suddenly collapsed when people (later to be called Kanuri) left. The Bulala clan assumed the leadership and Kanem continued as a sovereign state while the Kanuri tried, unsuccessfully at first, to reconquer their lost empire.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Sefuwa and their clan, the Magumi, had obtained sovereignty to the southwest of Lake Chad, and under a series of able monarchs they established their new kingdom of Bornu as a great power in the Sudan. The first of these rulers to organize and establish a really powerful state was a man named Ali Ghajedeni (*ca.* 1470–1500 A.D.), the forty-eighth monarch on the Sefuwa dynastic list. He built a new capital called Birni Ngazargamo, "the walled fortress," at the north end of Bornu and united this new kingdom under his control. Ali is supposed to have reconquered Kanem and re-established control over the Saharan trade while making war continually against Songhai to the west over the subjugation of the Hausa states and the east-west trade routes across the Sudan. His reign was followed by a series of others no less nota-

[5] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol. II, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1857), p. 637.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes: 632 689 578 692

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence. 632 689 578 692 159 [571]

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor. 632 685 689 578 692 159

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

423 been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer,
592 simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

423 Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they
241 are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader
423 can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings.
[428] As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in
[691] Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

463 Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams
[241] or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering.
[221] These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

463 Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in
467 each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived
[622] in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather
[178] worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route. 443 489 438

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life. 443 494 489 443 438 182

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling. 443 [691] [692]

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they 443 438 435

*177 the usefulness of the activities in which the agents of this
75 authority engage. Taken at face value, the response of the
*829 Aristocracy in column 5 seems to make little sense. Its mean-
*565 ing becomes apparent when the role of this group within the
744 social structure is understood in relation to the behavioral area being investigated.

• 691 Arbitration of disputes between individuals has been dis-
627 cussed in some detail in the sections dealing with political
*177 organization. The traditional Kanuri way of dealing with inter-
648 personal disputes is for the complainant to bring his dispute before an authority figure for arbitration. For the bulk of the populace this means that disputes are brought before the Lowan or the Ajia. The Alkali is also a part of traditional Kanuri society but his authority now derives from external sources. British colonial government has set up the judiciary as an arm of government, and the Kanuri Alkali is part of this larger system. The decisions of the Alkali given in court are backed up by this external source of power. The judgments of the Lowan or the Ajia when he hears cases in sholo receive their support solely from the power vested in positions within Kanuri society. Willingness to take disputes to court, therefore, represents a tendency to seek for sanctions outside of
*177 traditional Kanuri society. The data on this question are pre-
691 sented in Table XXVIII. Responses in column 1 state simply
627 that the individual would bring his complaint before the Ajia
*829 (or Lowan). The attitude of the Talaka whose response is re-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 291]

*177
* 691
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*829
*565
*554
*463

Table XXVIII

19. Arbitration of disputes: before Lowan (or Ajia) or in court.

	1. Ajia	2. 1st Ajia then to Court	3. varies with circumstances	4. Court	5. Neither
Aristocracy	1	1	2*a	1	
Koranic Malams			1*b	1	1*c
Canteen Operators		2	1	3*d	
NA Malams		3	1	2*ef	
Kabuna		5*g		1*h	
Craftsmen	1	5*i			
Talaka	2*j	2	1	3*k	
Low-status Individuals	1	2			1
Totals:	5	20	6	11	2

*a Lowan Kagu, the former Lowan states, "If you go to the Ajia, everybody talks it over and cools down. At court they punish the wrong doer. If you are right, you go to court. If you are not right, you go to the Ajia."

*b Koranic Malam: "No one ever did anything to me. If it is a light matter I would go straight to the court. If it is a weighty matter I would go first to the Ajia."

Others in this column stated that they would take a weighty matter to court and a light matter to the Ajia.

*c One malam stated that he would go to neither the Ajia or to court. "I would pray for Allah to take care of it." When asked what he would do if a man stole his goat he said that he would go first to the Ajia. If nothing happened he would sit still and would not go to court.

*d Several of the canteen operators give the following reasons for going to court: 1) "Court is more honest." 2) "The court is the proper judge for Moslems to go to." 3) "Long ago I would have gone to the Ajia. Now only to court. If you go to the Ajia, it's a drawn out affair."

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Table XXVIII (continued)

*177 *e An NA Malan said, "Court. Court knows right and wrong; knows
*691 who is speaking the truth or not. Going to the Lowan only
627 works if your complainant agrees."

*829 *f Another said, "First to court. If you go to Sholo, the person
*565 giving sholo takes money and doesn't punish the person who
has committed a wrong. The court is just and punishes."

*554 *g A typical kabuna response was, "Go to the Ajia. He sends
*463 you to court. He is our superior."

*h An typical kabuna: "Court. Both parties are forced to speak the truth."

*i A young leather worker: "Everyone has his Mai (king). The Lowan helps you; he fixes it. Ajia does the same. In court all are the same before the law. It doesn't help you; only when you are right. I would go to the Wakil of the Ajia with a complaint."

*j A talaka: "Go to the Lowan. The Lowan is my superior. A man who goes to court is stupid. If you go over your Lowan's head, it's no good. He collects your taxes."

*k Another talaka: "Only court. Only the court can enforce anything. If the other party doesn't agree, the Lowan is no use."

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*177 corded in *j is typical. Taking a dispute to court means
* 691 short-cutting the traditional means of settling disputes and
627 is likely to be interpreted by the Lowan as an attempt to go
*829 over his head. This would be a foolish thing to do, since the Lowan is one's immediate superior ("He collects your taxes."). Responses in column 2 indicate that one should go first to Ajia, and that the dispute should be taken to court only if the Ajia advises it. The Kabuna's response (*g) states that this should be the procedure because the Ajia is one's superior. The leather-worker (*i) phrases it so that everyone has his superior to whom he must first go with his complaints; these are then smoothed over. The responses in columns 1 and 2 represent traditional responses; 25 individuals (57 per cent) answered in this way.

Some individuals indicated that their course of action would depend on the circumstances. Thus one of the Aristocrats (*a) indicates a perfect understanding of the differences between taking a dispute to the Ajia for sholo and taking it before the Alkali in court. The purpose of sholo is to placate both sides; the court enforces its decisions by punishing the wrong-doer. Therefore, if you are in the right, you can witness the punishment of the individual who has wronged you by taking him to court. If you are not in the right, you are better off before the Ajia, whose aim is to settle the dispute. Several others (*b, *c) indicate that they would do little or nothing in assuming an active role in order to bring those

*177 against whom they have a complaint before either authority.
627
691
*829 Those who would take their disputes directly to court (column 4) offer a variety of reasons for so doing, but the basis of their reasoning is that: the court can determine the truth (and frequently people are required to swear on the Koran in court); the court can enforce its decisions; and sholo requires both parties to accept and be bound by the decision of the
*177 arbitrator (see *e and *k) while the court does not. The 11
627 individuals whose answers fall in column 4 represent members
691 of 6 groups, but the highest proportion of respondents giving
*829 this answer is to be found among the Canteen Operators. Three
44 of this group said "court"; only two said "Ajia first and then court." Furthermore, their reasons for taking a dispute to court are not as convincing as those of other individuals who would also take their disputes to court. In *d are to be found the responses of the three Canteen Operators who would take their disputes directly to court. Neither the first nor the second answer are reasonable explanations. Bribery is possible in cases brought for sholo and equally possible in cases brought before an Alkali; it is no more proper for a Moslem to go to court than it is for him to bring his dispute for arbitration. The third answer is more convincing, though it says only a portion
[178] of what might be said. It seems clear that the Canteen Operators as a group would be more likely to take cases before the Alkali rather than before the Lowan or Ajia because of their own changing status in the social structure. Because they are

[BEIDAN]

#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
• 691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
#829 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
441 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that
178 of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees
their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to
place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan
or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

935 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generos-
577 ity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
[EBH] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth
and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is
expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to
validate his high position. Every individual in the sample,
when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked
for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a
single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked.
Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an un-
qualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the
gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The vari-
ous qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-
hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the
other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone
who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

583
584 portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasizes the patri-
602 lateral group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliram.

587 With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliram payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliram payment.

584 With the completion of the luwaliram payment the final ar-
585 rangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada'a, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliram payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

584 If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the
691 luwaliram, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

584 691 the man requests that the luwaliram payment be returned to him (as it should be traditionally). Very often a man may try initially in the judicial proceedings to regain his entire investments, asking not only for the luwaliram, but a sum which includes his entire outlay of capital to date for the wedding. In such cases the position is usually just a beginning for bargaining. However, if the adjudicator can be convinced that the girl's or woman's group intended to defraud, or break faith from the very beginning of negotiations, the man might possibly be awarded more than just the luwaliram by the court. On the other hand, either party has the right of retraction before the formal wedding day ceremony (sada'a) which for the man means forfeiture of his payments, and for the woman and her group, means repayment of the luwaliram to the rejected suitor. For example, in one case observed, a man was repaid his luwaliram because a higher bidder had come on the scene.

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585 In the early morning on the day of the wedding the groom with his male friends and relatives, along with male friends and relatives of the bride's household, meet at the household of the luwali, or at the house of a ranking person of the ward or town for the sada'a. The tendency is to use the luwali's house more among higher ranks in the city, while lower status groups and rural people generally use the compound of a local ranking person. At this time the second and final payment of the bridewealth, the sada'a is made. It is most commonly referred to in Maria Theresa dollars although most often paid in pound sterling. For peasant non-virgin weddings in the Magumeri area during 1956-7, the price seemed to be fairly standardized around the value of 4 M.T. dollars (28-32 shillings). The disposal of this payment is similar to that of the luwaliram.

585 583 [436]

The major part of the ceremony is given over to examining

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586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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[603] In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with
[691] him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
586 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
[695] times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bridewealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

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592 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

[691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
[184] with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

the aid of magical devices. 000

Besides the greater elaboration and expense of a virgin 585
marriage it is also distinguished by the delivery of the woman's dowry (larusa) to the groom's compound the day after the wedding. In non-virgin marriages the dowry is brought with the woman on the wedding night. This is due to the necessity of proving the virgin status of the young girl. Her material goods cannot be brought over to the husband's house until the terms of the contract are acclaimed as valid. If her 691
virginity is questionable on the marriage night, then a litigation either in or out of court begins, wherein her status as a virgin must be re-assessed and the entire marriage arrangement re-evaluated. The whole community is witness to this validation since the successful deflowering is made public in the middle of the night or early morning by a procession of women of both families, friends and neighbours, who go round the town beating enamel basins, with a drummer in the lead. This serves as an announcement of the marriage consummation and of the discovery of the girl's virgin status by her husband. If there is no procession every one knows something is amiss. Among more traditional families, the groom announces the successful test by emerging from his hut immediately after defloration to shoot a gun into the air.

The second classification of marriage is the kamu gwojin 587
(he takes a woman) which means marrying a woman who has already been married before and is now divorced. There is a great deal of variation in the initiation of such a marriage, but as a general rule it is carried on with much less ceremony and a far greater degree of individual choice is exercised by the couple themselves. This freedom increases with age as well as being more common for all ages (except first marriages) among the lower ranks of society. As a man and woman grow older they demand

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term. 175 644

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day. 567 554 178

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a 175 642 634 701 651 692 175 631 642 634 626 839

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 631 634 tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 648 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 793 692 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the specialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 651 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom although records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be 611 settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court nor- 613 mally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance 671 dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court 428 at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal 692 grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he 578 can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is 672 legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime 602 against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations 602 through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin 611 (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are consid- 613 ered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their 829 lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always [578] some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not [554] just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a cer- 554 tain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take 123 him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers 829 or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might 613 be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate 848 613

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route. 443 489 438

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life. 443 494 489 443 438 182

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling. 443 691 692

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they 443 438 435

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

622 and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new
159 settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members
[578] are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with
[627] outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior
[692] in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in
[103] all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs,
[651] either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At
present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken
by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes
622 that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to
159 indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When
62 that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He
[627] tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not ac-
[692] cepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man
[592] named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full
[571] brothers, three of his sons, two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few
[651] unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these com-
pounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he
recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always
[692] consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his
sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link
[592] the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

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622 The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such
[633] as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced.

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan.

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers. In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge.

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate.

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government.

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire dis-
trict keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the polit-
ical organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is
one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program
vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
571 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
626 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the
son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist
on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other
hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other
way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will
begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their
own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down
the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the
political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas
like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a cen-
tral figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land
negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes
among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri
feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors
if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling
space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report
the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the
[692] contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the
632 action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
182 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu,
especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken
through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This
in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily
lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done,
the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is
known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at
least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

632 689 578 692

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

632 689 578 692 159 [571]

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight; and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

632 685 689 578 692 159

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

578 632 689 592 [159] [685] If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

632 [642] [643] Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. [634] On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

632 634 578 66 One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for [166] example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or [651] by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

lage area. The district head sent out his followers who gathered about fifty percent more than the original assessment and the lawan was then chastised and sent back with the warning that he must comply in the future with directives from the district head. 634 632 571 578

District heads' followers are outside the usual jurisdiction of those lower in the hierarchy such as the lawan. When they must be disciplined, or brought to court, they go directly to the district head or less often to the district judge by-passing the judicial authority of the lawan. Peasants seeking retribution for bad debts, adultery, or some other malfeasance committed by a district head's follower must then take the matter before the district head. This is the test of a district head's justice, and often he forces his followers to repay bad debts or fines, even though he himself is probably the one who will eventually pay the fine by advancing the money to his follower. In one case a district head publicly reprimanded one of his followers, paid his fine, then privately threatened to stop supporting this follower as his client for having burnt down a peasant's hut while drunk when the peasant refused to allow his wife to be molested by the follower. A district head who continually protects his own followers against the peasants develops a reputation as a tyrant and an inefficient administrator. Given the present government it is difficult to hide bad administration since complaints by peasants to touring officials usually provide information to people higher up in the political organization concerning the activities of a district head and his organization. 634 571 692 578 661

As suggested above there is sometimes a strain in the relations between a district head and the various lawans who head up the village areas within the district. Formally he relays directives from the capital to them in their village areas and they are supposed to carry out these policies. However the district head needs cooperation, often for necessary but somewhat semi-illicit activities and thus needs people he can trust in leadership positions within the district. On his side the lawan is semi-independent because he is a salaried official. District heads are constantly trying to win the affection and loyalty of their lawans, or if necessary to get them expelled, or wait until they retire and then have the office filled by one of their own loyal followers. Because district heads are constantly being retired, dismissed, or transferred from one district to another, each new district head is confronted with a number of lawans who are the loyal followers of predecessors who were district heads in the area. 632 634 578 661

The records of turnover of lawans, especially in the district capital, where they must see the district head continually, show that in general lawans are dismissed or retired most often shortly after the arrival of a new district head. The case of one lawan in Magumeri illustrates this very common occurrence. From 1921 to 1929 a lawan in Magumeri village area was a follower of the district head of Magumeri District. In 1929 a new district head arrived and suddenly the quality of reports by colonial officials changed. Whereas before this man was reported to be cooperative, intelligent, hard-working, and competent, he was now unpopular with the people, there was much emigration from his village area due to heavy taxation, and he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1933 he was suspended by the Shehu, and a younger brother of the new district head was appointed to the lawan's office for the Magumeri village area. Examples like this are extremely common in the history of all the districts right up to the present time.

As in the example above there is a tendency for the district heads to ap- 000

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appoint-
ments formally need not be approved by the British administra-
tion, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
631
178 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times,
since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[329] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view
the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the polit-
ical system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions
of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit,
the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which pro-
tects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri
could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the pro-
tection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his
own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might
have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to
take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of
Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the
[642] two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

796 ceremony. Naming of children, circumcision, marriage and burial all have a religious aspect, though of course the nature of the ceremony is strongly Kanuri in character, and differs from the same ceremony as practiced by Moslems generally or from that ceremony as practiced by other nearby African Moslems. Similarly, the ceremonial holidays in the yearly cycle follow the Moslem calendar. Days of celebration include: the new year, the prophet's birthday, the sacrifice of the ram, and of course the month of Ramadan.

2. Islamic Law.

671 779 577 Several aspects of Kanuri culture are most profoundly affected by Islam, and will here be given more extended discussion. Law is perhaps the foremost of these. Acceptance of Islam means the acceptance of Islamic law. This involves two broad areas: one's conduct in everyday life, and formal, written law which is a part of political organization. With respect to the first, the Kanuri view of the "good man" is synonymous with being a good Moslem. In one's every-day conduct one should be properly humble and respectful of superiors, and false pride (ro kura) is considered a despicable trait. One should be devout not only in performing ritual acts, such as prayer, but in one's thoughts. It is commendable for a man to awake early in the morning, long before the time one begins the day's work, for contemplation and the counting of prayer beads (tajimi). [692] Disputes are taken to the Lowan and to the Ajia for arbitration,

671 779 692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

871 779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[463] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
876 779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

586 779 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is haram (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

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[784]

593 The husband has absolute claim to the sexual rights of his
595 wife. Should he have more than one wife, he must regularly alternate his stay at the house of the wife with whom he sleeps, spending one night in turn with each of his wives. Though he might not have sexual intercourse with her, he must spend the
[692] night in her house. Should he, for any reason, break the regu-
[684] lar alternation, his wife can bring him before the Alkali who would force him to observe the rule or dissolve the marriage. In this way, although the husband has absolute rights, the law once again helps to protect the wife. It can, and frequently does happen that a man will have preferences among his wives. He may recently have married a young girl whom he finds more attractive than an older wife, but he may not allow his attraction for her to cause him to favor her by sleeping with her, at night,
[846] more frequently than he does with his other wives. After a woman has borne a child, her husband must not have intercourse with her for forty days, but he must sleep in her house when her turn comes despite the fact that he may not have intercourse with her.

595 Where there is more than one wife, the wife who has been married to the household head for the longest period of time is senior wife in the household. This is a position of authority in the household. Though she may not curse or beat the other wives, she does give orders which are obeyed by the other wives. Disputes between lesser wives are settled by the head wife. If one lesser wife will not cease making trouble after being warned, the head wife may tell her husband that the lesser wife is a per-

[GEIDAM]

634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
[692] a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
[872] the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
[632] of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

648 634 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
[178] trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 692 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

[GEIDAM]

634 sented by the Ajia and those under him, are supposed to oper-
692 ate independently and to serve as checks on one another. In Geidam, Yerima Mustapha and Alkali Baba Kura work together very closely. As will be seen, the system of social stratification and the personal histories of the Geidam power elite operate to prevent the independent functioning of the several arms of
178 government. When the social system persists and old Kanuri
648 values are adhered to, as happens in Geidam, the traditional
63 political system continues to operate despite new forms instituted by the British colonial rulers.

177 The manner in which this occurs can be seen most clearly
178 in the following example describing the functioning of the po-
625 lice in Geidam. Nigeria has a dual police system: the Nigerian
648 Police, an arm of the Federal Government, and NA Police, part of the Native Authority system. The Bornu NA Police are under a European Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in Maiduguri. Among his important concerns is the theft of livestock, particularly in the northernmost districts, since cattle are easily moved across the frontier and sold in Niger, out of
[661] the jurisdiction of the Bornu NA Police. The Assistant Superintendent of Police had strong suspicions that collaboration between thieves and political officials on both sides of the border was preventing the apprehension of criminals. He thought that Lowans and Ajias might be hiding and protecting thieves and sharing in their profits. Consequently, he considered it imperative that the Police operate independently of the other

175 wished to have as the new Lowan, he replied that he was indif-
632
634 ferent. The name of Kolo Kolo was then submitted to the town
66 council, the only name submitted. Eight council members voted for Kolo Kolo as new Lowan; two wrote in other names. Kolo Kolo then became the new Lowan. He had been a resident in Geidam for twenty years before Yerima came to the town, and had been an important dilelma dealing in cows. Kolo Kolo is of the same family as Yerima's mother. When Yerima came to Geidam as Ajia, Kolo Kolo joined him as a kabuna, one of the more important kabuna. At the first opportunity he was made a Lowan. He is a good choice as Lowan as he has long been a resident of Geidam, and is acceptable to the townspeople. At the same time, he is a kabuna of Yerima's, and is completely devoted to Yerima, who made it all possible. Yerima bears no grudge against Lowan Kagu. He specifically states that if Lowan Kagu, who is still a young man, has learned from the experience and can demonstrate through his behavior that his attitudes have changed, he may well be appointed Lowan again, should a future opportunity arise. Indeed, it appears that Yerima would welcome this, were he assured of Lowan Kagu's loyalty to him, as it would smooth over old rifts and would restore Lowan Kagu to a position which had long been in his family and to which he was entitled.

692 The courts in Bornu are intended, theoretically, to oper-
692 ate independently from the political arm of government, and in particular to be free of all influence from the Ajias. The

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693 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri
554 District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another young man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the same families tend to retain their positions of power and
[66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a reliable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group
692 justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Disputants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the zogors arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has disputants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia
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[BEIDAM]

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431 subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be
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Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

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651 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.(1)

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692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Kainin Kanendi, literally the second to the King. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Kainin Kanendi were twelve
[693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

175 692 693 [645] whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175 692 643 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjudication himself. [631] The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175 182 463 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in Bornu. [44] This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market. 175 439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

178
642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained. [701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organization. [692] Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation [652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

175 648 634 632 During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930, Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situation. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admitted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the Lawans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order. The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr. Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O. arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri for hearings on the matter.

175 648 634 643 692 On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had requested the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignorance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising of personal tax levies.

586 Nevertheless the incidence of divorce is very high and only exceptional women marry as virgins and remain married all their lives to the same man, while practically all men divorce a wife at least once in their lives. The average figure is about three to four divorces per person (from qualitative observation and genealogical records) during a life span. The reasons given for divorce run the complete gamut of dissatisfaction that a man and a woman can complain of in their relations with one another.(1) Furthermore divorce is very easy to institute, being merely an act of personal will by either partner to the marriage.

[692] A great many divorces are practised without resort to the formal proceedings of the Alkalai court. The woman leaves her husband's compound taking her property with her and returns (traditionally) to her lumali's (guardian) household, which usually means her parents. As we have said before, this is not always the case in later marriages. If the husband wants her back, he sends an intermediary to the house to which she has returned to plead his case. If he does not, then an intermediary may be sent from the house to which the girl has gone. This latter procedure is much less usual, since the girl's family is traditionally of higher status, and it is customary for the lower status group to visit the higher and not vice versa. If no intermediaries are used it is assumed that both parties desire a divorce, or if they are used and fail to obtain a reconciliation, then [627] divorce follows. If any adjudication is required in the proceedings, [692] it is most commonly carried on by relatives, friends, ward heads and town heads.

[171] (1) c.f. Smith, M.G., op.cit. (1955) (p.63). Smith gives a list of complaints obtained from Hausa court records of divorce. All of his list of sixty-three complaints are applicable to Kanuri court proceedings on divorce.

586 town heads. Resort to higher courts occurs only in cases where settle-
692 ment by these local adjudicators is refused by one or both of the parties. This usually happens in the following instances: (1) annulment cases where there is a failure at consummation of the marriage; (2) when a man wants the return of the bridewealth because of his wife's request for a divorce only a few months after the wedding; (3) when there has been a beating which draws blood, thereby involving the litigants in an argument over blood money which must be paid by the assailant to the injured party and his/her family; (4) when any matter becomes so contentious as to be impossible to reconcile with the immediate help of relatives, friends, and local leaders.

586 Informants claimed that at least half of all divorces resulted in the remarriage of the couple. In light of the large number of divorces, this statement seemed contradictory to the observed facts
[192] at first glance. However, the Kanuri word for divorce (dimmyin) really means "to leave a spouse", i.e. it makes no distinction between divorce and separation in its semantic reference, which is an accurate description of the facts, since all divorces begin as separations. When viewed in this light the informants' statements make sense, since many separated couples are re-united. The reunion of a man with his separated wife was described as being very informal and inexpensive. He merely gives a small gift to the woman and the relatives (sometimes) with whom she is staying, and she returns to his compound without ceremony. There is, however, a limit to the number of times a man and woman may separate and re-unite. The third time a woman leaves her husband's compound, she does so in the knowledge that return is impossible under the terms of Kanuri law. That is to say, after the first and

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
578 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a
613 major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have <u>more</u> rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

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571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

634 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
692 the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and publicly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

634 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
571 in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.
[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another
634 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
571 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
661 where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education, the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

366 494 161 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 494 484 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest 443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of [203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, [273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale [525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 692 [632] Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

671 779 692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

871 779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
876 779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

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64 the ruling body in Bornu Emirate. Native Authority (NA) officials, under the overall jurisdiction of the Shehu, are appointed by the Shehu's council (modulas). These include the Ajia, the highest official representing the NA in a district, 634 and all the lesser office-holders in that district. In Geidam District, Yerima Mustapha is the most important political fig- [693] ure. Second in importance to Yerima Mustapha in Geidam is the Alkali of Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura Imambe, who served as Alkali in Geidam for most of the year in which the present [632] study was done, and then was promoted to a higher court. The three Lowans, Lowan Ashek, Lowan Kolo Kolo, and Serokin Garba, Lowan of the Hausa ward, follow. Their jurisdiction is limited to their own wards within the town. Then follow a long list of officials, all NA appointees, each with his own area of specialization: the Chief Scribe, Treasurer, Primary School Headmaster and three teachers, Agricultural expert, Veterinary, Hides and Skins Inspector, Forestry expert, Local Government Advisor, Adult Education Organizer, Dispenser, and Sanitation Inspector. The Chief Scribe and the Treasurer both have assistants. Lowest of the NA officials are the NA messengers. Six NA messengers are attached to the Ajia of Geidam; one NA messenger serves the Alkali.

Most of the officials listed above serve the district of Geidam, though all are permanently stationed in the town. The Ajia and his staff, headed by the Chief Scribe and the Treasurer, are responsible for the administration of the entire dis-

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693 554 The personnel who occupy positions in the judiciary, however, are bound to the social system. The Alkalis of Geidam exhibit a pattern in their personal histories, and are representative of specific social strata--the Koranic malams, the Imams and the Alkalis--whose sons follow their fathers and pursue the same goals. Alkali Baba Kura was the son of Imam Komi, the chief Imam at Maiduguri who later became Chief Alkali. He studied the Koran, explanations of the Koran, Hadith (traditions), and Tarikh (chronicles) at his father's house and at the houses of other learned Malams in Maiduguri, and then went to study law at the Kano Law School. He was appointed Alkali for the districts of Magumeri and Gubio when he was only twenty-five years old, at the time when Yerima Mustapha was Ajia of Magumeri, and Yerima became his mentor. Alkali Baba Kura remained in Magumeri for four years. After Yerima moved to Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura was transferred to Geidam. One year later he was elected to serve in the Northern legislature at Kaduna, while continuing on as Alkali of Geidam. Then in August, 1957 he was again promoted, this time to be Inspector of Courts in Maiduguri. He and two other powerful and important Alkalis make up the Shehu's court. This is an extremely important position for so young a man, and Alkali Baba Kura owes much of his success to help which he received from Yerima, although his own family connections were still more important in helping rapidly to further his career. Alkali Baba Kura's older brother is today Imam Ibrahim, having succeeded his father as chief Imam in

693 159 693 159 662 554 693 554

[GEIDAM]

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Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

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627 and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dis-
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671 pute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the
[626] case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al-
[693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political of-
651 ficial are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and
[565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[462] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[462] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[893] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

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631 in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the
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692 Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Maie centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Mainin Kanendi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanendi were twelve
[693] other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853
(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

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692 whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper
693 of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the
[645] third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

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692 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu
643 served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjud-
[631] ication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

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182 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with
463 its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in
[44] Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.

175 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A
439 complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

428 always be considered as getting some preference, although a surviving son who is of age (18-20) gets the largest share. When two sons of a deceased father have the same mother the younger son has no orthodox rights, since it is considered that the older brother is now replacing the father. However, it is customary that, if both are of age, the rule of two parts to one in favour of the senior in relation to junior holds sway, with the father's compound going to the senior. Three full brothers in Magumeri cut up the estate of their father in two parts at his death. Half the estate plus the compound went to the eldest brother while the other half was divided in two between the two younger brothers. A fourth younger brother was about thirteen years old at the time and living in another town - he received nothing. If the sons are from different mothers and both of age, the rules require equal sharing of the property, with the father's house going to the eldest.

A man is not free to dispose of his property to whomsoever he chooses. It must follow the rules of inheritance. However, he may before he dies ask a relative in front of witnesses to give
• [693] some special possession to a friend after his death. All cases of inheritance disputes that are adjudicated give ten per cent of the inheritance value to the court making the successful judgement.

|2| Inheritance customs in any society are an attempt to give continuity and stability to existing social relationships as they refer to rights and prerogatives, given the fact of potential dislocation of the ongoing relational system by loss of membership through death. The universality of inheritance disputes or animosity developing from inheritance transactions recorded from all over the world attest to the inevitable conflicts which arise no matter what variety

793 228, arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beg-
gar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
• [693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic
knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized,
high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
[441] primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest
status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
554 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded
shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-
entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper
sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanskko) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams; he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only a man with no proper shame could do such work.

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(1) Composite statement from informants.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head. 634 651 578 66

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court. 692

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true. 695 671 192 577 784

The Organization at the Center

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In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em- 368 361

586 779 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is <u>haram</u> (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

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[694]

[GEIDAM]

425 land is sufficiently old so that he can sell the land if he
671 wishes to. If a man works a piece of land for a long time (for
425 ten years, for example) he can sell it. But in a recent legal
• 695 case a policeman who worked in Geidam was given land by the Lowan. After a year he left Geidam for Maiduguri and sold the land. The Alkali ruled that he had not had the land for a sufficiently long period of time to enable him to sell it, and forced him to return the sum of money which was paid to him by the new owner.

241 Land is farmed under a variety of conditions. Talaka farm
565 the land themselves with the help of wives and children. A
592 wealthy man, however, may take a very large section of farm land from the Lowan, which he will not work personally. Instead the members of his household, his many tata njima, farm his land for him. His tata njima work on the farm of the household head
[465] because this is one of their duties. They receive no payment
241 in the form of a share of the crops for their labor. Some
565 wealthy men may not have very large households of their own, and
464 may hire day laborers to work for them. This, too, is a new ap-
[178] proach to labor for the Kanuri. A man with a very large farm
241 who does not intend to use all of his land himself can rent out
427 sections, particularly if his land is in a very favorable location. The renter pays a fixed sum to the owner, and the crops belong entirely to him. No form of share-cropping is practiced.
241 The Ajia of Geidam has huge sections of land alloted to him.
634 Any of his people, his slaves, his kabuna or others attached to
[423]

583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
586 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
[695] times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the husband should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straighten out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say, it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the marriage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bridewealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she committed no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get hold of as a respectable person.(1)

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

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593 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

[691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
[184] with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

In Maiduguri, there is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Nguru. In Magumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Magumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's "followers" (tada njima) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Geidam and Nguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Tributes could be quite large; there are records of payments from Kanem to Bornu in the sixteenth century that mention amounts of 1000 head of cattle per year. 175 651

Along with taxation and other demands such as annual military service, there was a system of exemption whereby persons or groups were released from their obligations to the state in return for some service—usually prayers and other religious duties. These exemptions, *Mabram,* were made by royal declaration in writing which stipulated that facets of a person's obligation were henceforward considered to be *haram* or forbidden, like the eating of pork. One of the oldest of these, given to the family of Umme Jilma, declares that the family is forever exempt from (a) entertaining the king's men during the dry-season military and tax collection campaigns, (b) from *diya* or blood compensation for injuries inflicted on others by accident, and (c) all forms of tribute and taxes. In time, however, all these exemptions were often honored more in the breach or renegotiated. Thus one sixteenth-century monarch ordered a large group to go to war. These people promptly refused on the basis of a *Mabram* given them by a previous ruler. When the king insisted, the entire group prepared to leave his kingdom. However a compromise was worked out in which they accepted military service and paid practically no taxes. This very same group is mentioned again in the traditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Shehu Laminu ruled that their exemptions should pertain only to the leaders of the group, not the entire set of male line descendants of the original holders of this privilege, who by this time had become a very large population. 175 651 701

In its apogee during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bornu kingdom was an expansionist power, and warfare was the state function par excellence. According to traditions and written records, as many as seven or eight military campaigns a year were not uncommon; this meant an expedition might leave Bornu every six or eight weeks during the dry season. With so much militarism the techniques of warfare elaborated accordingly. From at least the sixteenth century onward, Bornu imported muskets, swords, chain mail which were vital and ancient parts of the Saharan trade, although such armaments were also manufactured by Bornu craftsmen as well. 175 721 [411] [614] [431]

The army itself was organized into regiments, representing a local area or an ethnic group under their own leaders, and they went into battle according to a well laid out military strategy. Campaigns were amost always conducted against walled towns. The shield bearers advanced first; then after it was felt that the poison arrows of the enemy were exhausted, the rest of the army would advance either storming the walls or forcing the town dwellers to come out and fight—whereupon muskets and cavalry were used. Generally speaking open encounters were quite unusual; the Bornu army was large, well disciplined, and well equipped, while the town dwellers were weak in all these respects and would usually try to flee once the siege went against them. Fallen towns were then mercilessly looted and the inhabitants killed or enslaved. 175 704 72

After the campaign and the distribution of booty by the leaders, the army disbanded. Leaders of various territorial ethnic groups swore allegiance to the king and arranged for the next campaign to be held so many days hence. At that time, criers were sent around to local markets stating the date and place of rendezvous for the army. Able bodied men were expected to go or send a representative bear- [203]

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436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

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721 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were [701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year [182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plun-
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727 dered. Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would
712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
178 served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after
175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Lamino made of the European explorers, who found
178 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in war-
175 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which
726 warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the
[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

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701 cause its soldiers were peasant subjects and rural followers of fief holders, whose homes were not in the capital but out in the Bornu countryside. In the pre-19th century military system, each of the four regional military leaders (the Yuroma, Mustrema, Kaigama, and Yerima) had under him a force of Kachellas, each of which in turn headed up a regiment of foot-soldiers and cavalry.

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727 Very often a diplomatic Bornu ruler, after having defeated his enemy in battle would assess the situation and try to decide whether or not the chief of the opposing side (if Muslim) was worth keeping. If not he was executed. But very often the rebel or enemy leader was humbled, then raised up after a defeat and encouraged to become a loyal vassal of the King of Bornu.

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726 It is also interesting to note that at least part of the morale of Shehu Laminu's army resided in the general belief in his supernatural powers as a military leader. The night before the battle witnessed by Denham it was reported that Laminu had written charms (verses from the Koran) and his enemies' spears and arrows were blunted and found so in the morning by their owners on the day of battle. Laminu was extremely anxious that Denham set off a rocket for him on the night before the battle, presumably for the same reason.

War itself was highly organized. The maintenance of the state required elaborate rituals and ceremonies to dramatize militarism, and the belief in the supernatural power of the leader or his religious associates helped maintain the morale of the army, which was also goaded on by a comprehensive system of sharing in the plunder. However, this tended to create for the average citizen an areal mobility not usually associated
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721 with peasant life in Africa. A man might return from the wars to his village on the borders of the state to find no village, nor wife, nor home,

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organisation of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained. [701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organization. [692] Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation [652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

178 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
633 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
463 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
433 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials
439 of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

178 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in
642 terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 704 72 ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some [703] problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the prospect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

175 178 642 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu Shehus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms. Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachel- [554] las and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella. In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nineteenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old dynasty and its ancient court.

175 554 642 178 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering 175 through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to dis- 554 cuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised 644 dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who [643] were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

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701 cause its soldiers were peasant subjects and rural followers of fief holders, whose homes were not in the capital but out in the Bornu countryside. In the pre-19th century military system, each of the four regional military leaders (the Yuroma, Mustrema, Kaigama, and Yerima) had under him a force of Kachellas, each of which in turn headed up a regiment of foot-soldiers and cavalry.

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727 Very often a diplomatic Bornu ruler, after having defeated his enemy in battle would assess the situation and try to decide whether or not the chief of the opposing side (if Muslim) was worth keeping. If not he was executed. But very often the rebel or enemy leader was humbled, then raised up after a defeat and encouraged to become a loyal vassal of the King of Bornu.

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726 It is also interesting to note that at least part of the morale of Shehu Laminu's army resided in the general belief in his supernatural powers as a military leader. The night before the battle witnessed by Denham it was reported that Laminu had written charms (verses from the Koran) and his enemies' spears and arrows were blunted and found so in the morning by their owners on the day of battle. Laminu was extremely anxious that Denham set off a rocket for him on the night before the battle, presumably for the same reason.

War itself was highly organized. The maintenance of the state required elaborate rituals and ceremonies to dramatize militarism, and the belief in the supernatural power of the leader or his religious associates helped maintain the morale of the army, which was also goaded on by a comprehensive system of sharing in the plunder. However, this tended to create for the average citizen an areal mobility not usually associated
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721 with peasant life in Africa. A man might return from the wars to his village on the borders of the state to find no village, nor wife, nor home,

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The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understanding of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of excellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s, Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during the last century.

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175 361 In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 721 178 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been preserved, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after

175 411 178 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found

175 726 their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon.(1) The interest in warfare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the

[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

173 701 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabeh Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first

[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu, and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

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175 complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and os-
567 trich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sa-
839 hara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

175 Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the
636 west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and
175 powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into
167 the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa
175 territory. In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose
• 721 up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

175 The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks
439 was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

2. Slaves.

565 Royalty, by virtue of their close kinship with the Shehu,
354 fall into a distinct category in Kanuri society. For some, the kinship terminology takes the form of a title (Maina = prince), others are granted royal titles by the Shehu (Gumsu). Nobility represent a second category, composed of those titled freemen who trace no relationship to the Shehu. Here the titles are all conferred by the Shehu to a member of a household, who becomes the head of that household upon receiving the title.
567 Since the Kanuri recognize a category of slaves, they should be
565 distinguished as a separate segment of the population. However, they do not form the bottom-most stratum of Kanuri society, as might be supposed. On the contrary, just as freemen are stratified into nobility and commoners, so too can slaves be considered as a vertical segment of Kanuri society, falling into numerous stratified layers within the category called "slave."

567 The principles governing slavery in Kanuri society must now be considered so that the above view of the position of the slave can be properly understood. A Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, so that slaves can be taken only from pagan
175 peoples. In former times slaves were captured by raiding parties
567 who drove into pagan territory, sacked and burned villages, and
721 brought back captives who became slaves of Kanuri masters, either of the Shehu himself, or of officers of the army. Slaves were most frequently taken by the Kanuri from among the Marghi, to the south; from the tribes of the Gwoza hills; from the neigh-

175 borhood of the Shari river, south and east of Bornu; and the
567 lands east of the Shari. Of course, only pagan areas were
[72] raided.

Pagan peoples, on being captured in slave raids, remained with their Kanuri masters. As noted above, captured slaves belonged to either the Shehu (or the Mai in olden times), or to officers of the army, who invariably were titled nobles, and kabuna of the Shehu. However, Kabuna of the Shehu might be freemen or might themselves be slaves of the Shehu. In either case they could own slaves, so that it was possible for a slave to have slaves himself. In fact, a slave of the Shehu might own a slave, who in turn had a slave. In a legal sense, the owner of the first slave owned all the others, so that the Shehu owned all slaves of his slaves.

Although a Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, it is proper for a Moslem to own another Moslem as slave. Pagan slaves taken by Kanuri masters learned Kanuri culture, and their children grew up speaking only the Kanuri language and considered themselves Kanuri. They also became Moslems, but continued to remain slaves. This is in order, since one may not capture another Moslem, but one is not obliged to free a slave who converts to Islam. The slave of course has no jili since his ancestors were originally pagan (kərdi).

567 The hierarchy with respect to slaves is determined by sev-
554 eral factors. The first is whether the individual, and his descendants, are slaves of the Shehu or the slaves of a noble

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642 However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly
[103] in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Ye
[361] (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damasak and Geidam, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province.
[648] His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north-
[721] east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire
175 of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portugese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe sometime around the beginning of the 17th century.(1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of Timbuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.(2)

[721] When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have
174 fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.
(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara, London, 1933, p. 73

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paid tribute to imperial Bornu, although very often the Songhai would extend themselves and the Hausa would face around for a short while to bow to the suzerainty of Timbuctu.(1) Kanuri power also extended up into the Fezzan taking in the important salt works of Bilma. In the east, Bornu hegemony probably reached into the Darfur region and in the south to the present town of Biu in south Bornu.(2)

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From this pinnacle of majesty at the beginning of the 17th century a slow decline ensued which continued from the time of the 55th Mai, Muhammed (1602-1618 A.D.), son of Mai Idris Alooma, through the 18th century until the collapse of the second Kanuri empire in 1808. Although none of the writers are agreed on the causes of this decline it is possible that the monarchy and the court life had become so overly elaborate and ritualized, that it hampered the operation of effective leadership in a state requiring constant vigilance and warfare for its survival. It is reported that throughout almost the entire 18th century, the Mais rarely, if ever, left the confines of the palace during their reigns.(3) Traditions during this period tell of famines and pious leadership, rather than administrative and military successes.

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From about the 14th century onwards a nomadic cattle people, the Fulani, had been filtering into the Sudan from the northwest and slowly moving across the whole of what is today Northern Nigeria. In February of 1804, for a number of political and religious reasons, a Fulani religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, declared a Hejira, or Flight from Digal (evil), which was an expression of defiance and aggression towards the Hausa leaders. From this period forward he and his warrior-scholar son, Bello, carried on a holy war in the Sudan that resulted finally in an empire

(1) Shaw, F. L. (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p. 279
(2) Arkell, A.J. The History of Darfur; Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33 p. 246.
(3) Stennings, D. Nomads of the Great Forest (Ms.) 1955

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with its center at Sokoto. The Fulani who had settled in Bornu were encouraged to rise up and support the war, and soon Bornu felt the onslaught of Fulani forces. In 1804-5, Kano sent for help to its suzerain state of Bornu and a Kanuri force was dispatched to aid the vassal in quelling the revolt. This relief force was soundly beaten by the insurgents and Kano fell under the rule of the Fulani. These and other early successes encouraged the Bornu Fulani who began organizing their revolt in Western Bornu and declaring themsevles openly for Othman dan Fodio. We still have letters from this period sent back and forth between the Fulani and the Kanuri. The Kanuri scribes write of the attack as an outrage since it is a holy war against themselves, true believers, while the Fulani write of cruel and pagan practices being carried out in Bornu which must be cleansed. However the political nature of the campaign was obvious to all concerned, as it is to us in retrospect.(1) In 1808, a Fulani chief, Gwoni Muhktar, organized a force and moved against Birni Gazargamo, the ancient capital. It was taken and sacked. Some 44 years later in 1852, Barth met a man in Bornu who had been in the old capital on the day it fell. According to this report the attack was quite sudden and very little opposition was offered. The King and his courtiers left hurriedly by the east gate, while the Fulani entered the west gate in triumph.

An appeal for help was sent to a Kanemi Sheikh, Mohammad el Aminu, who with the help of Kanembu and Shuwa Arabs, had prevented Fulani risings on the western and northern shores of Lake Chad.(2) El Aminu or Laminu as he is remembered today sent his son and a force to help the Kanuri and nine months after the capital had fallen it was retaken. Laminu wrote

(1) Bovill, E.W. The Golden Trade of the Moors, (London) 1958, p. 230, feels that this Fulani expansion was primarily a religious movement. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the end result of the Holy War was the Fulani Empire of Sokoto.

(2) A tribal leader from Kanem, the territoy north and northeast of Lake Chad.

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721 aggrandizement, not religious conversion. Bello replied that the attacks were justified because of the oppression of the Fulani in Bornu, and the heathen practices of the Kanuri people, and because of aid given by Bornu to Kano and Katsina to resist the holy war.

Between 1809 and 1811 the capital fell again to the Fulani and was retaken a second time by Laminu for the Kanuri, but it was aban-
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643 Bornu in the 1820's.(1)

In 1835 Shehu Laminu retired and his son Umar (1835-1880) took over the effective headship of the Bornu state. Like his father, he attempted to maintain and expand the kingdom, while keeping the old Mai on the throne. During one of Umar's western campaigns against Zinder, the puppet Mai, Ibrahim appealed to Wadai for help in restoring him as the rightful ruler of Bornu against the Kanembu Shehu who had usurped the power. Umar returned from his Zinder campaign to find himself being attacked from the east by Wadai. Hearing of the Mai's instigation of this aggression, Umar put the puppet ruler in irons and tried to fight the Wadai forces at Logone, south of Lake Chad, but he was soundly defeated. Kuka was sacked, and the Wadai leader put Ali the young brother of the Mai on the throne. Umar, in high dudgeon, executed Ibrahim and bribed the Wadai forces to withdraw from Bornu. The young Ali and his small following were now attacked and defeated, during which encounter Ali lost his life. And so ended the dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa of Bornu. Shehu Umar declared himself the sole ruler of Bornu and rebuilt the city of Kuka which Barth visited in the 1850's. Local tradition marks this occasion by telling how Shehu Umar was the first of the Bornu monarchs ever to sit on a chair. Before this time leaders had always sat on rugs. It is also related of him that he took a member of the royal family, Ali Mairami, who was the son of a daughter of Mai Dunama (1810-1818), (i.e. he was not in line for the succession) and made him a Maisuli or joking king, who could joke with and chastise the Shehu in a manner prohibited to anyone else. This practice is still carried on today by the descendant of Ali Mairami in the court of the Shehu at Maiduguri.

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(1) Denham, Dr. Clapperton H. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1826.

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With minor disturbances, including one by the brother of Shehu Umar, in 1854, the Bornu kingdom maintained itself in a fairly stable condition, throughout the reign of Umar, and even afterwards during the reign of his son Bukr (1880-4). However, trouble was soon to come from the east.

In the Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur region of the present independent Sudan, an adventurer named Rabeh was slave raiding under the power of the first Egyptian governor of the Bahr, named Zubeyr,(1) in the 70's and early 80's. However Zubeyr's son Stiman headed a rebellion against Egyptian authority and was defeated, and his army disbanded. A remnant of this force headed westward under Rabeh who transformed this band of freebooters and pillagers into a disciplined army which, in the late 80's under the banners of the Mahdi, terrorized the Bahr el Ghazal, conquered Wadai, and defeated the Baghirmi kingdom east of Chad. In 1893, he engaged the Bornu army near Ngala and vanquished it. Whereupon he entered a defeated Bornu and literally raped the countryside. From 1893-6, he despoiled the entire area, putting to death many of the leading figures in Bornu who opposed him, and tried to spread his conquest as far west as possible. In this latter effort he was checked by a union of western forces and refugee Kanuri at the present site of Geidam in northwest Bornu. After 1896 from his capital at Dikwa, Rabeh seems to have attempted a consolidation of the kingdom and due to these efforts at administration a more moderate policy was followed. Nevertheless, his rule is remembered in Bornu today as the blackest period of their history. Old men are still alive who tell of the pillaging, burning, slave-raiding, killing and excessive extortion of the peasants, that was carried on during the "Rabeh period."

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(1) c.f. Balfour-Paul, H.G. History and Antiquities of Darfur, Sudan Antiquities Service, Museum Pamphlet #3 Khartoum, 1955.

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436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

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721 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were
[701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year
[182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plun-
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In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
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712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

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[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little "staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for the entire camp.

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701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
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173 701 cause its soldiers were peasant subjects and rural followers of fief holders, whose homes were not in the capital but out in the Bornu countryside. In the pre-19th century military system, each of the four regional military leaders (the Yuroma, Mustrema, Kaigama, and Yerima) had under him a force of Kachellas, each of which in turn headed up a regiment of foot-soldiers and cavalry.

175 727 Very often a diplomatic Bornu ruler, after having defeated his enemy in battle would assess the situation and try to decide whether or not the chief of the opposing side (if Muslim) was worth keeping. If not he was executed. But very often the rebel or enemy leader was humbled, then raised up after a defeat and encouraged to become a loyal vassal of the King of Bornu.

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War itself was highly organized. The maintenance of the state required elaborate rituals and ceremonies to dramatize militarism, and the belief in the supernatural power of the leader or his religious associates helped maintain the morale of the army, which was also goaded on by a comprehensive system of sharing in the plunder. However, this tended to create for the average citizen an areal mobility not usually associated 175 721 with peasant life in Africa. A man might return from the wars to his village on the borders of the state to find no village, nor wife, nor home,

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721 since the absence of the local chief with a force of young men had tempted the neighbouring chief, or some wandering nomad raiders, to plunder the town for slaves and booty.

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642 When the British arrived in Bornu to weld the Emirate into their Colonial Empire, it should be emphasized that they were confronted by a way of life, whose known and partly recorded past had been flowing on through at least 1100 years of continuous, unbroken and independent national history. During that time the power of the monarchy had risen and fallen in successive waves of power and decline. In the 12th and 13th centuries the first Kanuri florescence occurred in Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, only to decline in the 14th century and finally beat a forced retreat from the center of their empire into Bornu proper, to the west of the Lake. Here, to the south of the river Yo, they hoped for some safety from the northern raiders which was afforded by the river. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the second emergence of a Kanuri Empire in the Sudan, which, although often neglected by historians of the region, was effective enough to resist the eastward expansion of Songhai at the zenith of its power. Slow decline followed in the 17th and 18th centuries until a near collapse, due to Fulani expansionism at the beginning of the 19th century, could only be avoided by a new dynasty taking over the rule of the kingdom, which maintained itself and the kingdom until Rabeh's desecration of Bornu in 1893. However, even Rabeh was slowly beginning to reorganise the broken kingdom when the British arrived, and it is evident that the complete chaos, conventionally charged to Bornu at the beginning of the 19th century, has been over-emphasized. Forces of re-consolidation were in operation which would have kept the Bornu state in existence, albeit under a new dynasty.

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

425 practice is undergoing change. House plots in desirable loca-
241 tions in Maiduguri, the capital city, are bought and sold,
178 though in theory land for one's house is obtained in the same manner as farm land--by asking the village head for a site to build one's house.

2. Subsistence Economy and Cash Crops.

243 Millet is the staple crop of the Kanuri, and both sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) are
243 grown. Planting takes place immediately after the first rains
221 in May and the grain is harvested in September. The growing season is short as rain falls only in the months between May and September and not at all for the remainder of the year. Consequently there is only one crop during the year. Since millet grows without much attention, agricultural labor is
[462] needed only during planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men and women work together in the fields during these periods. Crops must be sown shortly after the onset of the rains for the growing time is relatively short and any delay in planting might reduce the exposure to rainfall which is necessary for a good harvest. Late planting in a year in which the total rainfall
[73] is slight can be disastrous for a family. Really bad years can mean famine, and though there has not been a major famine since World War I, that famine is remembered as a catastrophe. Older people calculate their age in relation to the year of the famine. In the villages millet which a family harvests in Septem-

[GEIDAM]

ooo and religious activity.

2. Wards and Neighborhoods.

632 [634] Since the town of Geidam is the administrative center of Geidam District, the Ajia of Geidam is the central political figure in the town. A town itself, however, is administered by a Lowan. Formerly, Geidam had one Lowan; however, as the town grew in size, it was subdivided into wards (nguro). Geidam has three wards,and each has its own Lowan. Each of the wards has its own character, and although many activities have reference to the town of Geidam as a whole, other activities are limited [563] to a ward, or centered within a particular ward. Two of the wards are almost entirely Kanuri and have Kanuri Lowans; the third is predominantly Hausa and has a Hausa Lowan.

The "U" of the town surrounding the dandal represents the center of the old town and is solidly Kanuri. This is the ward of Lowan Ashek, a kabuna of the Ajia. Political and administrative activities of a higher order center in Lowan Ashek's ward. The overwhelming majority of the Ajia's kabuna (47 of the 54 kabuna) live there. A small section of the river area falls under his jurisdiction as well since his ward stretches [732] westward to include the river-edge. At the northeastern tip of Lowan Ashek's ward is the section where the blind live.

The second Kanuri ward is under Lowan Kolo Kolo, who also is a kabuna of the Ajia. His ward is largely but not entirely Kanuri. Under his jurisdiction is the market and most of the

632 621 [243] [285] [463] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area. 632 463 The people of Koldi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts- [323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bəji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

[GEIDAN]

44
438

d) 71 sellers of raw materials.

Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 35 sellers of bundles of grass used for making bəjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.

73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.

[439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.

77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (fəle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.

46 fətkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.

[439] 46 taborma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.

[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1, 477.

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [572] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular 177 554 education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

632 [GEIDAM]
621 they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Eco-
[243] nomic specialization along ethnic lines is a common character-
[185] istic of the area.
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463 differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is
563 found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

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[285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts-
[323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bəji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen,
[341] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen
[785] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[463] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[462] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

[BEIDAN]

#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more pow-
627 erful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on tradi-
691 tional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict,
#829 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is be-
441 cause they are unsure of their own position in relation to that
178 of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

935 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and genero-
517 sity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who
[EBA] occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXIX

431 20. Charity and generosity: If you were rich, would you give
•735 a new kulugu (gown) to a man who asked you for one?
*829
*565
*554
*463
*634
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	Unqualified yes	Qualifications
Aristocracy	4	1 would give to one man who asked; not to many.
Koranic Malams	2**	1 doesn't know. If Allah gives, he would give. If Allah forbade, he wouldn't give.
Canteen Operators —	3	3 1: "To someone close to you, like your family, who doesn't have anything--you give. If you know him you give; if not you don't give." 2: "A man would farm for me and I would give him a kulugu. I wouldn't give just like that." 3: "A man who has nothing, a Malam, an old man with no strength--you give."
NA Malams	5	1 "If the man already had one, I would not give him one."
Kabuna	6	-
Craftsmen	6	-
Talaka	6	2 1: "If you know him, you give. If he already has one, you don't." 2: If I have many kulugus, I'd give. If the other man is brought to me by want, I'd give."
Low-status Individuals	4	-
Totals:	36	8

** The youngest malam said that he would give, but his explanation for giving was that, "If you give to him, perhaps you may need it later and he will give to you."

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431 577 735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

431 735 441 178 565 Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

[GEIDAM]

• 735 178 441 *565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

*177 871 *829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

1: Cohen

MS14 Kanuri MS14

853
• 736
608

/For information on the Kanuri practice of child fosterage, see category 855./

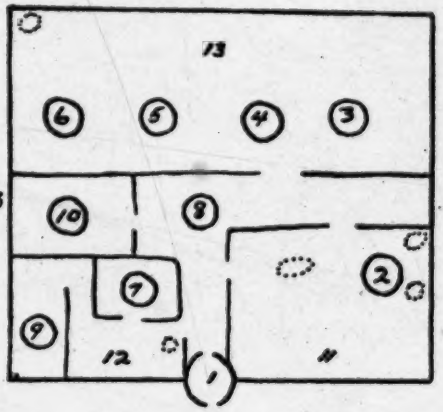
592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

592 181 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri household, although it is an example which was actually observed.(1) It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
[595] 4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
[343] 11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area
dotted lines show granaries



592 Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the [736] wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

[595] (1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magumeri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside [823] (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Departments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group 131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town 134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function- 121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

*177 ailments, but most other individuals chose as did the Aristocracy.
75 With respect to treatment of headache (column 4) and internal
*829 pains (column 6) the Aristocracy selected European treatment
*565 as preferable, again going with the majority of the sample.
It is only in the attitudes towards the treatment of smallpox that they differ strikingly from the rest of the sample. Their unanimous deviation from the majority must therefore be related to the particular disease--smallpox, rather than to general attitudes of the Aristocracy towards European treatment of diseases.

*177 Smallpox differs from the other five ailments listed in
75 Table XXVII in one significant way. It is the only disease
*829 the treatment for which is dispensed by governmental authority.
*565 Vaccination campaigns against smallpox are under the authority
• 744 of the Regional and Provincial governments. This is one of the areas in which super-ordinate authority operates, and Lowans and Ajias alike are under its control. Ultimately, the medical officers in charge of vaccination are European doctors, though the vaccinators themselves may be Kanuri. When there is an outbreak of smallpox, teams of vaccinators are sent in and their authority supercedes that of the local officials--the Lowan and the Ajia, who are forced to cooperate with the vaccinators whatever their own feelings. In the light of this knowledge, the unanimous response of the Aristocracy in preferring Kanuri treatment to European treatment is perfectly clear. Their objection to super-ordinate authority takes the form of denying

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*177 the usefulness of the activities in which the agents of this
75 authority engage. Taken at face value, the response of the
*829 Aristocracy in column 5 seems to make little sense. Its mean-
*565 ing becomes apparent when the role of this group within the
• 744 social structure is understood in relation to the behavioral
area being investigated.

691 Arbitration of disputes between individuals has been dis-
627 cussed in some detail in the sections dealing with political
*177 organization. The traditional Kanuri way of dealing with inter-
648 personal disputes is for the complainant to bring his dispute
before an authority figure for arbitration. For the bulk of
the populace this means that disputes are brought before the
Lowan or the Ajia. The Alkali is also a part of traditional
Kanuri society but his authority now derives from external
sources. British colonial government has set up the judiciary
as an arm of government, and the Kanuri Alkali is part of this
larger system. The decisions of the Alkali given in court are
backed up by this external source of power. The judgments of
the Lowan or the Ajia when he hears cases in sholo receive
their support solely from the power vested in positions within
Kanuri society. Willingness to take disputes to court, there-
fore, represents a tendency to seek for sanctions outside of
*177 traditional Kanuri society. The data on this question are pre-
691 sented in Table XXVIII. Responses in column 1 state simply
627 that the individual would bring his complaint before the Ajia
*829 (or Lowan). The attitude of the Talaka whose response is re-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 291]

441 78 others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Alhaji henceforth), fasting, etc.

*177 • 75 *829 Still another area which was used as a measure of acculturation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: mus-[792] cular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called alo. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only [792] seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of *[554] these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are mem-[123] bers of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXVI

*177
• 75
*565
*463
*554
*829

Western Medicine: 16. Would you go to a European Doctor?
17. Which is more effective, Western medicine or drinking the ink in which verses of the Koran were written (alo)?

	Europ. Dr.: yes	no	Western medicine	Koran	different purposes	W.medicine cures more rapidly
Aristocracy	5	-	3	1	1	2
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1	-
Canteen Operators	6	-	3*a	1*b	2	2
NA Malams	6	-	3*c	-	3	1
Kabuna	5*d	1	3	-	3	-
Craftsmen	6	-	3	2*e	1*f	1
Talaka	7*g	1	3	2	3	2
Low-status Individuals	1	3	-	4	-	-
Totals:	37	7	18	12	14	8

*a one canteen operator said that long ago alo was the more useful, but that now doctors were here and Western medicine is more useful.

*b another trader said, "Alo is our cure. This is the era of Western medicine, but alo is more useful."

*c one NA Malam (of agriculture) said flatly, "Alo is no medicine; only Western medicine is real medicine."

*d a kabuna said that he would go for medicine since the author had come to Geidam, but had never gone before and would otherwise not have gone.

*e a young leather-worker said, "Alo is more useful for Moslems."

*f an older leather-worker refused to answer; said that he did not know.

*g an elderly talaka said that he had twice gone to the local dispensary, but that he would not go to a White doctor.

[GEIDAM]

#177 • 75 #829 When directly confronted by the question of which is the more effective, drinking alo or Western medicine, 18 (41 per cent) said Western medicine, 12 (27 per cent) said alo, 14 (32 per cent) said that they each served a different purpose. Of those who chose Western medicine, eight individuals specifically stated that Western medicine is the more effective because it cures more rapidly. One Canteen Operator noted the changing times, saying that alo had been effective in the past but that Western medicine is more useful today; an NA Malam stated that alo was not medicine. Several of those who chose alo as the more effective added that, "Alo is our cure," and "Alo is more useful for Moslems." The latter responses indic[illegible]er-ence to that which is Kanuri for its own sake, as a means to retain cultural identity. Those who indicated that they would not go to a European doctor in answering the previous question were consistent in maintaining that alo is a more effective cure than Western medicine. The Koranic Malams and the Low-status Individuals refused to acknowledge the effectiveness of Western medicine. The NA Malams and the Kabuna, on the other hand, either chose Western medicine or claimed that the two have different purposes.

[792] [554] [634]

The area of treatment of various diseases is followed up in the next question dealing with six specific types of disease or injury (Table XXVII). The six types of illness or injury were chosen because the author had previously ascertained that for three of these the Kanuri considered that they had effective

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 285]

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*829
*565
*554
*463

Table XXVII

18. Western Medicine: relative effectiveness of Kanuri specialists and Western doctors in treating six diseases.

	1. Bone-setting			2. Jaundice			3. Snake bite			4. Head ache			5. Small pox			6. Internal pains		
	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both	Kan	Eu	both
Aristocracy	5	-	-	5	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	1	4	-
Koranic Malams	3	-	-	2	-	1	3	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	2*b	3	-	-
Canteen Operators	6	-	-	4	1	1	6	-	-	-	6	-	2	4	-	3	3	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	4	2	-	4	2	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	1	5	-
Kabuna	3	3	-	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	4	1	-	6	-	2	4	-
Craftsmen*c	4	1	-	3	1	1	5	-	-	1	4	-	-	4	1	2	3	-
Talaka	8	-	-	5	3	-	8	-	-	1	7	-	-	8	-	3	5	-
Low-status Individuals	2	1	1	-	3	1	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	3	1	1	3	-
Totals:	37	5	1	26	12	5	38	4	1	5	36	2	8	31	4	16	27	-

*a the category of "both" includes responses indicating that both cultures have equally good cures, that neither has a good cure, or that the individual has indicated that he has no idea as to whose cure is more effective.

*b The youngest Koranic malam stated that beforehand European medicine (vaccination) was more effective, but after contracting the disease, Kanuri medicine was more effective.

*c an older leather-worker stated that he did not know the answers for the entire question. After being urged to answer, he said "European" to all six diseases. His answers have been omitted from the above table; the category of craftsmen has only five respondents.

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[GEIDAM]

*177 means of treatment while for three others Kanuri treatment was
• 75 not particularly successful when compared with Western types
*829 of treatment. The Kanuri feel that their traditional means of treating broken bones, bites by poisonous snakes, and jaundice (called "yellow-eye") are effective, and this is reflected in their answers in columns 1, 2 and 3 of Table XXVII. 86 per cent stated that the Kanuri specialist was more effective in setting bones; 60 per cent said that he was more effective in treating jaundice; 89 per cent said he was more effective with snake-bite wounds. With respect to headaches, to smallpox (baru), and to a general complaint of internal pains (tuno), Kanuri treatment is not as effective. As can be seen in columns 4, 5, and 6, belief in the effectiveness of Kanuri treatment for these ailments is low: 12 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for headaches is the more effective; 19 per cent state that they believe the Kanuri cure for smallpox to be more effective; 37 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for tuno is the more effective. The expectation that for the first three ailments the Kanuri respondents would claim that Kanuri cures are more effective while for the latter three ailments they would indicate a greater reliance in the effectiveness of Western medicine was upheld.

[792] Several groups stand out. The Koranic Malams, for example, do not offer a single response indicating that European treatment is more effective than Kanuri treatment, for any of the
*634] six ailments. The Kabuna and the NA Malams tend to respond in

[BEIDAN]

*177 .75 *829 *634 favor of European treatment in larger proportions than do any of the other groups--though their responses favoring European treatment are not as extreme as the responses of the Koranic Malams in consistently avoiding European treatment.

Looking now at each of the diseases in turn (the columns), and concentrating our attention on the deviant responses, 3 of the 5 who preferred European treatment for broken bones (column 1) are in the Kabuna group; the four individuals who chose European treatment for snake bite fall into two groups--the NA Malams and the Kabuna. Thus these two groups reveal a tendency towards preferring European treatment for diseases where the great majority have selected Kanuri treatment as the more effective. With respect to headaches (column 4), only 5 indicate a preference for Kanuri treatment, and 2 of these are in the Koranic Malam group which has already been noted as conservative in this area. But it is in the treatment of smallpox (column 5) that the most interesting finding emerges. Only 8 individuals thought that Kanuri treatment for smallpox was more effective than European treatment, and 5 of the 8 are to be found in the Aristocracy. Only 19 per cent of the sample thought that the Kanuri cure for smallpox was more effective, yet the Aristocracy unanimously thought so. Is the Aristocracy as a group conservative in their approach to treatment of disease? It would not appear so from their responses to the treatment of the five other ailments about which they were questioned. True --they unanimously chose Kanuri treatment for the first three

*177 .75 *829 *565

[GEIDAM]

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[GEIDAN]

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691 Arbitration of disputes between individuals has been dis-
627 cussed in some detail in the sections dealing with political
*177 organization. The traditional Kanuri way of dealing with inter-
648 personal disputes is for the complainant to bring his dispute
before an authority figure for arbitration. For the bulk of
the populace this means that disputes are brought before the
Lowan or the Ajia. The Alkali is also a part of traditional
Kanuri society but his authority now derives from external
sources. British colonial government has set up the judiciary
as an arm of government, and the Kanuri Alkali is part of this
larger system. The decisions of the Alkali given in court are
backed up by this external source of power. The judgments of
the Lowan or the Ajia when he hears cases in sholo receive
their support solely from the power vested in positions within
Kanuri society. Willingness to take disputes to court, there-
fore, represents a tendency to seek for sanctions outside of
*177 traditional Kanuri society. The data on this question are pre-
691 sented in Table XXVIII. Responses in column 1 state simply
627 that the individual would bring his complaint before the Ajia
*829 (or Lowan). The attitude of the Talaka whose response is re-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 291]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

132 The rainfall ranges from twenty-two to twenty-seven inches, in normal years, and is heavier as one moves from north to south. The important point that must be kept sight of is the fact that ninety percent of the rain falls in June, July, August, and September, while the months from October through June are almost totally dry. Indeed even within the four-month rainy season, about eighteen inches of the annual rainfall comes during July and August, so that in exceptionally dry years, June and September can easily turn out to be rainless months.

The various seasons are tied closely to the basic facts of rainfall and lati-
[137] tude. As the rain begins in June the dry sandy soil suddenly comes to life with large stretches of new grass and new leaves on the died-up thorn bushes. From atop one of the Bornu ridges, or from the roof of a house, the entire landscape, as far as the eye can see, starts to change color from yellow-brown to a soft green. The weather cools delightfully, the rains become more frequent, and the short daily
[221] storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by
[821] far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for every-
[136] body because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust
[951] 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morning, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind.
[221] The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter"
[241] but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees
[821] seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for 177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

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second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

431 this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no hus-
851 bands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

165 It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable
754 reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the
782 result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their new-
182 born infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

553 Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is per-
[562] formed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground mil-
[431] let flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women
[302] sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his
[305] young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and
[304] then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness
[302] of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

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The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart-
[743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by
[757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried
[563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group
131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town
134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function-
121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[273] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[777] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks 844
by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby.

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a preg- [515]
nant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a [759]
local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose.

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains 846
inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman.

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is un- [851]
known outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats [825]
are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during [966]
these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community.

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the 431
child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the 851
men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of

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888 565 589 [434] [788] on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women. If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age, and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a universal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 775 621 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 621 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

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The ceremony itself is quite simple. The body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth and placed on a bier, and then taken out to the burial grounds by the men. Prayers are said continually and the family mourns officially for forty days by saying special prayers and remaining close to home. During the ceremony men remain impassive, quietly telling their beads and praying softly to themselves. Women, on the other hand, come in groups walking slowly in single file wailing and crying, especially if the deceased is a close neighbor, friend, or relative. If a man is needed for a short communication, a woman might stop wailing suddenly, talk in an ordinary voice, then just as quickly resume her keening. A few women at every funeral were observed who were much more totally involved and did not break up their wailing when asked to do something else. Sometimes these wails of the women become songs with words. This is less true at funerals of men where if it happens the song or chant says over and over again, "He was a good man." For a dead woman the words are also, "She was a good woman," but an added verse, especially if the dead woman was not very old, refers to the hard life of a woman and how long and unending are her chores. There is a definite implication here that the heavy burdens of womanhood can bring an early death.

This, then is the Kanuri life cycle; it is adapted to Bornu society and the historical development of that society. The fact that the household is the major unit of social organization means that people of different ages are constantly in touch with one another. Even though those in all age groups have many friends of their own age, they associate freely and easily with people of all age groups within their household where membership crosses generation lines. This means that younger age groupings are constantly learning the ways of behaving and thinking of those older than themselves and almost automatically know how to act as they grow up. By contrast in many western societies interaction between generations is extremely difficult, and each generation seems to be developing an almost semi-separate culture whose intricacies must be learned after one has joined that particular age group. Because western schooling has not yet separated an entire generation from their parents, there is little room among the Kanuri for many discontinuities in learning, and therefore in hopes, fears, and aspirations on the part of each successive generation. Obviously this has produced and helps to maintain much of the stability in Kanuri society, and as such it is a key factor when we wish to ask questions about conditions of change in the entire society of Bornu.

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The ceremony itself is quite simple. The body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth and placed on a bier, and then taken out to the burial grounds by the men. Prayers are said continually and the family mourns officially for forty days by saying special prayers and remaining close to home. During the ceremony men remain impassive, quietly telling their beads and praying softly to themselves. Women, on the other hand, come in groups walking slowly in single file wailing and crying, especially if the deceased is a close neighbor, friend, or relative. If a man is needed for a short communication, a woman might stop wailing suddenly, talk in an ordinary voice, then just as quickly resume her keening. A few women at every funeral were observed who were much more totally involved and did not break up their wailing when asked to do something else. Sometimes these wails of the women become songs with words. This is less true at funerals of men where if it happens the song or chant says over and over again, "He was a good man." For a dead woman the words are also, "She was a good woman," but an added verse, especially if the dead woman was not very old, refers to the hard life of a woman and how long and unending are her chores. There is a definite implication here that the heavy burdens of womanhood can bring an early death.

This, then is the Kanuri life cycle; it is adapted to Bornu society and the historical development of that society. The fact that the household is the major unit of social organization means that people of different ages are constantly in touch with one another. Even though those in all age groups have many friends of their own age, they associate freely and easily with people of all age groups within their household where membership crosses generation lines. This means that younger age groupings are constantly learning the ways of behaving and thinking of those older than themselves and almost automatically know how to act as they grow up. By contrast in many western societies interaction between generations is extremely difficult, and each generation seems to be developing an almost semi-separate culture whose intricacies must be learned after one has joined that particular age group. Because western schooling has not yet separated an entire generation from their parents, there is little room among the Kanuri for many discontinuities in learning, and therefore in hopes, fears, and aspirations on the part of each successive generation. Obviously this has produced and helps to maintain much of the stability in Kanuri society, and as such it is a key factor when we wish to ask questions about conditions of change in the entire society of Bornu.

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women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks 844
by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby.

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a preg- [515]
nant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a [759]
local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose.

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains 846
inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman.

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is un- [851]
known outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats [825]
are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during [766]
these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community.

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the 431
child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the 851
men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of

844 after birth. The birth takes place in a sitting position over a warmed wooden bowl. When the infant arrives it is washed and then continually warmed by the female attendants who heat their hands over [853] a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child. Almost immediately attempts are made to have the infant feed at the mother's breast. The placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony.

[782] Men are barred from any direct participation in the actual birth process, but usually pray heavily and/or employ a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest) to pray for the successful outcome of the 846 birth. During the forty-day confinement period there should be no sexual intercourse between spouses. Informants stated that strict [565] adherence to the forty-day confinement rule as well as the sexual taboo may vary among the poorer classes where the woman's economic services are more in demand. However, the first eight days after birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement and sexual abstinence.

846 858 During the first eight days of life the infant is known as fatu (the little kitten) or kusoto gana (the little stranger) and is referred to when necessary in these terms. This is a strong tabu time for the parents, and they must be sure to maintain all cultural prescriptions to ensure the safety of the infant. Hardly any mention is made in public of the new arrival. Even its sex is unknown except by a few close female friends of the mother who are expected [766] to keep the secret. If it dies during this period, the infant does not receive a proper burial, but is unceremoniously interred in the women's section of the compound.

000. On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by
[587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his
[554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

[GEIDAM]

632 563 167 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come [162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 621 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper. [162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total population of 134. [622] Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves [651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection 632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem- 621 563 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka- 177 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of [302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in [771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude [275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip [534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the 632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all 621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition [243] [285] [463]

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888 565 589 [434] [788] on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women. If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age, and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a universal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 775 621 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 621 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

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in Magumeri died in the morning and was buried in the afternoon. The people explained this by saying that it was the hot season and he had died early in the morning. To wait until the next morning, they said, was too long and not good for the community. This was an oblique way of referring to the belief that the ghost of a dead man is dangerous especially to children until he is buried.

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554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

369 tionably larger than anything found in Bornu today. However,
162 as in all pre-industrial societies, the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture and lives in the many small villages dotting the plain.

361 One can never travel far in Bornu without encountering a
[491] village. Major villages are linked to one another and to towns
[487] by laterite roads. Tiny villages are linked by a network of paths and tracks to one another. Surrounding each village
423 are the fields farmed by each family. Farm land can be had
425 by clearing the brush and making a plot ready for farming.
241 Since this is so easily done, land and its inheritance are not important determinants of the social structure. In theory,
[776] all land belongs to Allah and is in the hands of the Shehu of
[645] Bornu, the political and religious head of all Kanuri. The Shehu distributed large fiefs to Kanuri lords who gave the land to the village heads for distribution to individual villagers. In practice, any newcomer to a village has only to ask the village head for permission to farm and suitable land will be given to him which he must, of course, clear for planting. It naturally happens that those most recently arrived in a village will be given fields furthest from the houses, so that it is obvious that certain fields are more desirable than others. In a town of some size this becomes important. Distant fields may be up to three miles beyond the edge of town, and walking out and back each day to plant or to harvest is a demanding task.
241 Farm land, however, is never bought and sold. In the city this
425
[78]

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[777] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

[GEIDAN]

second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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rare circumstances women themselves initiate the proceedings by announcing the divorce, although this is usually done with a circumlocution such as when she says, as one woman did, "There is nothing holding us together but these gifts that you have given me. Take them. I wish to go." 593 586

About eighty to ninety percent of all marriages end in divorce, probably because it is such a simple affair. The husband in most cases simply tells the wife to go, saying "I divorce you." He does not say it three times, as is usual in Islamic countries, because the wife may return, for the Kanuri practice of Muslim marriage is such that, after saying "I divorce you," three times there should be no reconciliation or remarriage. Once a pronouncement of divorce has been made the woman leaves her husband's household and the marriage enters a special hundred-day period in which the woman cannot remarry although the man may do so. This is defined as a waiting period to see whether or not the woman is pregnant so that the man can claim the child. The woman generally returns to her *luwali* at this time and there is always some negotiation between the man and the *luwali* to see whether or not the marriage can be patched up. About one-third of all divorce pronouncements do end in reconciliation even though the husband most often divorces her again later on. It is interesting to note that unlike western society, practically no Kanuri divorce cases (perhaps one percent) go to the courts; thus it is impossible to get the records of divorce except through field study of actual cases. [779] [114]

When a divorce occurs children remain with their father unless they are still nursing. After nursing they are generally sent back to the father's household, although the period is sometimes stretched out for young girls who are trained by their mothers. Children of broken unions are cared for by a father's co-wife or by some other close relative of the father. Contacts with a divorced parent are always maintained and the child visits his or her mother regularly. This is especially true for boys who expect to take care of their mother when she is an elderly unmarried woman. Conflicts sometimes arise because a man's daughter does not return and the mother's relatives or one of her subsequent husbands might try to arrange a marriage without consulting her own father. If such consultations take place, however, no one feels put out and the man who arranged the marriage takes a portion of the bridewealth in payment.

Each spouse in a marriage maintains very close contacts with his or her own relatives. Presents are exchanged and visits back and forth between members of kin groups are very common. Children are named after relatives, especially grandparents, and in many cases go to live with them after weaning, or before the birth of a new baby in the family. Only in cases of long term marriage does a wife finally come to feel a part of and fully accepted by her husband's family. However when this does happen the wife can become a very powerful voice in the family, and her long and intimate association with her husband often means that she has become a permanent authority in the household. In one such case a senior wife had never been married to anyone else and had been married to her husband, a powerful man in the village, for thirty years. The man remarked that he made very few decisions without consulting this woman, and people recognized that she had a powerful position in village affairs. Such cases, however, are not common. Kanuri marriage involves a separation of the sexes not only by custom and tradition but as a result of the conflicts in marriage relations which produce tensions between husbands and 593 602 [553] 593

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 177 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid [148] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 567 [439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

175 The Shehu of Bornu,
648 however, remains as the religious and political head of the
643 Kanuri people.

C. The Ethnographic Distribution of Peoples in the Area.

197 1. Linguistic Classification.

The Kanuri language, according to Greenberg's classification, is part of the Central Saharan language family, one of the twelve genetically distinct language families which he has isolated in Africa. The Central Saharan language family includes Kanuri, Teda, Dazza, Zaghawa, Baele, Bideyat and Berti, all in contiguous distribution. The Kanuri are the southwesternmost extension of this language family. They are almost completely surrounded by people speaking languages of the Chad family. These include: Hausa, Buduma, Kotoko, Mandara, Marghi, and Bolewa. In this solid block of Chad-speaking peoples the Kanuri form a peninsula of Central Saharan speakers, related to
[174] languages far to the northeast. This is in agreement with the historical sources which trace the movement of the Kanuri into Bornu from the area northeast of Lake Chad.

2. The Major Groups.

648 The historical factors which led to the development of the
177 empire of Bornu and determined its relations to neighboring peoples and states are reflected in the cultural distribution of
[171] peoples in the area today. The Kanuri are one of the many Mos-
[179] lem peoples stretching in a wide belt across the Western Sudan.

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
643
634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appointments formally need not be approved by the British administration, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175
631 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
178
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times, since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the political system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit, the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which protects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the protection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
• 779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

692 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

175 Heads or Ajias. The only important difference between the two,
178 from the point of view of the Kanuri farmer, is that the Ajia
648 lived in the capital of his District, while the chima lived in
634 Kukawa. There were, in fact, great differences between the
[642] two, because the British Resident ultimately controlled all policy decisions at the upper levels. But the Kanuri villager knew little of this. It is striking to note how many of the District Heads in 1956-1957 were the heads of the same noble families from which the chimas of the last century were chosen. The British, with or without knowing it, had kept the aristocratic families in positions of political power, at the same time preserving the old political structure of the empire.

175 The Ajias, in their turn, have kept their own kabuna to
634 help them in administering their districts. From their kabuna
632 they have selected the most trusted to serve as Lowans. Since many of the Ajias came from the nobility, they had many slaves whom they inherited from their fathers. These were frequently their most trusted kabuna, though not all kabuna are slaves. Many of the Ajias are slaves of the Shehu, and many of the Low-
[692] ans are slaves of the Ajias. Ajia and Lowan alike settle dis-
[651] putes, and collect taxes, their two most important functions.

C. Religion

779 The Kanuri are Moslems. Islam entered Bornu in the elev-
[175] enth century, and since that time has spread throughout the entire Kanuri population. Unlike the Hausa, where a large part

779 of the population is pagan (Maguzawa), there are no pagan
177 Kanuri. Among the tribes who are influenced by and are ac-
779 culturating to the Kanuri, the Bede, the Babur, and the Marghi, both pagans and Moslems can be found.

795 According to Trimingham[1], many pagans in the Western Sudan become Moslems by slipping into Islam, calling themselves "Mohammad", and imitating their fellows without special ceremoney. A rite is performed in the case of chiefs and important men, where public recognition is sought. This is undoubtedly the case for those part-Moslem, part-pagan peoples surrounding the Kanuri, and was also probably true in former centuries when the Kanuri themselves adopted Islam.

182 Today Islam is well integrated into Kanuri culture. With-
779 out entering into a detailed discussion of Islam as practiced by the Kanuri, those general areas which are most affected by Islam will be discussed here. These include: law, education and social organization. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the general features of Islamic worship as exemplified by the Pillars of Islam.

1. The Pillars of Islam.

782 The Pillars of Islam are five in number. The first of these is the confession of faith (shahada) which those who

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1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), see Appendix I "Ceremony of Joining Islam", p. 226.

796 ceremony. Naming of children, circumcision, marriage and burial all have a religious aspect, though of course the nature of the ceremony is strongly Kanuri in character, and differs from the same ceremony as practiced by Moslems generally or from that ceremony as practiced by other nearby African Moslems. Similarly, the ceremonial holidays in the yearly cycle follow the Moslem calendar. Days of celebration include: the new year, the prophet's birthday, the sacrifice of the ram, and of course the month of Ramadan.

2. Islamic Law.

671 Several aspects of Kanuri culture are most profoundly af-
• 779 fected by Islam, and will here be given more extended discus-
577 sion. Law is perhaps the foremost of these. Acceptance of Islam means the acceptance of Islamic law. This involves two broad areas: one's conduct in everyday life, and formal, written law which is a part of political organization. With respect to the first, the Kanuri view of the "good man" is synonymous with being a good Moslem. In one's every-day conduct one should be properly humble and respectful of superiors, and false pride (ro kura) is considered a despicable trait. One should be devout not only in performing ritual acts, such as prayer, but in one's thoughts. It is commendable for a man to awake early in the morning, long before the time one begins the day's work, for contemplation and the counting of prayer beads (tasjimi).
[692] Disputes are taken to the Lowan and to the Ajia for arbitration,

671 779 692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

871 779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
876 779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

876 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote.
• 779 If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write
875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can
write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom-
[555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to
reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts,
ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning
achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how-
[431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils
[735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of
sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to
the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils
[577] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so-
[554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 The identification of learning and education with the study
779 of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular
177 education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the
554 schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study
of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remunera-
tion).

4. Social Organization.

779 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As
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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. 779 595 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse. [554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. 779 58 Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the [595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

779 marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights
58 of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support
[593] of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does
not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement;
[182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All
of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies,
are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in
Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million peo-
[161] ple. About one-third live in towns with a population of more
than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital,
which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying
villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten
towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of
these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu
Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26
towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost
a third of the population.

369 Although there may be some question whether a town with a
632 population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear
121 that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly ap-
proaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

587 The levirate among the Kanuri is called fatorongabe. A man must marry the widow of his elder brother (yaga); he is not permitted to marry the widow of his younger brother (kərami). At the death of one's wife, one may marry her younger sister, but one is forbidden to marry her elder sister. This, too, is called fatorongabe.

2. Divorce.

586 779 The Koran has a great deal to say about divorce, particularly in Sura II ("The Cow"), and Sura LXV ("Divorce"). It specifically mentions a waiting period of four months (three full menstrual courses for the woman) to determine if the woman is pregnant before the divorce is final and the woman becomes a zogor. A man may divorce his wife twice and take her back again, but after the third time, she must marry another man before she can remarry her first husband. After the waiting period, the husband cannot maliciously retain his former wife or prevent her from marrying another man. If the husband divorces his wife before the marriage is consummated, but after the bride-price has been settled, half of the bride-price should be paid, unless the husband is released from payment, but it is more proper that the [853] husband should forego it. After a divorce, mothers with nursing children should be permitted to let the children nurse for two whole years, while they are supported by the father of the child.

Kanuri practice concerning divorce operates within the limits dictated by the Koran. The husband divorces his wife by say-

586 ing, "I divorce you," or, "The marriage is over." When a hus-
.779 band divorces his wife she leaves his house and goes to the house of her luwali. A wife cannot divorce her husband, but, as the Alkali of Geidam phrased it, "The power of a woman is in the law; the law helps her." As an example, he noted that if a woman hits her husband, that is nothing, but if a man hits his wife, the marriage can be dissolved by an Alkali. She can ask the court to grant her a divorce if her husband is impotent, and therefore not a real husband. If he disputes the accusation the court may actually attempt to ascertain whether it is true or not, by witnessing whether the husband is capable of having intercourse with his wife.

A man may divorce his wife twice, and take her back within the three months and ten day waiting period, or at any time after that. After the third time, he is forbidden from taking
[784] her back until she has married and divorced another man. If they continue to live together after the third divorce, they are living in a state of sin called dəl for which the punishment is hell. A man may divorce his wife only once and say dəla to her, and the marriage is dissolved, just as if he had divorced her for the third time.

When a man divorces his wife, friends and neighbors frequently come to attempt to arbitrate their dispute (sholo).
586 The husband may finalize the separation by saying, "Yanyi" (She
681 is like my mother). Having said this, the marriage is ended, and the husband may not take back his wife unless he pays a fine

586 779 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is <u>haram</u> (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

586 779 626 695

[694]

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

[431] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalə yaska wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about <u>boye</u>, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

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441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fatkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taborma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fatkema are organized under a head man; the taborma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taborma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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[GEIDAM]

693 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri
554 District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another young man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the same families tend to retain their positions of power and
[66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a reliable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group
692 justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Disputants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the zogors arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has disputants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia
[68] for sholo. The Alkali will settle disputes out of court. The British officially forbade Lowans and Ajias from hearing cases
[70] and arbitrating in disputes. However, Alkali Baba Kura says that according to the Koran, the settlement of disputes through

[GEIDAN]

627 arbitration is encouraged, so long as the complainant has his
692 [779] grievance adjusted.

627 Carrying out sholo is one of the most important functions
662 of the individual in a position of political authority. It is
431 subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be
[192] a source of difficulty. The words kunjo and nasha are used for any sort of gift. Kafelo is the traditional gift which the small man, the talaka, gives to the important man, the kantuoma. Risa (Arabic) means simply a bribe. Wushira is the fee paid
[779] to the court after a dispute is settled. According to Alkali Baba Kura, kafelo and risa amount to the same thing, and both are forbidden by Maliki law since gifts given with the expectation of preferences in the future are haram (forbidden according to religious law). Giving of kafelo is traditionally done nevertheless.

627 Before the hearing of a dispute, both parties give kafelo
[431] to the mediator. If no kafelo is given, the dispute will not be heard. After a ruling is made in the dispute, the side which has received a favorable decision gives wushira to the medi-
[693] ator. The reasoning involved in the giving of wushira is that if the case had gone to court a set fee would have been paid. When a case is heard in Sholo, therefore, the mediator receives as wushira a smaller fee than would have been paid in court.

Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

175 642 [131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central 175 648 Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli.(1) Friendship was contracted with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli [779] as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time.(2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo.(3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Ishah al Kanemi".(4)

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travellers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones.(5)

173 669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

(1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 641.)
(2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
(3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
(4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
(5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life.
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are
592 heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[273] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[777] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

634 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a
871 school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to
555 speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman
177 to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged
565 derives from the aristocracy or from minor political official-
554 dom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power
[178] and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

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76 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from
[184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual
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79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas:
[185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them 301 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seen to indeate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 76 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

44 others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Al-
• 78 haji henceforth), fasting, etc.

*177 Still another area which was used as a measure of accul-
75 turation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards
*829 Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: mus-
[792] cular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called alo. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only
[792] seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of
*[554] these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are mem-
[123] bers of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success. 553 431 465

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way: 792 782 431

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes 551 553 553

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

in Magumeri died in the morning and was buried in the afternoon. The people explained this by saying that it was the hot season and he had died early in the morning. To wait until the next morning, they said, was too long and not good for the community. This was an oblique way of referring to the belief that the ghost of a dead man is dangerous especially to children until he is buried.

The ceremony itself is quite simple. The body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth and placed on a bier, and then taken out to the burial grounds by the men. Prayers are said continually and the family mourns officially for forty days by saying special prayers and remaining close to home. During the ceremony men remain impassive, quietly telling their beads and praying softly to themselves. Women, on the other hand, come in groups walking slowly in single file wailing and crying, especially if the deceased is a close neighbor, friend, or relative. If a man is needed for a short communication, a woman might stop wailing suddenly, talk in an ordinary voice, then just as quickly resume her keening. A few women at every funeral were observed who were much more totally involved and did not break up their wailing when asked to do something else. Sometimes these wails of the women become songs with words. This is less true at funerals of men where if it happens the song or chant says over and over again, "He was a good man." For a dead woman the words are also, "She was a good woman," but an added verse, especially if the dead woman was not very old, refers to the hard life of a woman and how long and unending are her chores. There is a definite implication here that the heavy burdens of womanhood can bring an early death.

This, then is the Kanuri life cycle; it is adapted to Bornu society and the historical development of that society. The fact that the household is the major unit of social organization means that people of different ages are constantly in touch with one another. Even though those in all age groups have many friends of their own age, they associate freely and easily with people of all age groups within their household where membership crosses generation lines. This means that younger age groupings are constantly learning the ways of behaving and thinking of those older than themselves and almost automatically know how to act as they grow up. By contrast in many western societies interaction between generations is extremely difficult, and each generation seems to be developing an almost semi-separate culture whose intricacies must be learned after one has joined that particular age group. Because western schooling has not yet separated an entire generation from their parents, there is little room among the Kanuri for many discontinuities in learning, and therefore in hopes, fears, and aspirations on the part of each successive generation. Obviously this has produced and helps to maintain much of the stability in Kanuri society, and as such it is a key factor when we wish to ask questions about conditions of change in the entire society of Bornu.

779 of the population is pagan (Maguzawa), there are no pagan
177 Kanuri. Among the tribes who are influenced by and are ac-
779 culturating to the Kanuri, the Bede, the Babur, and the Marghi, both pagans and Mosl-ms can be found.

795 According to Trimingham[1], many pagans in the Western Sudan become Moslems by slipping into Islam, calling themselves "Mohammad", and imitating their fellows without special ceremoney. A rite is performed in the case of chiefs and important men, where public recognition is sought. This is undoubtedly the case for those part-Moslem, part-pagan peoples surrounding the Kanuri, and was also probably true in former centuries when the Kanuri themselves adopted Islam.

182 Today Islam is well integrated into Kanuri culture. With-
779 out entering into a detailed discussion of Islam as practiced by the Kanuri, those general areas which are most affected by Islam will be discussed here. These include: law, education and social organization. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the general features of Islamic worship as exemplified by the Pillars of Islam.

1. The Pillars of Islam.

782 The Pillars of Islam are five in number. The first of these is the confession of faith (shahada) which those who

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1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), see Appendix I "Ceremony of Joining Islam", p. 226.

782 embrace Islam pronounce.

The second is ritual prayer. Ritual prayer (Sallah) occurs five times each day at the following times:

Sua (Ar. Asuba)	5 AM (time of arising)
Duar (Ar. Azahar)	2 PM
Asar (Ar. al-Asar)	4 PM
Magaribu (Ar. Magriba)	6:30-7 PM (sunset)
Lasha (Lishai)	10 PM (bedtime)

Generally this observance is strictly followed by all Kanuri. Prayer is an individual matter, and can take place wherever the individual happens to be. The Friday afternoon prayer tends to be communal in character, and people go to mosques to pray. Everyday prayers are not customarily carried out in the
793 mosque. The religious hierarchy is only peripherally involved in the ritual prayer. The Ladan announces the times for prayer by public calling; the Imam (Liman) leads prayers in the mosque on Fridays and on religious holidays.

785 The third Pillar is fasting. During the lunar month of Ramadan all adult Kanuri fast from sunrise to sunset. This is rigidly observed by all, and it would be exceedingly shameful to be seen breaking the fast. The first sighting of the new moon is announced by the Shehu and the news rapidly spreads throughout Bornu that the month of Ramadan has come to an end. The end of fasting is marked by widespread festivities.

782 The fourth Pillar is the giving of alms. There are two types of alms in Islam: the zakat or tithe which all Moslems are expected to give to support the church, and sadaka, or vol-

* 782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[273] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[777] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumaribe (ngumari means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zamabe (Zama means Friday). The Liman Ngumaribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was considered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that Malam as the Liman Zamabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zamabe was given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumaribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

796 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at
574 the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe,
554 the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan,
182 Ngumori Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In
554 the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumori Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 Another extremely important yearly festival is called
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[GEIDAM]

796 Ngumari Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

[GEIDAN]

second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

844 after birth. The birth takes place in a sitting position over a warmed wooden bowl. When the infant arrives it is washed and then continually warmed by the female attendants who heat their hands over [853] a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child. Almost immediately attempts are made to have the infant feed at the mother's breast. The placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony.

[782] Men are barred from any direct participation in the actual birth process, but usually pray heavily and/or employ a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest) to pray for the successful outcome of the 846 birth. During the forty-day confinement period there should be no sexual intercourse between spouses. Informants stated that strict [565] adherence to the forty-day confinement rule as well as the sexual taboo may vary among the poorer classes where the woman's economic services are more in demand. However, the first eight days after birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement and sexual abstinence.

846 858 During the first eight days of life the infant is known as fatu (the little kitten) or kusoto gana (the little stranger) and is referred to when necessary in these terms. This is a strong tabu time for the parents, and they must be sure to maintain all cultural prescriptions to ensure the safety of the infant. Hardly any mention is made in public of the new arrival. Even its sex is unknown except by a few close female friends of the mother who are expected [766] to keep the secret. If it dies during this period, the infant does not receive a proper burial, but is unceremoniously interred in the women's section of the compound.

000 On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several

262 [264] where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is [782] generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, occra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet.(1)

511 In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 zaka(2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half zaka per person. Using the zaka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 [435] lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Magumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 zaka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

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[146] (1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

[804] (2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A zaka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quantities of grain, beans and nuts. Four zaka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one sa (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 sa per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 zaka per buhu. Zaka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 gains running up to 300%[2]. In two cases for groundnuts and ten for millet, the increase on the test plot was less than 10% of that on the non-fertilized one. These twelve plots were owned by nine people: allowing for eight cases of negligence through absense or sickness, this leaves forty-three cultivators who experienced a significant (more than 10%) increase in productivity due to the action of super-phosphate fertilizer.

After the harvest season (November to January) had ended nothing more was done on the project for some time. Malam Abdulla prepared his report and turned it in to the Agriculture department at the capital, but remained in the Magumeri area. In March a District Council meeting was held in Magumeri, and the fertilizer was on the agenda for discussion.

242 177 634 The District Council, under the chairmanship of the District Head is composed of Village Heads, Ward Heads and some elder compound heads from the various villages and hamlets of the district. The body, a British innovation, discusses local planning, and votes on the disbursement of a small amount of money known as the District Council Fund.

This was a rather special occasion for the Council, for they were to have an African District Officer rather than a European, which was the usual practice. Generally speaking, the meeting differed considerably from all other Council meetings attended by the writer. The people seemed much more relaxed, much less stiff and formal compared to previous occasions. Comments passed back and forth between one person and another, whereas at previous sessions, people had sat silently, and never spoke unless spoken to first by a superior. The resulting loss in orderliness was offset by a large gain in freedom of expression. [782] Many participants remarked afterwards on this difference and spoke favourably of the African District Officer, who prayed with the people at both the beginning and end of the meeting.

242 177 During the meeting, the District Head announced that the super-phosphate fertilizer was to be available within the next month or two for sale to those who would like to buy it. Several

[2] The standard deviations for these averages are as follows: millet, 25.2; groundnuts, 20.1.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

842 quite explicit, and married couples are supposed to want children. Those few
183 women who admitted to me, confidentially, not wanting children had very high divorce records, while all others conformed to expectations when asked specifically concerning their desire for offspring.

842 Traditionally the Kanuri believe that conception results from simultaneous orgasm during sexual intercourse. This information I got from older men who do not, however, know in any detail when or how often such an event actually takes
843 place. Instead they reason that it has occurred when their wife reports a pregnancy.
[842] When a woman is over one month late in a menstrual cycle (a few said forty-five days) conception is suspected, and she begins to buy charms on the market to safeguard a normal gestation. During this initial period the husband and wife, ideally at least, should not speak of the pregnancy to anyone until at least the second menstrual period has been missed, and then only to their very close friends and relatives. Such talk, indeed any excess conversation about the pregnancy, is believed to be dangerous to the course and development of a normal pregnancy. Even during the later stages just before birth only very cryptic references are made by the parents when they refer to the coming event. Pregnancy, like a number of other occa-
[984] sions in one's lifetime, is considered a very fragile time, a time when an individual is vulnerable to maliciousness from humans or spirits. Because it is difficult to know about such maliciousness, until after its effects are felt, it is better to avoid mentioning the susceptible circumstances.

[833] Sexual intercourse is continued throughout pregnancy since the Kanuri believe that such activity makes for an easier labor at birth by keeping the passage open and providing fluids for the child and the mother.

Although the Kanuri recognize the pregnancy period of nine months, the woman continues her normal work until the lying-in period is signaled by labor. On the other hand exceptions to the nine-month period occur, and some women claim to have been pregnant for years although no outward sign is visible. This latter condition is referred to as *bənji*, that is to say an embryo that will not come out of the womb. A woman may miss a menstrual cycle once and then become convinced that she has conceived. If her conviction holds she may, after menstruating again, diagnose the condition as a *bənji*. Missing a menstrual period, however, is not absolutely necessary for the diagnosis. Women who spoke of having *bənji* felt that any woman could have one, but they also agreed that in their experience the woman was usually older and either had not given birth for a long time or had had a completely infertile marriage history. Certainly many Kanuri women seem to be barren, and this cultural belief must help to assuage the disappointment of a hopeful but sterile woman. It may also serve to alleviate the loss of womanly role for an older woman who sees herself being replaced in her reproductive functions by her husband's younger wives.

Birth

844 When the woman is about to give birth, she is assisted by her own mother if she is in the vicinity, or her mother-in-law if she is living with her husband's family, and sometimes by a specialist in midwifery. There are stories told about

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

which he hopes are less important. Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their enforcement change through time, often as a result of changing personnel at the top. A new council member may have become interested in school latrines and suddenly start forcing compliance with the rules about such things. Failure to do so or to hear about the stringency with which the old previously unimportant policies are now being enforced could bring trouble to the district head who failed to comply. This is why information about policy and the cultivation of powerful friends in the central government is so important for the district head.

Before leaving the rural area a word should be said about adjudication. All leaders in the Bornu political system adjudicate disputes, and the political hierarchy itself serves as an appeals court system. Thus a peasant can take his dispute with a neighbor to his bullama (hamlet or ward head), who may decide to take the case up to the lawan (village area head), who in turn may decide to take the case to the district head. The district head may further decide to send the case over to the district court, and, if necessary, the district court can send the case into the capital city, to the court of the chief alkali of Bornu (chief judge's court). People can go directly to the judge's or district court, and in the city many do. Even with very serious cases like murder which must go into the central court in the city, the people taking the murderer into the city court most often go up the political hierarchy reporting the case each time they see another official even though there is no adjudication, thus giving recognition to their political leaders rather than going directly to a higher court.

Cases are tried by a combination of Muslim law and local custom. The chief or judge listens to the case, and if three witnesses swear for one side in a dispute but not the other, then the side whose witness has sworn wins the case. If no one swears evidence or too many people swear on both sides, then the judge listens while his assistant in the court interrogates the parties involved. The judge, whoever he may be, then makes a decision. Very often the interrogation itself tends to move the evidence towards one side in a dispute or another. Usually if a crowd gathers, one can see by simply listening to the crowd which side of the court case is winning the argument. On the whole decisions are just unless there have been previous and difficult relations between the adjudicator and any of the parties concerned. Swearing evidence in a court is called "eating the Koran"; that is to say, a person must swear on the holy book. If he tells a lie, it is believed that his hand will shrivel and he will die of horrible diseases. This belief is widespread and it is genuinely feared that the traditionally implied consequences of lying in court are in fact quite true.

The Organization at the Center

In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the palace of the Shehu, flanked on one side by the mosque and on the other by the official residence of the Waziri or chief minister of the emirate. The Shehu is the formal head of government. All measures, policies, appointments, made within the state are in his name; titles are granted at official investiture ceremonies carried on in the royal palace and he is the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This is em-

586 779 ing, "I divorce you," or, "The marriage is over." When a husband divorces his wife she leaves his house and goes to the house of her luwali. A wife cannot divorce her husband, but, as the Alkali of Geidam phrased it, "The power of a woman is in the law; the law helps her." As an example, he noted that if a woman hits her husband, that is nothing, but if a man hits his wife, the marriage can be dissolved by an Alkali. She can ask the court to grant her a divorce if her husband is impotent, and therefore not a real husband. If he disputes the accusation the court may actually attempt to ascertain whether it is true or not, by witnessing whether the husband is capable of having intercourse with his wife.

A man may divorce his wife twice, and take her back within the three months and ten day waiting period, or at any time after that. After the third time, he is forbidden from taking her back until she has married and divorced another man. If they continue to live together after the third divorce, they are living in a state of sin called dəl for which the punishment is hell. A man may divorce his wife only once and say dəla to her, and the marriage is dissolved, just as if he had divorced her for the third time.

When a man divorces his wife, friends and neighbors frequently come to attempt to arbitrate their dispute (sholo). 586 681 The husband may finalize the separation by saying, "Yanyi" (She is like my mother). Having said this, the marriage is ended, and the husband may not take back his wife unless he pays a fine

586 779 681 of sixty bowls of millet. If he pays the fine they may resume living together as a married couple; if he does not pay, living together is <u>haram</u> (forbidden), equivalent to living with one's mother as one's wife. If, in the course of a quarrel, the husband calls his wife "Yanyi", he must pay the fine or the marriage is dissolved.

586 779 [692] It would seem that the husband's abilities to dissolve a marriage are much greater than those of his spouse. The wife, however, has many ways open to her for bringing about a divorce, and, as was noted above, the law protects her rights. If the wife merely dislikes her husband and wants a divorce from him, he may refuse unless she pays him a sum of money. Since the husband loses the luwaliram when he divorces his wife, he will demand that she return the luwaliram to him (and some times more in addition), if it is she who wishes to bring about an end to the marriage. Amicable divorces of this type, where it is the wife who seeks to initiate the divorce, are brought about by an agreement concerning the luwaliram payment. Should the 586 779 husband refuse to divorce his wife, she may take to disobeying 626 him, and cease to prepare his meals. In that case he may take 695 her to court, and unless she has a reasonable claim against her husband (for example, that he beats her), the court will order her to swear on the Koran that she will behave properly in the future. Oaths taken on the Koran are thought of in very serious terms, and are not lightly broken. It is thought that a [784] wife who has sworn on the Koran and who breaks her oath will die for swearing falsely.

[GEIDAM]

*177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were men-
825 tioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bi-
*829 cycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." An-
492 other Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages
493 and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kali)."

*177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the
825 answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle?
*829 Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew
492 how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not digni-
493 fied (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would
*554 rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Crafts-
*[634] men) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and over-
*[642] whelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their
*[565] reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

*177 Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western
276 items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and
273 drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-
[784]

*177 276 273 [789] European-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cigarettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found [792] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and [441] the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 291 *829 The last items involving Western material goods concern the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers, presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams, [792] *[634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against *[463] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger. *[565]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

782 embrace Islam pronounce.

The second is ritual prayer. Ritual prayer (Sallah) occurs five times each day at the following times:

Sua (Ar. Asuba)	5 AM (time of arising)
Duar (Ar. Azahar)	2 PM
Asar (Ar. al-Asar)	4 PM
Magəribu (Ar. Magriba)	6:30-7 PM (sunset)
Lasha (Lishai)	10 PM (bedtime)

Generally this observance is strictly followed by all Kanuri. Prayer is an individual matter, and can take place wherever the individual happens to be. The Friday afternoon prayer tends to be communal in character, and people go to mosques to pray. Everyday prayers are not customarily carried out in the
793 mosque. The religious hierarchy is only peripherally involved in the ritual prayer. The Ladan announces the times for prayer by public calling; the Imam (Liman) leads prayers in the mosque on Fridays and on religious holidays.

785 The third Pillar is fasting. During the lunar month of Ramadan all adult Kanuri fast from sunrise to sunset. This is rigidly observed by all, and it would be exceedingly shameful to be seen breaking the fast. The first sighting of the new moon is announced by the Shehu and the news rapidly spreads throughout Bornu that the month of Ramadan has come to an end. The end of fasting is marked by widespread festivities.

782 The fourth Pillar is the giving of alms. There are two types of alms in Islam: the zakat or tithe which all Moslems are expected to give to support the church, and sadaka, or vol-

a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumoribe (noumori means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zomabe (Zoma means Friday). The Liman Ngumoribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was considered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that Malam as the Liman Zomabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zomabe was given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumoribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAN] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[805] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[534] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various MA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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796 Ngumori Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer, attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 183 178 [369] Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were [792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These [941] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely [554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

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Table XXIV

12. Religious Behavior: fasting during Tsuro Mbule.

	Yes	1 day	2 days	3 days	more	No	too young
Aristocracy	3	-	3	-	-	2*a	-
Koranic Malams	3	1	1	-	1-10 days	-	-
Canteen Operators	6*b	2	3	-	-	-	-
NA Malams	5	2	3	-	-	1	(lazy)
Kabuna	5	-	2	3	-	1	1-age 37
Craftsmen	4	-	1	3	-	2	1-age 37
Talaka	4	-	4	-	-	4	2-age 24; age 25
Low-status Individuals	4	-	1	3	-	-	-
Totals:	34	5	18	9	1	10	4

*a Yerima Mustapha answered that it was too difficult.

*b one of the canteen operators said that he fasted for one or two days.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

361 eryone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

342 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are
361 the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their
[622] central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means
[988] that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost ev-
[443] erybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan.
[302] Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their
[291] patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts
[231] and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as
[554] they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to
197 other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of
[193] Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the
[195] end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his
000 obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

888 on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women.
565 If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age,
589 and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in
[434] society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a uni-
• [788] versal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to
775 achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many
621 religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who
621 teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav-
[556] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago.

178 788 526 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trading class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take
[554] the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

178 788 556 441 [509] though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a general sense, along with wealth and political office. 565 178 Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[772] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

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of the dandal to watch.

368 788 The central mosque of Geidam also faces on the dandal, along its northern edge. Geidam has several smaller mosques, and although it is not necessary for a Moslem to go to the mosque to pray, Friday prayers at 2 PM (Duar) have become communal prayers. At that time almost the entire adult male community of Geidam gathers to pray. The mosque itself will hold only a small portion of the community, no more than 300 or so. All others gather under the shade of trees which line the northern and southern edges of the dandal, and while the Liman leads prayers in the mosque itself, all go through the ritual positions of prayer in unison following his lead. On the Friday Sabbath, the mosque and the dandal become the focus of attention.

368 Along the dandal, to the right and left of the entrance-way to the Ajari, are a number of buildings housing branches of the administration of the town. On the northern edge is the police charge-office, the court, and the community reading room. The courthouse serves daily as a center of activity. On the southern edge are the police barracks, the prison, the dispensary and [554] the primary school. Along with these compounds housing various types of officialdom are to be found the compounds of several important men whose gateways also face out onto the dandal.

The dandal, leading up to the chinna of the political head of a town, is the traditional political center of that town. Just as the market-place serves as the focus of all local commerce, the dandal serves as the focus of political, ceremonial and religious activity.

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second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumɔri Kura (great festival), Ngumɔri Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

#177 #829 805 #788 Column B represents the most common response to this question. Thirty-five individuals said that a watch was useful because one then knew when to pray. Ritual prayer takes place five times each day, at set times of the day (see Chapter II). These are usually determined by the position of the sun in the sky; the benefit of a watch in helping one to know when to pray is therefore obvious. Some individuals added that a watch was particularly helpful in knowing when to pray when it is cloudy; others noted that in the bush, when no one else was about, it was helpful to have a watch to know when to pray. In connection with prayer, three individuals noted that by having a watch one knew when to arise in the early morning before the sun was up in order to count one's prayer beads (tajimi). Similarly, four people noted that you knew when to wake before the sun was up to eat something in the month of Ramadan. Since prayer times regulate the divisions of the day, six people added that by having a watch one knew when to eat (in relation to prayer), and two said that one knew when to go to sleep (a non sequitur). Several people specifically noted that knowing the times for ritual prayer was the only use of a watch. All the individuals in two groups put forth this reason, among others, for [565] having a watch. These groups are: Aristocracy and NA Malams. [634] Seven of the eight Talaka offered this reason. On the other [792] hand, only one of the three Koranic Malams offered this as an example of the usefulness of a watch. Apparently the other Koranic Malams do not feel that a watch is of any assistance in

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*177 805 *829 • 788 helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

[792] The four types of response to the question concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of acculturation. Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a Low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (*c) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

*177 805 *829 128

*[634] [792] *[554]

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second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

[GEIDAM]

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them 301 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seen to indeate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

Table XXV

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13. Religious Behavior: wearing charms (laya).

	wears many	wears a few	wears only when traveling	has them at home	has none
Aristocracy	1	1	2	1	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	-	-
Canteen Operators	-	2	4	-	-
NA Malams	4	1	1	-	-
Kabuna	3	-	3	-	-
Craftsmen	2	3	1	-	-
Talaka	2	1	2	2	1*
Low-status Individuals	1	1	1	-	1**
Totals:	14	11	14	3	2

* has never had any

** doesn't like laya; drinks Koranic ink (alo).

593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [789] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies. 272

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for 177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

634 871 555 177 545 554 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged derives from the aristocracy or from minor political officialdom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which [178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 76 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual 128 79 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas: [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In later generations

they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craftwork directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not. If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settlements were generally tax free.

There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on something, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irrigation (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was essentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble titles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Furfuma* or lord of the ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The titles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally powerful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a man' political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambitions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipulate the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations. An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success.

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way:

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 829 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
• [792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[778] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

However, there
565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.
556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-
554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth differences were reflected in the difference in size of household between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along with the many members of their household; while non-specialized laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great
792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestigeful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige, though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was
642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure
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565 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam. 872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred 875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei- [463] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies [462] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding [876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Gei- dam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections [292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam [735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who [554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few 793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author- [693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in [192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

[792]

[163]

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
163 ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
[392] have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[562] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invariably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the great love for children and desire to have children. However, those who have borne a child have indicated their ability to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives who have no children of their own, and who are probably unable to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediately after the child was weaned; two were given away at later ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not have an adequate home at the time.

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[941] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

6. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115	1. Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
565		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
463		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
551		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
124		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]	2. Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]	3. Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]	4. NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

*177 191 [563] *[634] speakers of these languages as of English. It has been noted that both Shuwa and Fulani pastoralists are found in considerable numbers in Bornu Province. The members of the group of NA Malams seem to be outstanding in their knowledge of other languages. Not only do they all speak Hausa and English, but three in addition speak Shuwa Arabic, two speak Fulani, and one speaks Mandara.

*177 212 Turning to reading ability (Table XVII), it can be seen that 15 of the sample (34 per cent) are able to read in English script, while 24 of the sample (54.5 per cent) are capable of reading in Arabic script. Writing the Kanuri language in Arabic script preceded the entry of the British into the area by several centuries; the British introduced writing in Latin (English) script and have taught this form of writing in the schools. It is clear that many more individuals are capable of writing in Arabic script today than in English script. It is also apparent that almost half of the sample are illiterate in any script.

*[565] *[634] Of those who can write well in English script, 10 of the 11 fall into two groups: the Aristocracy and the NA Malams. Most of the individuals in the six other groups are unable to write in English script. The pattern of those who are capable *[634] of writing in Arabic script is quite different. Once again the NA Malams are an outstanding group. Not only can they all write • [792] in English script, but all can also write in Arabic script. Of course the Koranic Malams can also all write in Arabic script.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256 1

own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

#177 #829 805 788 Column B represents the most common response to this question. Thirty-five individuals said that a watch was useful because one then knew when to pray. Ritual prayer takes place five times each day, at set times of the day (see Chapter II). These are usually determined by the position of the sun in the sky; the benefit of a watch in helping one to know when to pray is therefore obvious. Some individuals added that a watch was particularly helpful in knowing when to pray when it is cloudy; others noted that in the bush, when no one else was about, it was helpful to have a watch to know when to pray. In connection with prayer, three individuals noted that by having a watch one knew when to arise in the early morning before the sun was up in order to count one's prayer beads (tajimi). Similarly, four people noted that you knew when to wake before the sun was up to eat something in the month of Ramadan. Since prayer times regulate the divisions of the day, six people added that by having a watch one knew when to eat (in relation to prayer), and two said that one knew when to go to sleep (a non sequitur). Several people specifically noted that knowing the times for ritual prayer was the only use of a watch. All the individuals in two groups put forth this reason, among others, for having a watch. These groups are: Aristocracy and NA Malams. [565] [634] [792] Seven of the eight Talaka offered this reason. On the other hand, only one of the three Koranic Malams offered this as an example of the usefulness of a watch. Apparently the other Koranic Malams do not feel that a watch is of any assistance in

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*177 805 *829 788 helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

• [792] The four types of response to the question concerning the *177 805 *829 128 usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of acculturation. Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave *[634] work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have [792] offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting *[554] that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a Low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (*c) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

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*177 276 273 [784] European-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cigarettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found [792] [441] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 291 *829 The last items involving Western material goods concern the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers, presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-[792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams, *[634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against *[463] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger. *[565]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 183 178 [369] Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were [792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These [441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely [554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

441 78 others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Al-haji henceforth), fasting, etc.

#177 75 #829 Still another area which was used as a measure of acculturation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: mus- [792] cular pains, swellings, broken bones. The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called alo. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only [792] seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of #[554] these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are mem- [123] bers of the Low-status group. The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

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#177 75 #829 When directly confronted by the question of which is the more effective, drinking alo or Western medicine, 18 (41 per cent) said Western medicine, 12 (27 per cent) said alo, 14 (32 per cent) said that they each served a different purpose. Of those who chose Western medicine, eight individuals specifically stated that Western medicine is the more effective because it cures more rapidly. One Canteen Operator noted the changing times, saying that alo had been effective in the past but that Western medicine is more useful today; an NA Malam stated that alo was not medicine. Several of those who chose alo as the more effective added that, "Alo is our cure," and "Alo is more useful for Moslems." The latter responses indicate an adherence to that which is Kanuri for its own sake, as a means to retain cultural identity. Those who indicated that they would not go to a European doctor in answering the previous question were consistent in maintaining that alo is a more effective cure than Western medicine. The Koranic Malams and the Low-status Individuals refused to acknowledge the effectiveness of Western medicine. The NA Malams and the Kabuna, on the other hand, either chose Western medicine or claimed that the two have different purposes.

[792] [554] [634]

The area of treatment of various diseases is followed up in the next question dealing with six specific types of disease or injury (Table XXVII). The six types of illness or injury were chosen because the author had previously ascertained that for three of these the Kanuri considered that they had effective

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 285]

*177 means of treatment while for three others Kanuri treatment was
75 not particularly successful when compared with Western types
*829 of treatment. The Kanuri feel that their traditional means of treating broken bones, bites by poisonous snakes, and jaundice (called "yellow-eye") are effective, and this is reflected in their answers in columns 1, 2 and 3 of Table XXVII. 8[illegible]er cent stated that the Kanuri specialist was more effective in setting bones; 60 per cent said that he was more effective in treating jaundice; 89 per cent said he was more effective with snake-bite wounds. With respect to headaches, to smallpox (baru), and to a general complaint of internal pains (tuno), Kanuri treatment is not as effective. As can be seen in columns 4, 5, and 6, belief in the effectiveness of Kanuri treatment for these ailments is low: 12 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for headaches is the more effective; 19 per cent state that they believe the Kanuri cure for smallpox to be more effective; 37 per cent state that the Kanuri cure for tuno is the more effective. The expectation that for the first three ailments the Kanuri respondents would claim that Kanuri cures are more effective while for the latter three ailments they would indicate a greater reliance in the effectiveness of Western medicine was upheld.

[792] Several groups stand out. The Koranic Malams, for example, do not offer a single response indicating that European treatment is more effective than Kanuri treatment, for any of the
*634] six ailments. The Kabuna and the NA Malams tend to respond in

*177 daughter to the Western school. Most (73 per cent) would send
871 their sons to school, and the reasons for doing so (*c, *d)
*829 stress the usefulness of Western schooling and the benefits to
562 be gained. 27 per cent said that they would not send their sons to school, a number adding "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *f). Four groups would overwhelmingly send their sons
*[565] to school. These are: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, NA
[441] Malams, Kabuna. The remaining four are divided, although none
*[634] of the Koranic Malams and only one Low-status Individual would
[792] send a son to the Western school.
*[554]

Fewer would send a daughter to school, though once again
*[565] a majority (64 per cent) state that they would. The Aristoc-
*[634] racy, NA Malams and Kabuna would overwhelmingly send a daughter to school (though one individual in each of the latter groups has shifted from a "yes" for a son to a "no" for a daughter).
[792] The Koranic Malams remain adamant and would no sooner send a daughter than they would a son. Whereas a majority of Talaka would send a son to school, most would not send a daughter to school. The reasons given for sending a daughter to school appear in *h and *i. Of the 15 who answered "no", 8 added "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *j). One Talaka noted (*d) that school was useful for a boy, but not for a girl because marriage difficulties arise for educated women. This issue will be discussed more fully in Table XXXVI which concerns marriage with an educated woman.

*177 In following up the choice involved in educating one's son,
871
*829

[GEIDAM]

*554 *829 tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight
441 groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka.
*777 178 Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the cate-
441 *463 556 *554 gories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new innovation brought about by contact with the West, has undergone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (*k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

*554 *829 Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is interesting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (*a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly *c who has selected a time-honored [792] ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table [44] XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

[GEIDAN]

*554 Five of the eight groups range very closely (from 38 to 50 per
*829 cent) and indicate neither very great satisfaction with their
*463 present work, nor great disapproval. The Low-status individu-
als are included among them. They apparently do not find their
• [792] low status a source of discontent. The Koranic Malams all
[441] seem very secure in their occupations, as do the Canteen Trad-
*[565] ers who all seem to find their work rewarding. It is strik-
ing to note that the Aristocracy are the most dissatisfied
group in the sample. A number of possible reasons can be ad-
vanced to explain this (there are many hidden strains in
their roles; they are in a better position to fantasy than the
others, etc.), though none really seems to provide an adequate
explanation.

*177 The next table (Table XXXIII) deals with the same general
*829 area of desired occupations, but treats the problem differently.
*463 Instead of asking the open-ended question "What sort of work
*554 would you most like to do?", this question required the members
of the sample to select that occupation which they found most
appealing to them from among four which were offered. The four
choices included two acculturated occupations (truck driver and
doctor or dispenser), and two traditional Kanuri occupations
(Lowan and Koranic Malam). As indicated by the table, only five
individuals selected the acculturated occupations; the overwhelm-
ing choice of the sample was for Koranic Malam (70 per cent).
This contrasts sharply with the choices made in Table XXXII,
where only 4 (9 per cent) chose Koranic Malam. Unfortunately,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

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as "trader" was not offered as a choice in this question, it is impossible to ascertain whether Koranic Malam is the second best choice to trader, or whether, when reminded that Koranic Malam is a possible choice, people feel obliged to choose it.

Considering each of the four occupations individually, four of the groups were unanimous in choosing Koranic Malam as the desired occupation. These are: the Koranic Malams, Canteen Operators, Talaka, and Low-status Individuals. In the group of Craftsmen the choice of Koranic Malam is almost unanimous, but for one individual who chose truck driver. The category of truck driver is the least popular and was selected by only two people; one of these (*a) indicated that he chose it because it was the best of four unattractive choices. Three groups remain who did not overwhelmingly choose Koranic Malam. These are: Aristocracy, NA Malams and Kabuna. The Aristocracy include two of the three individuals who selected doctor (*b); the others in the Aristocracy are divided among the remaining choices. The category of Lowan is the final occupation to be discussed and was selected as the preference of 8 individuals. Seven of these 8 individuals are found in two groups: the NA Malams and the Kabuna. The eighth is an Aristocrat who is presently a Lowan. Three of the Kabuna would like to be Lowans (compare with Table XXXII where only one Kabuna selected Lowan). This desire is expectable in a group whose activities are entirely within the political structure and whose rewards would probably come through promotion to higher position within the

[GEIDAN]

*177 *463 *829 *554 The aspirations of those who would like their sons to hold NA or European jobs become apparent as one looks at their verbatim responses (*a, *d, *e, *f, *k). They would like their sons to be bank clerks, accountants, doctors and Senior Service government employees, working in the large cities. Two fathers specifically add that they want their sons to become "black Europeans" (*m, *f), an ambivalent comment since it implies that their sons will have the advantages of a European and in the process will become estranged from their Kanuri fathers. Those who wish that their sons might become Koranic Malams (*b, *g, *j, *l) see the advantages in terms of the respect which they would gain in becoming a Liman, an Alkali, or a Gonyi--"Many people will come to his house" (*d). The advantages of success in trade have already been discussed (*c).

*565 Taking each group in turn, the Aristocracy all wish their sons to do NA or European work, though a glance at column 8 indicates that none wishes his son to do precisely the same type of work as his father is presently engaged in. This once again would appear to indicate the same dissatisfaction noted [792] for the Aristocracy in Table XXXII. The Koranic Malams continue to demonstrate the same consistent behavior which they have shown all along. All wish their sons to become Koranic Malams [941] (*b), like their fathers. The Canteen Traders would also like their sons to engage in trade; 5 of the group chose trade for their sons and they make up the bulk of those who gave this [634] response. The NA Malams follow the same pattern; 5 of the 6

*177 565 only one area do they clearly reveal themselves as conservative, and that is in the area of treatment of specific diseases (items 24-29). Inconsistencies are revealed within this behavioral area as the responses of the group are acculturated for four items (22, 23, 27, 29) and unacculturated for four others. Most striking is the response of this group to the question of the treatment of smallpox (28), which was discussed earlier. At several other points the Aristocracy appear unacculturated, but the degree is very slight in the case of items 2 and 43. Item 42 may be slightly more significant.

On the whole, the pattern of acculturation of the Aristocracy is that of a relatively stable group. In their one area of marked unacculturation, the explanation would seem to lie in the political implications of the treatment for smallpox. The resistance which the Aristocracy has for Western treatment of smallpox seems to extend to other diseases as well, though in not so severe a form. Yet they are not totally unacculturated in this behavioral area, and thus give inconsistent responses.

*177 792 2. Koranic Malams. A note of caution must be introduced in discussing this group. Only three individuals are represented here, and conclusions based on this group are less sure than in other cases. Their acculturation profile is presented in Table XLI. Generally, they are a very unacculturated group. Their conservative responses in certain behavioral areas, those of religious behavior, education, and treatment of disease, are predictable considering the areas with which a Koranic Malam is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 344]

[GEIDAM]

Table XIX

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE KANURI MALES

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

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• 172

1. knowledge of Islam
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. own full time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Tsure Whale
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Da to school
33. son to school
34. prefer school training

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Ibadan
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Hausa
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

[GEIDAM]

#177 concerned. Item 5 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation; the Koranic Malams naturally write in Arabic script.
• 792

In certain areas, however, they respond in acculturated fashion. They are willing to marry a non-Kanuri and distinctly more willing to marry each of the four tribes noted in items 38-41. When the condition that the woman be a Moslem is added, the Koranic Malams show themselves to be a tolerant group. This is probably because their primary allegiance is to Islam rather than to Kanuri culture. Thus as long as behavior does not conflict with Islamic behavioral expectations, they would have no real objection, and in the case of marriage, state that they would be willing to marry a wide range of women so long as they were Moslem. Similarly, Allah is their guide in the case of settlement of disputes, so that they appear acculturated in Item 30, and in Item 31 the conditions placed on charity are that the individual would behave as Allah told him to. I have no explanation, frankly, for their response to Item 14. On the whole, the relative consistency of the answers of the Koranic Malams would indicate that they are a stable group.

#177 441 3. Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators epitomize an unstable group. Omitting the three items not dealing with acculturation measures, 18 of their responses are on the acculturated side, 20 are on the unacculturated side, and 2 are precisely at the mid-point. They are consistent in only two behavioral areas: they are acculturated in the possession of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 346]

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

792
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[For responses of Koranic malams, canteen operators, NA malams and kabunas to questionnaires on acculturation, see charts in category 116, pp. 249-327.]

173
651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

173
634
[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his
[792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves.
[103] Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas
[621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

175
631
651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 631 634 tendency for these two titles to be passed on down the male line. Even in this latter case, however, the king could always choose those most likely to be totally loyal to his administration from among the heirs, or even disregard the hereditary rule if he wished and give the title to some other person. The four quadrant leaders also had their own fiefs which they used as the basic support for their large household organizations in the capital.

175 648 Vassal groups and territories paid tribute in kind through their leaders to the treasury of the Mai of Bornu. In the heyday of Bornu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these vassals included a large number of surrounding peoples in what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad. These subordinate groups were organized in two ways. In the first instance a Bornu consul was appointed to reside in the tributary state to help collect annual tributes and administer the government. This was in effect a kind of conquest and occupation used most often in adjacent and nearby territories. The second method was to leave the territory under the control of its own leaders after they had pledged their loyalty and their intention to pay tributes and give military support to Bornu whenever necessary; they were also expected to provide safety and hospitality to expeditions and caravans going to and from Bornu. Some of these vassal states were caught between two great powers. Such a case were the Hausa of northwestern Nigeria. Caught as they were between Songhai to the west and Bornu to the east they, therefore, paid tributes in two directions, always hoping that someday they could be relieved of these burdens by an increase in their own power or a decrease in the power of one or both of their overlords. Indeed Bornu traditions and written records are almost totally concerned with expeditions against reluctant tributaries who were remiss in the payment of their tributes. On the other hand, there are also accounts of tributary states sending to Bornu for help against external enemies and internal revolts; so the relationship could, and often did, work to the advantage of both the conqueror and the conquered.

175 793 692 The religious and legal life of the state was strongly influenced by the specialized religious practitioners who were steeped in the Koran and Islamic jurisprudence. The chief judge and religious leader of early Bornu was given the title of Talba and is referred to in traditions as "second to the king," or the next in authority to the monarch himself. He and his descendants and client followers knew the Arabic script and thus made up a literate group closely associated with political leaders as scribes, legal advisers and religious functionaries. These men sat in on judicial hearings and advised political leaders who adjudicated on the basis of their own knowledge of the law. Besides the Mai, most noble households kept such religious men within their compounds for similar purposes, and as instructors for the children. Under such conditions the religious leaders were also strong supporters of the state and its power structure.

175 651 Little is known of the details of taxation for the early Bornu kingdom although records are much better for the nineteenth century system. Obviously some form of tax was levied on local fiefs by fief-holders as well as by the monarch who also received tributes from vassal states and a major portion of booty from warfare. As we have already noted, it is fairly evident that royal taxation of the Bornu population itself was carried on through the efforts of the monarch's titled followers who held powers of royal taxation privilege in the four quadrants of the state.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contempory standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a chima kura or "the big lord." There

782 embrace Islam pronounce.

The second is ritual prayer. Ritual prayer (Salah) occurs five times each day at the following times:

Sua (Ar. Asuba)	5 AM (time of arising)
Duar (Ar. Azahar)	2 PM
Asar (Ar. al-Asar)	4 PM
Magəribu (Ar. Magriba)	6:30-7 PM (sunset)
Lasha (Lishai)	10 PM (bedtime)

Generally this observance is strictly followed by all Kanuri. Prayer is an individual matter, and can take place wherever the individual happens to be. The Friday afternoon prayer tends to be communal in character, and people go to mosques to pray. Everyday prayers are not customarily carried out in the
• 793 mosque. The religious hierarchy is only peripherally involved in the ritual prayer. The Ladan announces the times for prayer by public calling; the Imam (Liman) leads prayers in the mosque on Fridays and on religious holidays.

785 The third Pillar is fasting. During the lunar month of Ramadan all adult Kanuri fast from sunrise to sunset. This is rigidly observed by all, and it would be exceedingly shameful to be seen breaking the fast. The first sighting of the new moon is announced by the Shehu and the news rapidly spreads throughout Bornu that the month of Ramadan has come to an end. The end of fasting is marked by widespread festivities.

782 The fourth Pillar is the giving of alms. There are two types of alms in Islam: the zakat or tithe which all Moslems are expected to give to support the church, and sadaka, or vol-

782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
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788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
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[772] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[462] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[462] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
• 793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumoribe (ngumori means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zomabe (Zoma means Friday). The Liman Ngumoribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [702] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [884] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 292 Malam as the Liman Zomabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zomabe was 554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumoribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 [561] into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

582
587 orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to
557 return to the partial seclusion of their luwali's compound, especially
565 during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

582 Nyia sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage is sim-
793 ilar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the
582 donor. In such cases much, if not all, of the gift giving by the male
793 to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in
583 connection with the formalizing ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and (1)

(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nyia mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

582 793 583 [557] the motivations of the lawali in giving his ward. It may be that the mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage payments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 582 793 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills. This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made, because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural powers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 793 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immediate ward of town. He had been married six times, almost always to one wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been a nyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obligations.

58 Nyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553 On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal
[562] naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

868 are transgressed.

868 Learning of adult skills is often accomplished through
857 imitative play. A little girl of three and a half was passed a straw plate and, separately, some paper clips. She immediately put the paper clips on the plate as her mother would do in the preparation of food, and began her own approximation of the quick, deft, jiggling movement of sifting the shells of groundnuts. None of the paper-clips was dropped from the plate and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some groundnuts."

857 Sometimes imitative play is more organized. A large group
867 of children between the age of six to ten may organize a "wedding". One of the young boys is the groom and a bride is chosen, as are in-
[864] laws, best man, lead woman, etc. Every detail of the adult virgin marriage ceremony is carried out, even to a mock impregnation, in this case a small doll. The wedding foods, in miniature, are passed around to the proper people, who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness. Adults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people.

794 Childhood is also the time of basic religious instruction
• 793 which is more highly stressed for boys. Young boys may be given away any time after the age of six or seven to a Koranic mallam for a year or two, to live and travel with him, work for him, and live in abject poverty, in order to learn Arabic prayers, and some Arabic script. Their relationship to him while under his tutelage is expressed in the Kanuri saying "mallamnum abanum kozina" (your mallam exceeds your father). In other words, an individual's Koranic teacher exceeds his father in fatherly qualities, which means he must be given respect, obeyed and sub-

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793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the
[871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary
591 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may
571 be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
881 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young
582 girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

563 829 who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwoza peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yoruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwoza and Banana.

Occupation

554 The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the 554 567 status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumeri a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

555 793 Koranic mallams are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialized powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage. The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

793 228, arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beggar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized, high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
[441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
554 829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanshako) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams; he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only a man with no proper shame could do such work.

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(1) Composite statement from informants.

643 The Shehu is 256.
793 also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
796 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadam (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
[123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work... However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

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857 imitative play. A little girl of three and a half was passed a straw plate and, separately, some paper clips. She immediately put the paper clips on the plate as her mother would do in the preparation of food, and began her own approximation of the quick, deft, jiggling movement of sifting the shells of groundnuts. None of the paper-clips was dropped from the plate and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some groundnuts."

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779 of the population is pagan (Maguzawa), there are no pagan
177 Kanuri. Among the tribes who are influenced by and are ac-
779 culturating to the Kanuri, the Bede, the Babur, and the Marghi, both pagans and Mosl-ms can be found.

795 According to Trimingham[1], many pagans in the Western Sudan become Moslems by slipping into Islam, calling themselves "Mohammad", and imitating their fellows without special ceremoney. A rite is performed in the case of chiefs and important men, where public recognition is sought. This is undoubtedly the case for those part-Moslem, part-pagan peoples surrounding the Kanuri, and was also probably true in former centuries when the Kanuri themselves adopted Islam.

182 Today Islam is well integrated into Kanuri culture. With-
779 out entering into a detailed discussion of Islam as practiced by the Kanuri, those general areas which are most affected by Islam will be discussed here. These include: law, education and social organization. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the general features of Islamic worship as exemplified by the Pillars of Islam.

1. The Pillars of Islam.

782 The Pillars of Islam are five in number. The first of these is the confession of faith (shahada) which those who

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1. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), see Appendix I "Ceremony of Joining Islam", p. 226.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

592 443 43 [455] in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 443 445 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 [192] [103] Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week [196] except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium 443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you 484 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one 438 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

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[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

796 ceremony. Naming of children, circumcision, marriage and burial all have a religious aspect, though of course the nature of the ceremony is strongly Kanuri in character, and differs from the same ceremony as practiced by Moslems generally or from that ceremony as practiced by other nearby African Moslems. Similarly, the ceremonial holidays in the yearly cycle follow the Moslem calendar. Days of celebration include: the new year, the prophet's birthday, the sacrifice of the ram, and of course the month of Ramadan.

2. Islamic Law.

671 779 577 Several aspects of Kanuri culture are most profoundly affected by Islam, and will here be given more extended discussion. Law is perhaps the foremost of these. Acceptance of Islam means the acceptance of Islamic law. This involves two broad areas: one's conduct in everyday life, and formal, written law which is a part of political organization. With respect to the first, the Kanuri view of the "good man" is synonymous with being a good Moslem. In one's every-day conduct one should be properly humble and respectful of superiors, and false pride (ro kura) is considered a despicable trait. One should be devout not only in performing ritual acts, such as prayer, but in one's thoughts. It is commendable for a man to awake early in the morning, long before the time one begins the day's work, for contemplation and the counting of prayer beads (tajimi).

[692] Disputes are taken to the Lowan and to the Ajia for arbitration,

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumoribe (noumori means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zomabe (Zoma means Friday). The Liman Ngumoribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [782] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [784] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 292 Malam as the Liman Zomabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zomabe was 554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumoribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the [561] age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
796

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[803] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[538] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[579] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubə ro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

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796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bori, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumori Ashembe, at Ngumori Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[272] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-
[264] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

796 574 554 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

796 182 554 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan, Ngumori Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumori Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

796 782 Another extremely important yearly festival is called

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796 Ngumori Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[567] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

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796 second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-
431 tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this
[505] time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away
[777] kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of
[602] the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili
796 with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the
[789] sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water stor-
[733] age pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness.
[515] On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those
[788] present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (ta-
[535] jimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in
[857] a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

[782] The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumori Kura (great festival), Ngumori Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

128 In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

643 The Shehu is
793 also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
796 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakils, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
[123] Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
[178] cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men ø (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Gworongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut sellor	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

ø All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment,
511 ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social
431 relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and
511 informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand,
796 religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lis-

174 133 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal swamps. Carpenter[1] feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fezzan rather than the Niger that Etearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems reasonable to suppose that as these enormous wet lands dried up central Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated more densely in this geographically favourable area.

175

Until more historical and archeological research has been carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanciful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings".[2]

175 797 Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D. speaks of the people of Kanem as idolators.[3] However it is most likely that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older [173] texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king) Hume (1085-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu.[4]

[177] Urvoy feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributaries.[5] Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies

175 642 already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Rhys, op.cit. p. 239.
(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857, p. 643.
(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.
(4) Urvoy, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.
(5) Urvoy, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IFAN, 7, 1949, p.36

262 [264] [782] where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, occra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet.(1)

511 In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 zaka(2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half zaka per person. Using the zaka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 [435] lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Magumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 zaka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

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[146] (1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

[804] (2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A zaka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quantities of grain, beans and nuts. Four zaka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one sa (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 sa per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 zaka per buhu. Zaka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
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[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[584] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
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[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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*177 128 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use *177 493 is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen *565 Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them, [441] many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one- *[634] half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two *177 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the • 805 sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread *[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two *[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather me- 805 chanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the *829 hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

[GEIDAM]

Table XIX

*177
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* 805
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*554
*463

4,5. Knowledge about Western Material Items.

	4. Can you ride a bicycle? yes	4. no	5. Can you tell time? yes	5. no
Aristocracy	4*a	1	5	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	1	2
Canteen Operators	4*b	2	4	2
NA Malams	5	1	6	-
Kabuna	2	4	3	3
Craftsmen	2	4	4	2
Talaka	4	4	5	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	2	2
Totals:	23	21	30	14

[576] *a one of the aristocracy (Yerima) stated that he doesn't ride a bicycle though he knows how to, because it isn't dignified.

*b one of the canteen traders stated that though he knows how to ride a bicycle, he doesn't ride, but travels on horse.

GEIDAN

Table XX

*177
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*565
*554
*463
*829

6. Ideas about the usefulness of Western material items:

What is the use of a wrist watch?

	A. doesn't know its use*a	B. know when to pray*b	C. important for one's work*c	D. complex ideas about usefulness*
Aristocracy	-	5	1	4
Koranic Malams	1	1	1	-
Canteen Operators	1	5	2	-
NA Malams	-	6	5	1
Kabuna	2	5	-	1
Craftsmen	3	3	-	1
Talaka	2	7	3	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	1	1
Totals:	10	35	13	11

*a Answers indicating lack of knowledge:

Koranic Malam: "I don't know. It has no use."

Canteen Operator: "I don't know. A man knows when to stop work. It has no other use."

Kabuna: "You know what to do at different times of the day. You know the time- its pleasant. At 9 o'clock you eat."

Craftsman: "A man knows the time. I don't know what use that is. If you tell me, then I'll know its use."
"You know the prayer times; it has no other use. Talaka don't know its use. I'll know only if you tell it to me."

Talaka: "I don't know. If I get one I'll learn its use."

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Table XX (continued)

*177 *b Knowing when to pray:
*805
*565
*463
*829

Canteen Operator: "You know the prayer times. That's its only use for a Moslem."

"You know when to pray; you know the hours. It has no other uses."

NA Malam: "You know when to pray when its cloudy. When you wake up at night, you know the time."

Kabuna: "You know the prayer times; when to eat; and when to go to sleep."

Talaka: "If you go to the bush, at Duar (2 P.M.) you know it's time to pray.... At night, when there is no sun, you know when to pray."

In addition to stating that one knows the prayer times from one's wrist watch, individuals added the following:

You know when to rise in the early morning to count prayer beads - 3

You know when to wake up to break the fast during the month of Ramadan - 4

You know when to eat - 6

You know when to go to sleep - 2

*c A wrist watch is important for one's work:

Aristocrat: "When you go to work, you know when to stop in order to pray. You start work at a certain time and stop at a certain time..."

Koranic Malam: "If a man does European work, he knows when to go and when to leave for lunch."

Canteen Operator: "You know when to open your canteen, and when to close it. You know when to pray."

NA Malams: "A worker won't come late to work. You know the prayer times."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to stop work to eat; when to close for the day...."

"...If someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab wound, for example, you write down the time he was brought in."

GEIDAM

Table XX (continued)

*177
*805
*565
*554
*463
*829

Talaka: "You know when to pray. You know when to stop work, go to eat, and be back at work, without being late...."

"You know when to pray. When you go to sleep, you know the time when you awake. At 3 A.M. you wake up if you want to go to bush markets."

Low-status Individual: "People who work for the government know when to go to work. You know when to pray."

#d <u>More complex ideas about the usefulness of a wrist watch</u>:

Aristocracy: "...If you leave for another town, you know when to leave, and when to return."

"...If you're going on a trip, you know what time you ought to start, because you know how fast you travel in an hour, and how many miles you have to go, so you can figure out what time you should start in order to reach there on time."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to leave for a journey and what time you will reach your destination...."

"You can tell someone when you are going someplace and when you will return."

NA Malam: "You can tell a man to come to see you at a certain time - 4 o'clock - and you know when to expect him."

Kabuna: "...A person may tell you to meet him at a certain time to start on a trip, and you know when to go."

Craftsman: "If a friend tells you to go someplace at 9 o'clock, you lie down and then, when it's 9 o'clock, you get up and go there."

Talaka: "...If you go someplace, you know how long it took to travel there...."

"...If you go to another town, you know when you started out and what time you arrived there."

"You know the prayer times. You know when to leave on a trip."

Low-status Individual: "You know the prayer times. A person can tell you what time he came to a particular place."

[BEIDAN]

*177 one individual offered several reasons as to why a wrist watch
• 805 was useful, and his answers may have fallen into several cate-
*829 gories. The total number of responses in Table XX is therefore greater than the number of individuals in the sample.

Column A includes responses which indicate that the individual has no knowledge as to the usefulness of a wrist watch. [126] In superscript*a following the table itself, a number of verbatim responses are presented to indicate the nature and some of the variety in this category of responses. These include definite statements that a wrist watch has no use, and vague statements that it's nice to know the times of the day. Several individuals indicated that they understood that there was some use to a wrist watch, and that if the anthropologist would impart this knowledge to them they would then know. Implicit in the statements by the two Craftsmen is that though they realize that a wrist watch has some use, they have not been sufficiently interested to find out its use from someone who knows. The last statement by a Talaka is interesting in that it inverts the relationship between owning a thing and knowing about its usefulness. The order of events which he presents is not likely to occur; he would hardly get a wrist watch before knowing what its use was. Of the ten responses in column A indicating a lack of knowledge of the usefulness of a wrist watch, seven occur in three groups: Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. This response did not occur at all in two categories: Aristocracy and NA Malams.

#177 #829 805 788 Column B represents the most common response to this question. Thirty-five individuals said that a watch was useful because one then knew when to pray. Ritual prayer takes place five times each day, at set times of the day (see Chapter II). These are usually determined by the position of the sun in the sky; the benefit of a watch in helping one to know when to pray is therefore obvious. Some individuals added that a watch was particularly helpful in knowing when to pray when it is cloudy; others noted that in the bush, when no one else was about, it was helpful to have a watch to know when to pray. In connection with prayer, three individuals noted that by having a watch one knew when to arise in the early morning before the sun was up in order to count one's prayer beads (tajimi). Similarly, four people noted that you knew when to wake before the sun was up to eat something in the month of Ramadan. Since prayer times regulate the divisions of the day, six people added that by having a watch one knew when to eat (in relation to prayer), and two said that one knew when to go to sleep (a non sequitur). Several people specifically noted that knowing the times for ritual prayer was the only use of a watch. All the individuals in two groups put forth this reason, among others, for [565] having a watch. These groups are: Aristocracy and NA Malams. [634] Seven of the eight Talaka offered this reason. On the other [792] hand, only one of the three Koranic Malams offered this as an example of the usefulness of a watch. Apparently the other Koranic Malams do not feel that a watch is of any assistance in

[GEIDAM]

*177 805 *829 788 [792] helping one to know when to pray. The traditional ways of knowing the times for prayer are adequate for them.

*177 805 *829 128 The four types of response to the question concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch can be ranked as to thoroughness of understanding of its usefulness, as well as degree of acculturation. Column A indicates no knowledge and represents the least acculturated responses. Column B reveals slightly more understanding, and a greater degree of acculturation. The responses in column C all link the usefulness of knowing the time to work of a European nature. This is a somewhat more acculturated response, and it also reveals a good deal about attitudes towards European types of employment and towards the bureaucracy. All of these responses indicate in some way that the individual knows when to arrive at work, when to leave for lunch and when to return from lunch, and finally when to leave *[634] work for the day. It is understandable that five of the NA Malams, who all work for the provincial government, should have [792] offered this as one of the uses of a watch. It is interesting *[554] that two others who do not work for any governmental body, one a Koranic Malam and the other a Low-status drummer, should have noted the close relation between the need to measure units of time and European or government employment. These two both responded (sic) that for one who does European work or works for the government, a watch is useful, implying at the same time that for most Kanuri (most true Kanuri?) it has no real use. The most bureaucratized answer was offered by the local

*177 Dispenser--if someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab
*805 wound, you write down the time he was brought in. This answer
*829 indicates that the respondent sees the use of a wrist watch sole-
128 ly in terms of its use in helping one to perform various bureau-
cratic tasks. Responses of this sort do not reveal a deeper un-
derstanding of the uses of a watch, though they do reveal an
understanding of the relation between watches and aspects of
Western culture and are therefore acculturated responses.

Complex ideas about the usefulness of telling the time have been noted in column D. In all there were eleven such responses, only one more than the responses in column A. Seven of these responses concern travel, and the advantages of being able to calculate rates of travel in order to determine when to leave a particular place and when to arrive at one's destination. The remaining four concern the use of synchronized time by two individuals to coordinate their activities. These responses reveal a deeper understanding of the advantages of
*[565] possessing a watch. Four of the five Aristocrats offered re-
*[634] sponses of this sort, as did three of the eight Talaka; only
[44] one NA Malam answered in this fashion, and none of the Canteen Operators offered this reason.

*177 In comparing the eight groups with respect to the answers
*829 presented in Table XX, several points emerge. The Aristocracy
*805 offer a number of complex responses (D). The Koranic Malams
*565 are divided, but low in the number of responses referring to
*554 prayer time (B) when compared to the sample in general. The
*463
*634

*177 *829 *805 *565 *554 *463 *634 Canteen Operators tend to offer prayer times (B) as their typical response. The NA Malams offer reasons connected with their work (C) more often than do other groups. The Kabuna offer prayer times (B) largely. A higher proportion of the Craftsman group state that they do not know (A) than does any other group. The Talaka and the Low-status Individuals offer a variety of responses of which the most common by far is knowing of prayer times (B). Rating the four categories of response as to degree of acculturation by assigning a value of 1 to responses in column A, a value to 2 to responses in column B, a value of 3 to responses in column C, and a value of 4 to the responses in column D, one can arrive at a score for the average responses in each of the eight groups, and can thus compare their degree of acculturation with respect to this particular measure. The average ranks for the groups fall in the following order, beginning with the least acculturated:

*177 *829 *805 *565 *554 *463 *634 128

1. Craftsmen - average response value = 1.86
2. Koranic Malams - = 2.0
3. Kabuna - = 2.0
4. Canteen Operators - = 2.13
5. Low-status Individuals - = 2.33
6. Talaka - = 2.47
7. NA Malams - = 2.58
8. Aristocracy - = 2.9

*177 *829 805 *463 *565 The Craftsmen, with their high proportion of "don't know" (A) responses thus are revealed as the least acculturated group in

*177
*829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion
*805 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen
*463 Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.
*565

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the
*177 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case
825 the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle
*829 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were
492 then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bi-
493 cycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in
[125] Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
4
[441] of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market economy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

In Maiduguri, there
443 is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles
[698] all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Nguru. In Magumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Magumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage
[123] of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's
[435] "followers" (tada njima) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

[162] In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Geidam and Nguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open
[805] every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

2

History

Kanem-Bornu: The Historical Background

121 THIS BOOK is primarily an account of the way of life of a contemporary African people. However this particular group, unlike many others in Africa or elsewhere, has an ancient and well-documented history. The fact that such materials are available also means that we can observe the kingdom as it developed through time and obtain some appreciation for its continuity and change as one of the oldest political powers in Africa. I have therefore tried to bring together in summary form an account of Bornu history and its political development during the last millenium of southern Saharan history. In terms of the overall ethnolgraphic task it is important to realize that it is within this historical stream that the contemporary way of life has come to be what it is. Indeed one of the most salient [814] facts about Kanuri culture is the pride the people feel in their history; they believe that one cannot know them unless there is at the same time some understanding of their past. In order to do this I have written first an outline of the major events of this history, then analyzed the political development of the kingdom as it evolved through time. The details of the present political system are then taken up again in Chapter 6.

173 169 Kanuri legends all take the Bornu kingdom back to the north and northeast of Lake Chad to the ancient kingdom of Kanem and before that to Yemen. Like many peoples of West Africa as far removed from one another as the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fulani of Futa Djallon in Guinea, Kanuri traditions suggest that they as a people come originally from Yemen. It is said that a migrant Yemenite noble named Sef founded the royal dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa. There is very little doubt that the ancient dynasty of the Sefuwa has been in fact the ruling line in Kanem-Bornu for over a thousand years. However, there is very little evidence except for the legend itself to support the theory that the Kanuri or their ancient leaders originate in Yemen.

121 The problem of studying human origins scientifically is a fascinating one, but there are many pitfalls and a keen taste for skepticism is a primary requirement. The rules of the game are, however, quite easy. Simply ask what valid facts

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

132 The rainfall ranges from twenty-two to twenty-seven inches, in normal years, and is heavier as one moves from north to south. The important point that must be kept sight of is the fact that ninety percent of the rain falls in June, July, August, and September, while the months from October through June are almost totally dry. Indeed even within the four-month rainy season, about eighteen inches of the annual rainfall comes during July and August, so that in exceptionally dry years, June and September can easily turn out to be rainless months.

The various seasons are tied closely to the basic facts of rainfall and latitude. As the rain begins in June the dry sandy soil suddenly comes to life with [137] large stretches of new grass and new leaves on the died-up thorn bushes. From atop one of the Bornu ridges, or from the roof of a house, the entire landscape, as far as the eye can see, starts to change color from yellow-brown to a soft green. The weather cools delightfully, the rains become more frequent, and the short daily storms freshen the air. The people call this period "the rain," and consider it by [221] far the most pleasant time of the year, even though there is extra work for every- [821] body because this is the planting and hoeing season, and there is as well the extra [136] unpleasantness of increased numbers and endless varieties of insects that thrive at this time. After the rains in the months of October and November, and often into mid-December the proximity to the equator produces a short, hot season with clear, still days. In a sense this is autumn. The green of summer fades and the bushland changes to light browns, yellows and grays, except for the ripening millet in the fields, and the evergreen Nim tree. Towards the end of this season the weather cools, and a daily wind from the north to northeast blows in from the Sahara. This is the famous Harmattan that even coats shoreward sides of ships with red dust 100 miles off the coast of West Africa. It starts up about eight o'clock in the morn- [951] ing, to wane by about four in the afternoon, making for relatively cool, still mornings and evenings, with rather harsh, sandy winds, for most of the day, so that one wants to cover face and eyes when riding on horseback, especially into the wind. The people have a special word for this time of year which translates as "winter" [221] but which also means "harvest," since the main crops—millet, guinea corn, and [241] ground-nuts—are harvested towards the end of autumn and beginning of winter. By the end of February or beginning of March the coolness of winter has gone. The Harmattan wind still blows but it gets hotter every day and the nights, although windless and a trifle cooler than the days, begin to approach the daytime temperature. Indeed it is not uncommon for the temperature to remain about 100° F for several weeks on end, so that when a break finally comes, ninety degrees seems like an exuberantly pleasant relief. This is the hot season, called "the heat" [821] locally, and considered by all to be the most unpleasant time of year, which gives even greater sweetness to the cooling rains when they finally arrive in June.

There are, then, in all, four seasons: the rains from June to September; a short, hot season in October and November; a cooler, windy winter from December to February; and a sharply hot dry period from March to June. Another way of looking at the seasons, also used by the people, and one which will be utilized to some extent in this book, is to simply speak of a dry season, from September to June, and a wet season from mid-June to mid-September. Obviously the contrast between the various seasons of the dry months is not nearly so great as between the rainy months and the rest of the year.

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[805] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumari Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
79% festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[538] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

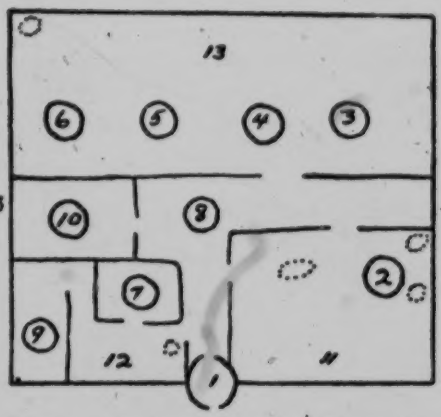
592 181 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri household, although it is an example which was actually observed.(1) It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
[595] 4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
[343] 11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area

dotted lines show granaries



592 Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the [736] wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

[595] (1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magumeri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside [823] (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553 On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal
[562] naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[43] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

443 With one
[442] exception,[1] locally produced items such as medical services, pottery,
[438] meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are bérzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust).[2] Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
442 has lived in Magumeri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
443 from Hadejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] (1) Gworongo, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is pro-
[302] duced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks 844
by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby.

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a preg- [515]
nant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a [759]
local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose.

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains 846
inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman.

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is un- [851]
known outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats [825]
are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during [766]
these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community.

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the 431
child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the 851
men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in [431] the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after [431] him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

GEIDAM

796 Ngunori Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
825 The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
565 blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
431 sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
123 a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
785 During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
561 like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

*177 *829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion 805 *463 *565 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the *177 • 825 *829 attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle 492 493 with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were [125] then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

Table XXI

#177
• 825 7, 8. Comparison of horse and bicycle: which is more useful; which would you rather have.
#829
492
493

	Which is more useful?			Rather have	
	horse	bicycle	different	horse	bicycle
#565 Aristocracy	3	1	1	2	3
#463 #554 Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	2	1	3	3
NA Malams	3	1	2	3	3
Kabuna	5	-	1	5	1
Craftsmen	6	-	-	6	-
Talaka	4	2	2	5	3
Low-status individuals	3	1	-	3	1
Totals:	28	9	7	29	15

*177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were men-
825 tioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bi-
*829 cycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." An-
492 other Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages
493 and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kuluqu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kaji)."

*177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the
825 answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle?
*829 Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew
492 how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not digni-
493 fied (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would
*554 rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Crafts-
*[634] men) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and over-
*[463] whelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their
*[565] reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

*177 Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western
276 items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and
273 drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-
[784]

862 "This is just a common, everyday matter," and should not be thought of as giving anyone any trouble. When difficulties do arise an older woman of the compound or the family offers her breast as a pacifier. In the odd case where this does not succeed pressures tighten up. The breast is referred to as "dirty" or specifically as "excreta" and in extreme instances bitter grounds of leaves are put on the breast and the lesson is very quickly learned.

861 863 858 [516] [826] After weaning, pressures are slowly brought to bear to teach the child proper ways of living among its people. Thus, as soon as a child can totter, the adult woman in whose hut he is sleeping starts to enforce the rule that he or she should go outside to perform toilet functions, stoop over with knees bent and buttocks near the ground using only the left hand for any attentions necessary to elimination. Later on as language skills develop the importance of the left hand is more highly emphasized as well as the advisability of being discreet about toilet functions. After the age of two and a half or three, scolding gets more intense and the child is told it is dirty or bad for urinating on the floor. Naturally the severity of the training depends to a large extent as well on the particular situation, the mood and personality of the mother, or other socializing agents present, as well as the age of the child. Thus a grandmother was observed who was not overly excited when her two-year-old grandson urinated on the floor, but she became quite angry when he wet her bed.

861 Patient but continuous teaching by adults in the household is a constant part of everyday activities for the young child. The following excerpt from field notes tells its own story:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little grandson, "Kachella, pick up the plate. Now, take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now, take that other plate and cover the food over. (Plates are made of grass.) That's right, very good." This simple operation which would have taken the grandmother a few seconds has been carried out after two patient minutes of instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

867 868 Childhood also ushers in the establishment of sex roles. Boys are now called "small boys" and girls are "small girls" or "three heads" referring to the three-pronged hair style of prepubescent girls. Boys and girls wear different clothes and begin fairly soon to associate with members of their own sex and to carry out chores that are specifically for boys or for girls. In play groups based on sex they wander freely about the village or neighborhood of the city gathering like flies to honey at the slightest hint of any excitement, and wandering further afield from their own compound as they get older. The girl comes quickly under the authority of the women of the household especially her own mother if she is brought up at home. She learns the intricacies of preparing food, carrying water, and the ever-present task of grinding millet either at a quern or by pounding it on a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, run messages, gather grass for a horse if there is one, tend the goats and sheep of the compound, and learn the family dry-season occupation. Pressure to learn these skills is slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but severe. The child is beaten with a rod or whip until neighbors and friends succeed in persuading the parents to cease or desist. Reasons given for the beating often concern the sudden, or con-

861 868

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they become full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families, and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role produce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect: his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a

[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. variety). Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi dea (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor.(1)

177 The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders. [162] Although the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres. 162 Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward; 563 slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Geidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

[192] (1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

162 563 capital, has, besides all these, a large Arab-speaking population from the Near East and the Sudan as well as the European Reservation for commercial and government personnel.

563 829 In this situation of constant confrontation and to some extent interaction with other ethnic groups, evaluation of status by ethnic membership takes place. The Kanuri vary widely in their disposition to rank own-group as having the highest status among all the other peoples that they are in contact with or about whom they have any information. Almost universally Europeans are accorded high status (sometimes higher than own-group) as an ethnic group. This stems from their superior political and economic positions as administrators and traders. Thus, informants, unless they are well travelled or sophisticated city dwellers, are shocked and surprised to hear that there are prisons in England which house murderers, thieves and scoundrels, or that there are people in England who can be classed as labourers. In their eyes and experience, Englishmen have never been low status persons. Indeed one of the common expressions among the peasants is "Nasara Nai" (Europeans are kings). One informant, during a discussion of religious edicts on morality and the relation of these to the practicalities of everyday life, interjected a surprising comment on the relation of morality to life. He claimed that the only true Muslims in the world were Englishmen, since they were the only people who ever told the truth.

The Arabas (i.e. Arabic speakers, with the exception of the Shuwa nomads) like the Europeans, have very little but formal social contacts with the Kanuri and are highly rated as an ethnic group. The Arab facial features and skin colour are the models for what is the most attractive and pleasing (therefore the ideal Kanuri) physical types. The

[826]

793 228, arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beggar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized, high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
[441] primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
554 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanzako) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams; he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only a man with no proper shame could do such work.

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(1) Composite statement from informants.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to 577
their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Al- 571
though men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and 593
respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality [828]
to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and [861]
his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior 571
called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, 576
especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very 571
friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. 576
His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and 593
never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of 571
father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as 576
older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young 593
nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are 602
greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri [591]
girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, 571
the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* 576
or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of interest one is struck by the similarities and the differences in their lives as compared to similar groups in western society. Like young men everywhere they discussed the merits of various occupations, the economic returns, the power and prestige to be gained from one or the other type of job, and so on. Unlike their counterparts in western society, they also spend a great deal of time discussing the qualities of "the big men" in Bornu and the benefits received by loyal followers of these men. They are keenly aware, or try to be, of whose fortunes are rising and falling among the big men and listen with great interest to some new tidbit of information to this effect. Like their counterparts elsewhere teenagers learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble, and drink alcoholic beverages during this period. School boys also learn western table manners and take periodic meals in the places that serve western style food.

One of the most important features of a Kanuri boy's adolescence is his choice of training for an occupation. All young boys learn the fundamentals of farming in the households of their youth since almost all compound heads in Bornu, except some in the city, have farms. In some rural villages boys will learn nothing else but farming and probably remain farmers all their lives. On the other hand the majority of Kanuri boys learn another occupation which they will practice during the dry season or the non-farming season. For most boys the choice is determined ahead of time by the elders of the household, or by the economic specializations in their own vicinity. For example, one boy whose father is a salt retailer and who lives with his father in the ward of the dyers has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households. In general boys are expected to take up the occupation of their fathers unless they or their parents have strong desires and an opportunity to do something else. There is much evidence to show that in making the decision the wishes of the young boys were taken into account. Thus one young man remarked that he would never comply with his father's desire that he become a butcher. Instead he started to work with his father's younger brother in the nearby compound and is learning to be a trader in hides and skins. Today a large range of new occupations is opening up; modernization has served to accelerate this degree of freedom simply because there are many more occupations and a wider range of potential income.

Kanuri occupations other than farming usually involve some apprenticeship, especially for young boys. Such training varies with the kind of job being learned, with the age of the boy, and with the nature of the relationship between the boy and the man teaching him the occupation. If an occupation has a higher status or there is an expectation of high income or prestige associated with it, the person doing an apprenticeship must expect a longer training period in return for having been admitted into an advantageous position. Thus truck drivers who make a comparatively high income demand a fee besides three to five years of service from the person taken on as an apprentice. Butchers occupy a low-status position in the society, but they can also earn fairly good incomes and therefore they, too, claim longer than usual apprenticeship. As the boy becomes older, it is expected that his training period will become shorter, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun, the longer the education. This simply reflects Kanuri recognition of the more rapid learning that comes with age.

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate

602 If you try to take kare (possessions, property, material wealth) from your father's family as a loan, or for any purpose at all, then they feel that perhaps they will not get it back, and you are trying to get some of the family (pat.) property which by the rules of inheritance is not supposed to come to you, but go to someone else. But the mother's family like you very much, they will give you things, and if you promise to pay back a loan from them they will trust you and wait patiently.

[828] Informants also knew that personality entered into the question, and were always ready to qualify these generalizations about the descent groups with a story, whose moral indicated that a kind and generous man was always so no matter what kind of a kinsman he was, or whether or not he was a kinsman at all.

Thus, leaving aside personality differences, there are two basic kinds of aman (trust), one for each descent group. The patrilateral aman defines the mutual obligations which members of the group experience as members, in the face of non-members, i.e. society at large. For this group aman also means source of my past, present and future, my inheritance, in every sense of the word. An individual has aman with the patrilateral group because they give him much of his social and material security as a human being in society. They will stand behind him in times of trouble and they will ensure that he has the necessary objects with which to sustain his social existence (land, a house, tools, a wife, political membership in the State). Ego can appeal to this group for help; threaten a Kanuri and he immediately thinks of the aman he has with his patrilateral group which he can invoke to meet any oncoming danger. Inheritance is tied into the same concept, for it is the insurance for the individual's future sustenance and material place in the social order. It gives time-depth and perpetuity to his aman with the patrilateral group.

The aman with the matrilateral group (to which Smith refers

565 one of the other
369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affiliations. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned then tells the name of his Lawan (Village Area Head).(1) Thus tala not only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e.
[178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) during the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Magumeri músko (hand) was pronounced muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversation with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory func-
[828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kam dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lawans as their Head Men and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
496 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
576 superior-subordinate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider themselves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) expect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri family and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage. or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the political scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling, wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

55 828 makes what power he has work well for him, avoids illness, poverty and derision, or does anything that can be measured in terms of achievement, then the degree of his success is the proof as to how much arziyi (good fortune, personal degree of success) he has in his hal (his nature, his being, his essence). Like Calvinistic pre-determination, arziyi is hoped for before the fact, and indicated or substantiated after the fact, of success.

554 565 828 829 In answering questions about arziyi, informants of all classes and ranks are generally agreed that no matter how much success a peasant has with his farm, his wife, at cards, or at his craft work, he can never possibly come close to having as much arziyi as even a bad District Head or Village Area Head. When finer discriminations are asked for, however, disagreements sometime arise. Thus informants when questioned as to who has more arziyi, a trader in the city who recently bought a big truck and has a large compound of wives and followers, or a somewhat effete District Head, they answered according to how they ranked wealth alone as compared to political power. Since both of these dimensions of status are usually congruent when ranked high, the discrimination is often a difficult one. Nevertheless there is, at any one level in the society, a large measure of agreement about the amount of arziyi of the various social roles in the society at any one time. People from different levels of the society give somewhat differing pictures of the distribution of arziyi throughout the society. This results from their different vantage points and therefore differing opportunities for perceiving the social structure. Thus although many lower class people find it difficult to decide whether or not the effete District Head has more arziyi than the rich city trader, those close to the chief, including himself, feel that the rich trader has more.

828 829 This brings up an interesting observation. The judgment of any individual about the distribution of arziyi in society at any one time is his particular notion about the arrangement of social roles in the social structure. Furthermore, his estimation of the distribution of arziyi at any one level of the hierarchy, e.g. comparing the behaviour of one District Head with another, is his judgment of the success that occupants of similar roles were enjoying relative to one another.

554 828 829 Arziyi seems to be used in two related ways in Kanuri culture. Firstly, in an enormously heterogeneous society, it gives a satisfactory answer to individual variations along one of the most affective dimensions of behaviour, success in achieving immediate and long range goals. Secondly, it is used as an explanation for the nature of the social structure, i.e. for its stratification. Those people, who have higher status along any dimension of stratification, have more arziyi, which accounts for their ability to maintain such a role in the social organization. These two ways of using arziyi as an explanation for differentiation are related so that what results is a Kanuri theory of society that at once validates its structure and explains the changes in personnel which accompany a system where personal fortunes may rise and fall rapidly. Thus a high status position in the structure indicates that the person has that amount of arziyi. His performance of the role required by this status may show him to have even more arziyi then he will outstrip others who occupy the same status and seek the [558] same goals. On the other hand, he may do badly which will indicate a loss of arziyi and a loss of status. Arziyi is also, besides being a theory of society, a theory of causation, which integrates social and individual differentiation under one simple, mystical force, personal

554
828 good fortune, which is continually being validated since its presence
829 is manifested after the fact of its operation in behaviour.

560 at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept arziyi. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [622] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride-wealth, goes up. 583

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.* [593]

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they divide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find. 582 [587]

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a marriage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are important to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage. 585 [554] 887 [602] 585 832 [152] 585 177 87 [582]

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very 585 577 829

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
577 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 577 579 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. 59
While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its [829]
landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households
through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally 592
moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let 591
us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the 592
father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over 428
the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of 592
half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's 595
compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since 578
most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. 592
Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as 593
great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives. [888] [589]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of interest one is struck by the similarities and the differences in their lives as compared to similar groups in western society. Like young men everywhere they discussed the merits of various occupations, the economic returns, the power and prestige to be gained from one or the other type of job, and so on. Unlike their counterparts in western society, they also spend a great deal of time discussing the qualities of "the big men" in Bornu and the benefits received by loyal followers of these men. They are keenly aware, or try to be, of whose fortunes are rising and falling among the big men and listen with great interest to some new tidbit of information to this effect. Like their counterparts elsewhere teenagers learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble, and drink alcoholic beverages during this period. School boys also learn western table manners and take periodic meals in the places that serve western style food.

One of the most important features of a Kanuri boy's adolescence is his choice of training for an occupation. All young boys learn the fundamentals of farming in the households of their youth since almost all compound heads in Bornu, except some in the city, have farms. In some rural villages boys will learn nothing else but farming and probably remain farmers all their lives. On the other hand the majority of Kanuri boys learn another occupation which they will practice during the dry season or the non-farming season. For most boys the choice is determined ahead of time by the elders of the household, or by the economic specializations in their own vicinity. For example, one boy whose father is a salt retailer and who lives with his father in the ward of the dyers has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households. In general boys are expected to take up the occupation of their fathers unless they or their parents have strong desires and an opportunity to do something else. There is much evidence to show that in making the decision the wishes of the young boys were taken into account. Thus one young man remarked that he would never comply with his father's desire that he become a butcher. Instead he started to work with his father's younger brother in the nearby compound and is learning to be a trader in hides and skins. Today a large range of new occupations is opening up; modernization has served to accelerate this degree of freedom simply because there are many more occupations and a wider range of potential income.

Kanuri occupations other than farming usually involve some apprenticeship, especially for young boys. Such training varies with the kind of job being learned, with the age of the boy, and with the nature of the relationship between the boy and the man teaching him the occupation. If an occupation has a higher status or there is an expectation of high income or prestige associated with it, the person doing an apprenticeship must expect a longer training period in return for having been admitted into an advantageous position. Thus truck drivers who make a comparatively high income demand a fee besides three to five years of service from the person taken on as an apprentice. Butchers occupy a low-status position in the society, but they can also earn fairly good incomes and therefore they, too, claim longer than usual apprenticeship. As the boy becomes older, it is expected that his training period will become shorter, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun, the longer the education. This simply reflects Kanuri recognition of the more rapid learning that comes with age.

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Political Organization

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THE POLITICAL LIFE of Bornu ties togther the entire society into one overall unit so that it has an identity. As far as we know this has been the case for centuries and still is today, so that, although the Kanuri people see themselves and their society as many things, they view it primarily or basically as a political entity. To the people who live there Bornu represents a culture, a language, an ancient history, but more than anything else it represents a kingdom, or sovereign realm whose definition is political. Thus whether anyone belongs to it or not, and how one should behave within its boundaries depends first and foremost on its organization as a polity, that is, as a system in which there are recognized and legitimate means of distributing authority and making decisions at all levels of the society.

Authority distinctions are present in all organizations, and from this point of view all organizations have a political aspect. However, for our purposes it is easier to limit the discussion to the means by which decisions are made and carried out in those particular sectors of social life having some territorial or bureaucratic identity as sub-parts of the emirate government of Bornu. This excludes such things as trade groupings, like that of Ajimi's uncle described in the last chapter in which there is some hierarchy of authority, but which may not be, and often is not, located in one place. It also means that what we are discussing is a system, since each of its parts is clearly connected to the other to form a working whole. Like most other aspects of Bornu life, this system starts with the household as a basic particle and then builds onto it. It is a complicated and interwoven structure of an ancient, majestic, and yet contemporary kingdom whose stability and adaptability are monuments to men's striving for these illusive goals.

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Households, Wards, and Hamlets

As we have seen in Chapter 3 a household can expand and become a group of linked households under the superior authority of a senior man. When a young man, or a man's younger brother, or his apprentice or client, wishes to get mar-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

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643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 829 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 121 182 592 829 44 571 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 121 178 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

648 the actual administrative power. The twenty-one District Heads
648 in Bornu Emirate were appointed by the Shehu, as was the Waziri,
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634 and the members of the Shehu's council. Although these appoint-
ments formally need not be approved by the British administra-
tion, in practice their approval was necessary.

634 The system of District Heads replaced the feudal absentee
175 landlords who controlled Bornu in the latter half of the nine-
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178 teenth century. Many peasants still refer to their District
[651] Head as chima, the name for the feudal lord of former times,
since one of the main functions of the District Head is the
[829] collection of taxes. Although many commoners continue to view
the system today much as their ancestors looked upon the polit-
ical system during the days of the Bornu Empire, radical changes
[642] had been brought about. Under the empire actions and decisions
of the feudal lords were subject only to the disapproval of the
[648] Shehu, the absolute ruler. Today a still larger political unit,
the government of Nigeria, maintains a legal system which pro-
tects all citizens though they may not be aware of it. A Kanuri
could appeal out of his own political system, and seek the pro-
tection of a British District Officer against the ruling of his
own Village Head or District Head. Obviously such a move might
have serious repercussions and not many individuals decided to
take the step. Nevertheless, the alternative existed.

692 In accordance with the British practice of ruling through
779 native institutions where possible, the formal legal system of
Northern Nigeria continued to be Islamic law, more precisely

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents • 829 resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

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so results in loss of esteem.[1] A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (kambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

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In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

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1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), pp. 73-74.

698 642 178 565 ence, British administrative officers made all final policy decisions. Since the system of social stratification finds its support in the political organization of the Kanuri state, and since that state is no longer the ultimate authority of the land, one might expect great changes in the social system today. While significant changes have been occurring, the old system of social stratification has been able to survive, in certain respects supported and bolstered by British colonial rule. It continues to shape Kanuri society today and to adapt itself to new conditions and new demands.

[693] The Shehu and the royal family are still present, and the Shehu continues to wield political power. Though a British resident was the ultimate authority, he acted through the Shehu [829] and the Shehu's council. In the eyes of the Kanuri people, the Shehu still was the symbol of the Kanuri state, though all Kanuri recognized that the White man (nasara) was present as super-authority.

178 565 634 Titled nobility are still present, and retain much of their political power since they still control the great majority of District Headships. It is striking to note how many Ajias, who replaced the chimas of old, are the heads of old noble families and the present holders of great Kanuri titles, [829] both slave and free. The descendants of the chimas are the bulk of the Ajias, so it is not surprising that the talaka continue to view them as chimas and to use the term in referring to their present Ajia.

[GEIDAM]

627 Alkalis as Yerima is with Alkali Baba Kura, but Yerima would
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661 put his influence to use only when affairs arise which directly concern him.

627 In the eyes of talaka, sholo is the major means for keeping
• 829 the peace. They do not distinguish sharply between the resolu-
671 tion of conflicts through sholo and through judgments handed down in the courtroom. The Kanuri do not conceive of an impartial legal system which grants all individuals equal protection. Law is conceived of as mediation granted by particular individuals, some more trustworthy than others. Whether one brings one's complaint before the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan depends on whether one has greater trust in the Ajia, the Alkali, or the Lowan. In any case, one brings one's complaint to be heard by a single man, with his particular whims, idiosyncracies and prejudices, and one chooses the man in whom one
[648] has the greatest confidence. According to the British view, sholo given by an Ajia or Lowan is not permitted,and is therefore not binding on the parties involved. A man who has received an unfavorable decision in sholo can complain to the court and the decision will be overruled. The Ajia or Lowan who heard the case will have difficulty because of it. This rarely happens because the talaka sees the situation from an entirely different viewpoint. When he brings a case for sholo and receives an adverse ruling, the dispute must end there as he has done everything possible for him to do in the situation, particularly if no bribes have been given (to his knowledge)

[GEIDAM]

627 829 671 and he has had an opportunity to present his side of the dispute. If he feels that the mediator has been bribed and the [626] case has not been properly handled, he knows that he must never bring a case for sholo before that Ajia or Lowan again and he will let his relatives, friends, and neighbors know what occurred. If a decision has been against him, and he has no reason to suspect that it was not fairly given, then he cannot take the case for further sholo, since his case has already been decided. Taking his case before the Alkali would be to take it once again for sholo, and if he had trusted the Alkali more than he did the Lowan who originally gave sholo in the case, he would have brought his complaint directly to the Al- [693] kali in the first place. In addition, the court exacts wushira from the winner, more than is paid in sholo, as well as other fees paid to police who bring in witnesses, and to court appointed assessors of property, in property disputes.

4. Taxation and the role of kabuna.

663 651 The two primary responsibilities of a Kanuri political official are to properly administer his territory and to collect taxes. The first duty involves the handling of disputes and [565] maintaining adequate control over subordinates. So long as the traditional social system remains in effect, each class of individual will know its place, talaka will come to those in authority for sholo, subordinates will fear and respect their superiors, and those in power will not usurp their power by unduly exploiting the populace.

[GEIDAM]

634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
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554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
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565 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
871 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

177 871 829 [565] [639] [554] school, or work out a compromise; none would send a son solely to the Malam. The Koranic Malams also remained consistent with their previous answers. None would send a son to any one but a Koranic Malam. The Low-status group would tend to send their sons to the Koranic Malam, as they indicated in their answers to the previous question. The remaining three groups (Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka) are fairly evenly divided between the two choices. All three groups appear to have shifted somewhat from their answers in Table XXX, and lean more in the direction of the Koranic Malam than they indicated earlier. The Canteen Operators in particular appear to have shifted in the direction of a compromise solution, and three of the six individuals who answered in this way are to be found among the Canteen Operators.

829 554 441 Another revealing area is that of the various occupations which individuals would like. Some are realistic aspirations, while others, particularly in the case of older people, border on fantasy. Eight categories have been distinguished in Table XXXII. Of these, the category of Trader (column 2) is the most popular by far. This is listed separately from "trading in the market-place" (column 3) because in the latter case individuals specifically indicated that they saw themselves as petty traders who operated in the market-place. The two categories might, however, be considered as one, since both are involved in the same general sort of activity--trade. Considered together, 42 per cent of the sample selected trade as the desired occupa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307].

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[For information on Kanuri ideas about Western society and items of Western culture, as well as their attitudes toward native practices and norms, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

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642 kingdom. It is probable that the early state was organised as a group of clans, with one clan and a lineage within it as the ruling group. There is the possibility that this dominant group was an intrusive one, but this point has been so over-stressed with no substantiating data by other writers, that it would be wiser to leave it until sufficient archeological research has been done.

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829 After the move to Bornu and the founding of the capital of Birni Gazargamo we have some contemporary data with which to assess the life of the times. Ibn Fartua expresses the feelings of a chief servant of the Mai concerning the ethical nature of the state in the 16th century. He says that " . . .every people relies on imitation of its leaders. The leader goes before and the people follow him. He leads them to the Garden as it were by a bridle, after giving the Book of Direction, glad tidings about the Faith, right direction, and sure guidance in the path of law. So every man knows his rights and his obligations to others. Most excellent is the fame of just deeds, and justice on the part of a Mai for one day is equal to service of God for sixty years . . . A place where there is an evil Mai is better than a place which has none." (1) Thus the structural position of the Mai is extolled as being even more important than its functions, for when a leader is present every man knows his relationship to other men, and the people are enjoined to feel blessed at the fact of political leadership <u>per se</u>.

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631 The political organization of Bornu during the second florescence of the kingdom was structured outwards from the capital at Birni Gazaragamo with the cardinal directions of the State under the military protection of four titled noblemen. The south was under the Yuroma or chief eunuch; the north was held by the Mustrema (also a eunuch); the east by the Kaigama (a

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua, op. cit. pp.10-11.

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

572 to include as many people as possible under the category of friend. On the other side of the question, what we in our culture would consider a very close friendship can be restricted or terminated for any one of a number of reasons, running from a shift in residence
572 to uneven upward mobility on the part of the friends. When friends
201 actually do have to part, great protestations of affection and sadness are often made at the time of leave-taking, especially and in much greater part, by the person remaining behind. Occasions like this are not uncommon. On one of these, a local official had received a much higher office in the capital. At a small gathering of his friends before his departure, heavy emotional displays of sadness and actual bereavement were made by many of his friends — they were losing such a good friend — why was he leaving them? — couldn't he stay? — did he realise how sad he was making them all feel? — he would forget them all now — etc. There was no mention whatsoever of his good fortune in receiving such an honourable and prestigeful promotion in the State. The sadness seemed more an expression of the group's dissatisfaction with their friend's departure than one of melancholy at his leaving, and it lasted only until his departure on the part of all but his very close ashirmanzé (intimate friend) who because of other circumstances in the situation had extremely few real friends and, therefore, suffered a more profound loss.

829 There is a cultural evaluation of interpersonal relations which underlies all Kanuri attitudes about their social life. Relationships achieved and/or ascribed are good, and more importantly, they are potentially profitable and satisfying phenomena. Conse-

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Consequently, any informant will tell of a host of friends that he possesses. Contrarily, the loss or lessening of interaction in any relationship is a bad thing, and a departing friend is mourned at during his leaving as a loss to self and admonished over and over again not to forget his friends either directly — "Don't forget me," — or indirectly — "You will forget me now." —. This explains why no one mentioned the official's good luck in obtaining a promotion, the total emphasis being on the loss which his good fortune had inflicted on his friends. However, he was still a friend and would always be referred to as such if they were questioned. Thus, many of the friendships reported on are due to past associations now inactive, or often because of hoped-for associations in the future. Because of this constant interplay of friendship as a value per se with the non-permanent quality of many relationships through time the Kanuri often seem to the Western observer to lack "sincerity" in the emotional quality of their friendships except in rare cases of extreme intimacy. However, even in the latter a long-term basis is not necessarily a concomitant of mutual intimacy. Since it is good and desirable to have as many friends as possible, from previous associations as well as in terms of future possibilities, the social and physical mobility and the sheer numbers of such relationships dictate that an individual cannot have an expressive-affective relationship with all of them. Nor can he expect or predict when a really operative friendship (even in the kinship system) may be broken. Consequently, he learns to anticipate the possible break-up of any particular interpersonal relation at any time as part of his social interactions and concentrates, if he is successful in his culture,

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829 on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendhip relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalized recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealized Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

592 Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion
[571] that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal rela-
[602] tions in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realized that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily
592 identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass
351 matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 proved unfeasible,(1) personal observations and first-hand acquaintance with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.(2)

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission
[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture. In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organisation with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for poli-
125 tical reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

614 origin story, often associating the founder with the Prophet. For example, the following story was related by an informant about the origins of the thra clan:

> One day a barber was shaving the Prophet's head. The man made a mistake and cut the Prophet's scalp. Blood came out and the barber drank it. Everyone who comes from that barber is thra. They are not connected with chiefs, they are common people but they are close to the Prophet -- they are sherib, fire will not burn them.

Some informants felt that in the old days there may have been a tendency for clan endogamy, not as a sanctioned custom, but as a matter of mere frequency. No one ever heard of any exogamous rules, or ever connected the clans to any natural species of flora and fauna.

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565 Among some of the high status groups and some of the very high status families of Bornu, not only clan membership is known but also a series of maximal lineages within the clan to which the name of an original founder (not mythical as in the case of the clan) is attached. Most Kanuri have heard of the Sefuwa lineage of the Magumi clan. This was the royal lineage of pre-nineteenth century Bornu. No rules of marriage were elicited for this grouping.

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• 829 Questions about clan to younger Kanuri and even older ones in some cases often brought out (after tribal affiliation) residential associations. Thus, a peasant informant would relate how his daughter had been married to a man whose clan was Kanuri. Continued questioning on the same point would bring out the reply that the son-in-law's sub-clan was Maiduguri; in other words, the name of his town.

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121 On the basis of this data, it is concluded that Kanuri clans and maximal lineages have very little, if any, functioning significance in the contemporary society.

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[124] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who attempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for approaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master, and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad", causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
829 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment buildings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables operating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Maalim world and because there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [289] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

837 established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of re-
628 lationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the marketing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually the wives of their close friends and relatives.

586 It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the contrary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to [123] be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order to re-unite separated couples.

581 This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the
585 formalization ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the marriage. After the fatiha[1] prayer has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for [829] the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior status, but because European marriages are well known for their durability. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

581 Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, preferential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that
586 their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

121 and complexity of stratification.(1) Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

829 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely endogamous,(2) although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

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829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or woman which included Non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. variety). Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi dea (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor.(1)

177 The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders. Although the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres. Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward; slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Geidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

(1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

162 563 capital, has, besides all these, a large Arab-speaking population from the Near East and the Sudan as well as the European Reservation for commercial and government personnel.

563 829 In this situation of constant confrontation and to some extent interaction with other ethnic groups, evaluation of status by ethnic membership takes place. The Kanuri vary widely in their disposition to rank own-group as having the highest status among all the other peoples that they are in contact with or about whom they have any information. Almost universally Europeans are accorded high status (sometimes higher than own-group) as an ethnic group. This stems from their superior political and economic positions as administrators and traders. Thus, informants, unless they are well travelled or sophisticated city dwellers, are shocked and surprised to hear that there are prisons in England which house murderers, thieves and scoundrels, or that there are people in England who can be classed as labourers. In their eyes and experience, Englishmen have never been low status persons. Indeed one of the common expressions among the peasants is "Nasara Mai" (Europeans are kings). One informant, during a discussion of religious edicts on morality and the relation of these to the practicalities of everyday life, interjected a surprising comment on the relation of morality to life. He claimed that the only true Muslims in the world were Englishmen, since they were the only people who ever told the truth.

The Arabas (i.e. Arabic speakers, with the exception of the Shuwa nomads) like the Europeans, have very little but formal social con-
[826] tacts with the Kanuri and are highly rated as an ethnic group. The Arab facial features and skin colour are the models for what is the most attractive and pleasing (therefore the ideal Kanuri) physical types. The

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• 829 place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

[198] Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protract-
[171] ed time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somehwat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Magumeri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name.
[551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

563 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or
• 829 confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana or Gwoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status people - kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a
[464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri
[273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri
[461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still regarded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is probable that the existence of urban classes and a nobility among the Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Gwoza and the Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kanuri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

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most of them (whom the Kanuri contact) are Christians. Informants remarked that Ibo Christianity, like all the rest of their European skills, is newly acquired.(1) The widespread attitude towards Ibos is reflected in the oft repeated stereotype about their alleged cannibalistic practices (Hizmali kam shrin - Ibos eat people) which indicates the Kanuri ambivalence towards this group. They are despised but feared at the same time.(2) This is due primarily to the much greater degree of westernization of the Ibo generally as compared to the Kanuri. Iboland in the eastern region of Nigeria is overpopulated and yet has a long history of mission education. Because of the need for western trained personnel over all of Nigeria, there has been an emigration of Ibo mechanics, clerks, postmasters, traders, truckers, builders, lawyers and even a doctor or two to all parts of the country. Thus a despised pagan group is seen to have more income, higher status jobs, more facility with western type liti-

(1) One western educated Kanuri told the writer that the high numbers of educated Ibos proved that they (the Ibos) knew how to bribe Europeans into giving them qualifying certificates and higher degrees.

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(2) The notion of "eating" also includes the ideal of being cheated, which the Kanuri feel is always a strong possibility in their dealings with Ibos. The stories of Ibo cannibalism are rife all over northern Nigeria — with strong support from credulent Europeans who share the general belief. The empirical validity of these stories is unknown to the writer — however, they seem to have very little basis in fact in the contemporary society, and are even somewhat doubtful for the aboriginal culture of the Ibo. There is no mention of cannibalism in Forde, D. & Jones, G. I., The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking People of South-Eastern Nigeria, (1950). The only reference to the subject in Meek, C.K., Law and Authority in Nigeria (1937) p. 67, is to a fright given to initiates by one of the priests that their testicles may be eaten during the course of the initiation ceremony. Finally, Talbot, P.A., In the Shadow of the Bush (1912), gives one reference to a conversation in the Calabar region (p.246) in which the people told him that cannibalistic rituals were practised "up until quite recently". He mentions cannibalism again (p. 260) giving his source of information to be his carrier boys, who were strangers to the particular group he describes as having "the filed teeth and the shrunken appearance usually associated with cannibal rites". Although this is by no means a complete survey of the literature it suggests a lack of empirical validity in the last few decades at least, for the practice of Ibo cannibalism.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

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gation, and a national political organization seeking reforms and power in the local scene.(1) Historically their position as a pagan group puts them in the low status position of kurdi (infidels) by Kanuri standards, but the acquisition of European culture and their ability to make acculturated skills work for the benefit provoke covert feelings of admiration, jealousy, and fear on the part of the indigenous population of Bornu.

That there is some ambivalence in the Kanuri attitudes towards ethnic groups they rank as high (or higher) than themselves is easily discovered in conversation with persons who have more contact with Arabs and/or Europeans. Whether or not this means that the ambivalence increases with the amount of interpersonal contact it is difficult to say with present knowledge, although this could be considered as one hypothesis which explains the facts, until further tests are carried out. Peasants do not think comparatively about whether or not they are in some respects as good, better, or worse than Arabs and/or Europeans. They accord these groups high status among the "big" people of their world, whose particular place in the scheme of things is rather vague and far away from their own immediate experience but, nonetheless, rich and powerful. However, for those in close contact with Arabs and Europeans, aggressive, resentful remarks about the behaviour of these groups are common. Arabs are spoken of as dishonest traders who cheat
[441] good Kanuri of their rightful profits. Since the Arabs maintain a large proportion of the available credit from the European trading companies, they do objectively limit the expansion of Kanuri entrepreneurial activity.(2)

(1) Coleman, J.S. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (1958), Chap. 16
(2) See below, pp. 322-324.

563 Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with
829 Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hos-
[554] pitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arziyi, see below pp.225 -228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the
[555] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

125 Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven (1)
563 Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from
829 the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank

(1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

125 563 829 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the following instructions, which were given in Kanuri.(1)

(1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?

(2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a fero (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.

(3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.

(4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

563 829 [128] It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tubo and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

(1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Roeman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[text continues on p. 195]

TABLE V

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Tribal Choices (Social Distance) of Urban Kanuri Schoolboys (aged 13-19)

Ordinal *	Choice Cardinal	Tribe	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Remarks
I (1-3)	1	Arab	3.24	1.73	Rich traders, people of the Koran. Considered to be good-looking. Own-tribe.
	2	Kanuri	3.49	2.01	
II (4-6)	3	Europeans	3.89	2.17	The highest political authority
	4	Shuwa	4.21	1.95	Beautiful women, Arabic-speaking, Muslims, acculturate easily.
	5	Hausa	4.45	1.95	A Muslim Emirate, much historical contact
III (7-9)	6	Fulani	6.57	2.24	Muslims, nomads, sometimes good, sometimes bad relations.
	7	Yoruba	8.60	2.44	Part Muslim, not much contact with this group.
IV (10-12)	8	Babur	9.66	2.65	Part Muslim, some contact, increasing today.
	9	Bolewa	9.94	2.63	Part Muslim, some contacts
	10	Kanembu	10.03	2.96	Muslim, but raided the Kanuri in the past. Some acculturation.
	11	Mandara	10.85	2.58	Pagan, very little contact
	12	Tubo	11.70	3.00	Muslim, raided the Kanuri until quite recently
	13	Magari	11.90	2.46	Pagan, very little contact socially
	14	Ibo	12.30	2.88	Christian-Pagan, contact as a separate ethnic group in cities.
V (13-15)	15	Tuareg	13.75	2.07	Muslim, much feared for their raiding
	16	Tiv	14.08	2.16	Pagans, known to be naked, very little contact.
VI (16-18)	17	Banana	15.69	1.75	Both groups are pagan, many of whom live as a minority group
	18	Owosa	16.34	1.84	among the Kanuri as labourers and brewers of beer

* The Ordinal choices in Roman numerals I-VI are calculated from categories of mean choices; e.g. I-1 to 3, II - 4 to 6, III 7 to 9, etc.

563 who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder
829 and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwoza peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yoruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwoza and Banana.

Occupation

554 The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the
554 status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave,
567 for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumeri a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

555 Koranic mallams are accorded prestige because of their
793 close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialized powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage. The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

793 228, arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beg-
gar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic
knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized,
high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
[441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest
status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
554 829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded
shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-
entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper
sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether
or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father
was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from rea-
sons of economic necessity (kuanzako) which (allegedly) excuses the
role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occu-
pations are as follows:(1)

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams;
he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri
equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only
a man with no proper shame could do such work.

(1) Composite statement from informants.

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

554 Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
[558] up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
183 questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only
[123] lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
[251] and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
[152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this confict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
• 829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

369 Another difference noticeable immediately to the 216.
342 stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live
• 829 in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush" the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several of the rich leaders in Borno were building, under private contract, city houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity, and cement floors.

369 In Magumeri, complaints against rural people are always heard
829 from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never marry a "bush" girl.
[585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town, the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the dignitaries of Magumeri were of such a low quality that it became a standing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared, respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids the civil servantin the bush, unless his confidence is won over through continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

12 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

121 notion of class becomes a somewhat knotty one for the researcher. This is because it lacks the precision of his analytically derived status dimensions and yet it demands discussion, for the very good empirical reason that the people themselves recognize class distinctions. The theoretical answer lies in the nature of the concept of class as distinct from status. Class is a more inclusive category which cuts up an entire society into only a few segments. In so doing it incorporates many of the status dimensions by correlating them into ranges so that all the high statuses of dimensions a, b, c, d, . . . n, are unified into a large segment of the population, while the same thing may occur at other ranges along the status dimensions, giving the society one, two or more classes. When these segments are present, the outward signs such as differentiation in language, dress, manners and other social and cultural characteristics of class membership, become another status dimension to that recognizable membership in any class confers varying status upon the individual. Because of the noticeable sub-cultural differences between class segments, recognizability and imitation often blur the distinction and widen the scope for social mobility. Nevertheless, in order to actually obtain continuous high status in the society, the person must be seen and judged as having high rankings along the dimensions already discussed above. In the following discussion, this theoretical framework can be seen as the process underlying Kanuri class distinctions.

556 In the every day life of Bornu, the life spans of different
565 individuals in the population are lived out within differing ranges of
829 experience (which may change through time). This rather abstract statement can easily be explained by an illustration drawn from the judgements made by a young peasant in Magumeri on the subject of wealth. He reported that there were very few wealthy people in Magumeri village itself,

556 565 829 [434] but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Magumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops. [442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages" [465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked, "What is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mentioned the District Head of Magumeri who earns officially seven hundred pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he said "atè a'l gèdigèdi" (that is something different) because "mandi kam gèdi" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristocrat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kam birni (a city man) but "arma andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his concept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range, and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to describe them. Yet he certainly recognized that they were of the same ethnic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

556 565 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life.(1)
829 The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be
369 a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic
[166] activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban
[103] centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades. This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background.(2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var-
[241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassin Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162] (2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1953
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

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makes what power he has work well for him, avoids illness, poverty and derision, or does anything that can be measured in terms of achievement, then the degree of his success is the proof as to how much arziyi (good fortune, personal degree of success) he has in his hal (his nature, his being, his essence). Like Calvinistic pre-determination, arziyi is hoped for before the fact, and indicated or substantiated after the fact, of success.

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In answering questions about arziyi, informants of all classes and ranks are generally agreed that no matter how much success a peasant has with his farm, his wife, at cards, or at his craft work, he can never possibly come close to having as much arziyi as even a bad District Head or Village Area Head. When finer discriminations are asked for, however, disagreements sometime arise. Thus informants when questioned as to who has more arziyi, a trader in the city who recently bought a big truck and has a large compound of wives and followers, or a somewhat effete District Head, they answered according to how they ranked wealth alone as compared to political power. Since both of these dimensions of status are usually congruent when ranked high, the discrimination is often a difficult one. Nevertheless there is, at any one level in the society, a large measure of agreement about the amount of arziyi of the various social roles in the society at any one time. People from different levels of the society give somewhat differing pictures of the distribution of arziyi throughout the society. This results from their different vantage points and therefore differing opportunities for perceiving the social structure. Thus although many lower class people find it difficult to decide whether or not the effete District Head has more arziyi than the rich city trader, those close to the chief, including himself, feel that the rich trader has more.

828 This brings up an interesting observation. The judgment
• 829 of any individual about the distribution of arziyi in society at any one time is his particular notion about the arrangement of social roles in the social structure. Furthermore, his estimation of the distribution of arziyi at any one level of the hierarchy, e.g. comparing the behaviour of one District Head with another, is his judgment of the success that occupants of similar roles were enjoying relative to one another.

554 Arziyi seems to be used in two related ways in Kanuri cul-
828 ture. Firstly, in an enormously heterogeneous society, it gives a sat-
829 isfactory answer to individual variations along one of the most affective dimensions of behaviour, success in achieving immediate and long range goals. Secondly, it is used as an explanation for the nature of the social structure, i.e. for its stratification. Those people, who have higher status along any dimension of stratification, have more arziyi, which accounts for their ability to maintain such a role in the social organization. These two ways of using arziyi as an explanation for differentiation are related so that what results is a Kanuri theory of society that at once validates its structure and explains the changes in personnel which accompany a system where personal fortunes may rise and fall rapidly. Thus a high status position in the structure indicates that the person has that amount of arziyi. His performance of the role required by this status may show him to have even more arziyi then he will outstrip others who occupy the same status and seek the
[558] same goals. On the other hand, he may do badly which will indicate a loss of arziyi and a loss of status. Arziyi is also, besides being a theory of society, a theory of causation, which integrates social and individual differentiation under one simple, mystical force, personal

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828 good fortune, which is continually being validated since its presence
829 is manifested after the fact of its operation in behaviour.

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

643 648 [114] That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocentricism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Wazirí and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in [829] reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state.(1)

645 647 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Wazirí, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

[Footnote continues on p. 25P]

647 557 traditional one. One of the senior members of an individual's agnatic group arranges an audience with some person connected to an N.A. department. One informant in the N.A. commented on recruitment in the following manner.

> If you want a job in the Treasury, one of your relatives (a senior male agnate) will find out, if he does not already know, the name of some person who is known to "help" people and go to greet him some night. Your relative will give him some money and he will say that you must come back the next day and he will tell you. Then he will find you a job in the Department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him, and then the job is yours, and you are in the N.A. . . . Sometimes it takes a long time.

647 Because of the constant shifts in personnel, some to higher positions, others because of dismissals or jail terms, there is much unpredictability of job tenure in the N.A. and suspicion of unorthodox 647 576 behaviour is a common rule. Thus one junior N.A. official remarked that he must be careful in his department to always dress less well than his superiors, or it would be considered ro kura (ambitious, proud), and therefore threatening. On the other hand, he must not dress too poorly or his superiors will consider him a wastrel, who 647 spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again, it is extremely difficult to transfer (through own effort) from one branch of the service to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to the person's own department heads and N.A. council; if a release is granted, then a further application to the desired department [829] can be submitted. To the Kanuri such a transfer is not considered a rejection of the work, but of the people in the department. Thus informants claimed that they would be considered ingrates and trouble- [662] makers if they were ever to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends "visiting at night", i.e. paying tribute to the appropriate

Chapter IX

[p. 265]

The Economic Life

592 For purposes of consumption and production the basic unit among the Kanuri is the household group consisting of a man, his wife
128 or wives, and their children. Since the external and internal social relations of household groups has formed a major part of the study up to this point these data are omitted from the present discussion. This allows us to deal with the "bare bones" of economic activity and to ask questions about the patterns of consumption, production and distribution of goods and services. Where economic activities are set into heretofore unmentioned forms of social organization such as occurs in the distributive sector, then these structures are described and related to the economic activity being analysed.

121 For purposes of the present analysis, consumption is operationally equated with all behaviour pertaining to those things acquired through the expenditure of capital resources as these are known to the Kanuri; production refers to those activities from which income is derived in cash and kind, excluding trade; and distribution includes those activities by which the movement of goods and services is accomplished from producers to consumers.

829 It should be noted here that this classification is an arbitrary one in terms of Bornu culture. To the Kanuri, consumption comes under the linguistic rubric of awo manyen (things we need), while production and distribution are lumped together as sanya (occupations). Where an individual has two occupations such as farmer and craftsman, or farmer and trader, he most often reports his non-farming activity as his sanya.

000 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant

476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Maguneri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

425 Permission should be sought
632 for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
423 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots; this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clearing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls.(1) These latter plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables, which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants. These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more recent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm are.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house" farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community, while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally; fatobe - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kanuri word suro - in or inside of.

423 [829] political leader, and/or it means that the person has inherited land through his agnatic relationship to a previous community member.

A second characteristic of Kanuri land tenure is its progressively private character through time, especially after an inheritance. Thus if A receives a plot in the house farm area from his Lawan and three seasons later leaves the town the land returns to the dispensing power of the political leader. However, if A receives land from his father and wishes to leave the area, he may give the land to a friend, or attempt to sell it, especially if he considers it a "good" farm plot. That is to say, after land use rights have passed on through inheritance, the dispensation of these rights comes (more properly) under the power of the inheritors using the land. However, things are not quite so clearcut in practice as this description implies. Thus much depends on the particular political leader and the peasant in question. The writer has seen land rented by A to B when it had only been given to A by the Lawan a few years before, and there are numerous stories of Lawans attempting to repossess land use rights or their dispensation after several generations. Thus the second characteristic is more properly speaking a tendency among other. Kanuri land tenure as observed today is really the result of three forces which operate in greater or lesser intensity through time. These are (a) the rights of land dispensation of the political leader, especially to land adjacent to the settlement; (b) the rights of agnatic kin members over inherited land; and (c) the right accruing to anyone through clearing new land and using it. The stability of this ownership system depends primarily upon the political relations between households and their local political leaders. Given a working political unit in which rights, duties and obligations of superiors and subordinates in the community

443 435 pushed down by a nonchalant buyer with an anxious seller whose sales for that day have been low.

This above description has exaggerated the price fluctuations to some extent. With many items, prices hold as constants for long periods and become an institutionalized part of the market. Thus a box of sugar cubes is one shilling and only very rarely did this price ever 443 vary in the entire period of the field work. Even with prices that did 435 vary, it is the writer's opinion that European travellers and commenta- 437 tors on Africa have overstressed the haggling up and down variability of prices in African markets because of their own experiences. Certainly, market sellers like to haggle over price and do so with all the enjoy- [609] ment of the hardened poker player bluffing at cards. However, only to [829] the European, who is conceived of as infinitely wealthy, do prices range so widely. When the writer attended his first markets, sellers haggled wildly and prices ranged enormously to him and to his wife. However, with time, the "real" prices were learned and the range within which [609] haggling could take place narrowed significantly. If the writer then attended a new market where he was unknown, except as a European, then the range widened again and sometimes the seller would refuse to come anywhere near the "real" price claiming in Kanuri to his associates and the world in general that a European should pay more than an African. Friends always instructed the writer on the "real" price, telling him not to allow a price to be raised simply because he was a European. This "real" price is something which can be easily overlooked in an open market where haggling is the format of the buyer-seller relationship. Bartering may range widely or narrowly, but the experienced buyer and seller both know quite well, within a very small margin, where the final price will be set. This is why the really tenacious bartering comes at

000 at any particular point in time.

556 183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

369 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

554 828 829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept arziyi. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

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And so, after ten months of work the project was back where it had started. It may be that in future years the people will come to accept super-phosphate fertilizer; now, however, there is as much resistance to it as there was at the beginning of the demonstration.

Analysis

The demonstration of super-phosphate fertilizer in the Magumeri area was in most essentials a technical success. The programme was introducted by a Kanuri field worker employed by the Agriculture department which was under the direction of a senior Agricultural Officer who was himself a Kanuri. What went wrong? Why did the people so unanimously reject the innovation?

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In discussing factors affecting economic growth, Linton (1952: 76) has commented that people will improve their lot unless they have had adverse experiences in the past with a particular innovation. This point is particularly relevent to the situation under discussion.

Some of the people in Magumeri had used the fertilizer in previous years without adequate instruction. By placing the pellets in the ground with the seed, they had damaged the plants in some cases, and killed them in others. When the Agricultural Officer made his speech in June, 1956, people remarked afterwards that the *bundar nasarabe* (European compost) was useless. It was agreed that European technology was very wonderful, but the Europeans did not grow millet and groundnuts, and therefore knew nothing of the techniques necessary for such cultivation. Therefore the speech was in effect a failure. A field worker who had rapport with the cultivators could easily have discovered this important fact and the department would then have been aware that they were not planning an innovation at all but rather that they had a battle on their hands against a confirmed negative opinion. That references were made to the previous misuse of the fertilizer indicates that there was some appreciation of this fact. However simple contradiction was not sufficient to change these attitudes.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

Linton (1952: 77) has also suggested that peasants view any attempts to change their economic condition with suspicion when these originate from their rulers. The peasant, often quite justifiably, feels that anything his rulers offer as a chance to improve conditions is probably much more to the ruler's advantage than to his own. 177 829

This was very certainly the case in Magumeri, and had occurred several times before. Thus, only a few weeks before the fertilizer demonstration began, the Village Head of Magumeri had tried to convince people of the worthiness of literacy. His argument centered around the idea that when literate the peasants would be able to catch their rulers, including himself, for issuing false tax receipts (Cohen and Frank, 1960). When the people refused to volunteer he forced a number of individuals to sign up for the literacy courses. It is difficult to say exactly how many were forced to "volunteer" for the fertilizer demonstration, but that coercion was involved is undoubtedly true. 212 177 829 [242]

On the other hand, a strange and almost unprecedented thing occurred at the final meeting when the people were asked whether or not they would use the fertilizer in the coming year. District Council meetings were usually very stiff affairs in which a formal agenda was followed under the guidance of a British District Officer. Very often a District Head rehearsed these "democratic" meetings first to make sure motions would be seconded, voted on properly, etc. On this occasion, an African District Officer was present, and the District Head gave the members of the Council a definite choice as to whether they would accept the fertilizer or not. Bornu is an autocratic country and subordinates are usually ordered about, unless the matter is a trivial one. The outward signs of democratic procedures introduced by colonial rule are very superficially imposed upon feudal autocracy, so that effective social action is carried out dictatorially. This is an ancient society and people are traditionally accustomed to these procedures. That dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use, or not use, fertilizer in years to come, immediately defined it as a trivial and unimportant matter upon which people could make up their own minds. 242 177 634 642

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneralization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always concerns areas of total impotence as these are conceived of by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties. Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the individual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life.
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver, one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, however, that individual advancement is gained primarily through profitable social relations, and only secondarily through technology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm production more closely related to family and household organization. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are increased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

[1] [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177 555 [874]

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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242 177 This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demonstration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

[829] The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

242 177 561 [576] Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age. However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite, and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training, [554] and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people. 242 177 [829] Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Abdulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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[829]

own farm plot. This added to the general impression of the fertilizer as an intrusive item, and one which had no practical value under local conditions.

Conclusion

The human side of innovation has often been emphasized as being just as important as the technological. The Magumeri experience reiterates the fact that the social and psychological context of innovation requires careful analysis so that variables affecting innovation may be isolated and prepared for before any development programmes are put into action. If the place of social relations, as compared to technology, in farm production had been taken into account, the results of this experiment might well have been less disappointing. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that all technology is imbedded in a welter of cultural accretions. It is the responsibility of the innovator to isolate cultural characteristics of technology which are necessary to its successfull operation, from those which are simply there because of the cultural origins of the item. This is what lies at the root of flexibility as opposed to rigidity in the introduction of western technology to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

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It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
584 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
587 of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
548 ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
831 receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them. A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and someone else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
626 new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage, begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him, "What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is perfectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife. However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
132 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
• 831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one, including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illicit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person. For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia, and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse. Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This latter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

874 882 ber because he still does chores for him, and claims to give the senior about fifteen per cent of his receipts. Furthermore, he does not yet know how to cut face-marks, remove uvula, or perform circumcisions, and thus attends all these ceremonies with his senior barber in order to continue his education. He hopes that by next year he may be allowed to perform some of these operations under supervision. When he has finished his education, it will not be necessary to do anything for the senior. However, he will always pay respect to his ex-teacher for many years to come.

Other apprentices, who were living with strangers, but had gone into the same occupation as their fathers, claimed that they were freer in this situation than if they were in training in their own house-
882 holds. They also stated that it "was nice" (kaji) to travel around and
(231) see other places in Bornu. The "freedom" was observed to refer to sexual experimentation, not discipline-respect with the compound head. As we have mentioned, it is considered shameful for children to discuss or acknowledge directly any marriage plans or sexual behaviour in the presence of parents. In some of these cases the mobility is explained by the fact that the boy's father was dead and his mother or grandparent has sent him off to a relative or a friend in order to learn the dead father's craft. In general, the boy completes his learning of agricultural skills, the planting, hoeing and harvesting of the various crops, as well as the clearing of new land in this
(423) period. Most often during his adolescence he acquires one or more plots of land of his own, either through inheritance, from the local political leader, by purchase or gift, or by going farther afield from his village and clearing new bushland. He also becomes acquainted with

582
162 This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygynous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

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Maturity

885 The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184] A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.

[831] When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as zairo (any person who has not been married,

885 but who has been circumcised, more often referring to the sexually
831 active). In discussing this point further, informants remarked that such persons were not true zairo but they acted like them. The joking implied in this designation is not nearly as humourous to the hearers, when applied to a divorced man with no present wife (who really has many status similarities to an older adolescent) as when it is applied to a married man who is continually seeking extra-marital sexual relations. This joking reference to the married man being a zairo points up the ideal of mildly chaste behaviour property to the rashidi status.

156 Many young married men who are subordinate to elder rela-
885 tives, or political and/or economic superiors in large household organizations, or who are still apprentices, refuse to be labelled as rashidi when asked, even though they are married. They plead that they are still tada gana (small boys). They feel that their subservient position and lack of achievement in the areas of behaviour mentioned above, that are considered to be characteristic of rashidi status, puts them in the position of small boys who still have to grow up, or who are under their father's control. For subservient persons whose occupation requires that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives, the criteria of marriage, children, age, own compound, and farm plots, slowly begin to change the person's concept of himself and he comes to accept a label of rashidi if it is put to him as a question. However, he understands the limits of its application in his particular case. For example, one informant of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the District Head's father and who was himself a life-long servant of the District Head, accepted a definition of himself as a rashidi (mature man), who

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as muhh respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the Kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali*, especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali*.

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the [887]
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 87
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style [582]
schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

58 often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and
159 so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose
[832] magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali,* (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

183 The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in
586 and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

592 By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great
593 deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their
512 friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

593 In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household)
562 and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave
565 the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

583 A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-
593 sent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most prob-
[586] ably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son
[685] over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates
156 from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal
583 worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value
[585] in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

581 The Kanuri recognize different varieties of marriage and have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact different forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is described as kamu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin). All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is
[832] good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant, a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with the aid of magical devices.

837 households when her husband was away. Several informants remarked that it was apparent, now her husband was away, that she wished to have some tum-tum (pleasure, with a sexual implication).

593 837 Whether or not the husband is away, women must leave the compound for ceremonies, water carrying, helping other women to prepare for ceremonies, going to market, etc. Only men with wives in seclusion can restrict, and then only partially, female activities beyond the household. Within this framework, all Kanuri men know from their own experience how easily liaisons can be set up with married women, and therefore become anxious and mistrustful of wives who leave the compound too often.

837 584 The covert subversion of marital fidelity norms is also illustrated in the role of the sərsər. The sərsər is an old woman who for a fee, acts as an intermediary between a man and a married woman in promulgating a future marriage between them, which presumes the divorce of the woman from her present husband. The relationship arranged between the man and the married woman by the sərsər often [684] infers an adulterous sexual union as well. If discovered by the husband, the old woman is often taken into court with her male employer and fined heavily. However, among males who value their respectability, the old woman is usually warned at first to stay away from the compound, and the wife admonished not to have anything to do with her.

• 832 Another illustration that documents the social recognition of female desire for sexual freedom is the concept of tarwo which refers to walking about looking for a partner for sexual intercourse. Any man or woman walking about the town alone is suspect of tarwo. There are a few definitive signs such as man having his hat pushed for-

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
832 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a
recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one, including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illicit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person. For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia, and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse. Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This latter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

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842 quite explicit, and married couples are supposed to want children. Those few
183 women who admitted to me, confidentially, not wanting children had very high divorce records, while all others conformed to expectations when asked specifically concerning their desire for offspring.

842 Traditionally the Kanuri believe that conception results from simultaneous orgasm during sexual intercourse. This information I got from older men who do not, however, know in any detail when or how often such an event actually takes
843 place. Instead they reason that it has occurred when their wife reports a pregnancy.
[842] When a woman is over one month late in a menstrual cycle (a few said forty-five days) conception is suspected, and she begins to buy charms on the market to safeguard a normal gestation. During this initial period the husband and wife, ideally at least, should not speak of the pregnancy to anyone until at least the second menstrual period has been missed, and then only to their very close friends and relatives. Such talk, indeed any excess conversation about the pregnancy, is believed to be dangerous to the course and development of a normal pregnancy. Even during the later stages just before birth only very cryptic references are made by the parents when they refer to the coming event. Pregnancy, like a number of other occa-
[984] sions in one's lifetime, is considered a very fragile time, a time when an individual is vulnerable to maliciousness from humans or spirits. Because it is difficult to know about such maliciousness, until after its effects are felt, it is better to avoid mentioning the susceptible circumstances.

[833] Sexual intercourse is continued throughout pregnancy since the Kanuri believe that such activity makes for an easier labor at birth by keeping the passage open and providing fluids for the child and the mother.

Although the Kanuri recognize the pregnancy period of nine months, the woman continues her normal work until the lying-in period is signaled by labor. On the other hand exceptions to the nine-month period occur, and some women claim to have been pregnant for years although no outward sign is visible. This latter condition is referred to as *bənji*, that is to say an embryo that will not come out of the womb. A woman may miss a menstrual cycle once and then become convinced that she has conceived. If her conviction holds she may, after menstruating again, diagnose the condition as a *bənji*. Missing a menstrual period, however, is not absolutely necessary for the diagnosis. Women who spoke of having *bənji* felt that any woman could have one, but they also agreed that in their experience the woman was usually older and either had not given birth for a long time or had had a completely infertile marriage history. Certainly many Kanuri women seem to be barren, and this cultural belief must help to assuage the disappointment of a hopeful but sterile woman. It may also serve to alleviate the loss of womanly role for an older woman who sees herself being replaced in her reproductive functions by her husband's younger wives.

Birth

844 When the woman is about to give birth, she is assisted by her own mother if she is in the vicinity, or her mother-in-law if she is living with her husband's family, and sometimes by a specialist in midwifery. There are stories told about

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

582 369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.

582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-
[833] sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy
[591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that
428 one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595
178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
281 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[124] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who attempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for approaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master, and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad", causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
229 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment buildings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables operating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
832 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a
recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one, including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illicit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
• 833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person. For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia, and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse. Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This latter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

881 582 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she menstruates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e. 585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time [302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a fero gana (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it:

> [833] 881 [885] She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When she bleeds, then she is kanu kura (a mature woman) and she knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offerings to the poor).

885 [302] Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a completely different person immediately upon taking up the status of married woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the compound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities become progressively remote from their own.

882 lack of achieved skill in some area of behaviour. This extension of the term for child into adolescence must not be mistaken for the European cultural trait of confusing childhood and adulthood in the adolescent period. It refers not just to a lack of skill, but more generally to a lack of power and authority, and in this sense can be utilized to describe anyone until he is an old man. In this context the term is applied to mean that in some particular manner the person is like a small boy in relation to others around him, i.e. he must defer to them. People do not find this unnatural and even middle aged men may refer to themselves as tada gana (small boy).(1)

883 From the time of true physiological puberty onward, the boy associates more and more with other young zairo and takes part more or less freely in the banter of age-mates, and those slightly older. These young boys go to markets, play together, discuss local gossip and politics, and often joke about possible and actual nocturnal [833] adventures with women. On this last point, boys generally receive their first sexual experiences after puberty from divorced women who may vary in age anywhere from fifteen to fifty. More often that not, it is reported that the first experiences are with older women because of the competition for the younger sexually accessible females, (i.e. those who are divorced). Like young men everywhere they discuss the merits of various occupations, the desirability of rural or urban life, but also speak to one another at great length about the qualities of various "big men" (kam kura) in Bornu, and the benefits received by their followers. Today, boys also learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble and to drink intoxicating liquors during this period.

882 463 A primary function of this age status for adolescent boys

(1) See below, p. 174.

517 tening to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
[554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendit-
[302] ures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885
192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

585 virgin, he beats her that night, and proclaims it openly. Both
626 the girl and her mother feel shame; the husband, in turn, feels that he has been defrauded and has gotten a bad bargain. The fugurum money, however, is not repaid him. Though the Kanuri know that the hymen may be removed surgically, and that the Arabs do do this in order to make the wedding night less painful to the bride, they never do it themselves; the hymen is always forcefully broken.

585 On the following day, friends of the girl come to cook for her and for her husband, and they do this for seven days, while the bride does nothing except bathe and decorate herself while [834] visitors come to greet her. Her husband is permitted to resume having intercourse with her after four days. If he has another wife, he does not sleep with her for those seven days, nor does she cook for him during that period.

b) Marriage with a divorced woman. The above description of marriage practices represents the marriage of a man with a kalə yaskə, described as a virgin, and usually, though not always a virgin. More properly, such a marriage should be called a girl's first marriage, in contrast to subsequent marriages.
586 Should she be divorced, the woman enters a totally different cat-
587 egory in the social structure. She becomes a zogor, and marriage with a zogor is different in many respects from marriage with a kalə yaskə. The status of a man does not change significantly after a divorce, consequently there is no category for a
ooo man corresponding to that of the zogor. His first marriage fre-

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 565 In some cases, more ofteh among the upper classes, if a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela- [577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper [834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass 576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem- [515] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class [264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society. 881 571 [182]

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders. 881 648

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men. 881 562 182

Adolescence

882 883

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents. [561] [582] [836]

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of 800

It is accepted that a man court-
586 ing a zogor has sex relations with her. The zogor differs
836 from a prostitute, who takes money from each man who has sex
584 relations with her. Prostitutes are known, and the practice
587 of prostitution is abhorred; zogors exist everywhere as a nat-
[548] ural part of Kanuri social organization. The zogor does not
[831] receive payment for her services, nor does she ever receive several men in one night, a characteristic of prostitution which the Kanuri particularly single out as repellent to them. A zogor regularly is visited by the same man for a period of weeks. Ideally, this ends in marriage; however, if they find themselves incompatible the relationship is terminated and someone else comes to court the zogor, while the man enters into a
[626] new relationship with another zogor. A woman who prolongs her status as a zogor for several years, because she enjoys the freedom which is permitted a zogor, or because she enjoys the attentions of many men without the responsibilities of marriage, begins to be thought of as a loose woman by the community. Few men would marry such a woman because such a marriage would not be expected to last.

595 Should a man have one wife and wish to marry a second, a zogor, he would begin to pay attention to the zogor. Noticing this, his first wife might become jealous, and might ask him, "What are you doing talking to that zogor?" Should he answer that he wishes to marry her, the issue is settled, as it is perfectly reasonable for a man to contemplate taking a second wife. However, attitudes towards a second wife vary among Kanuri wom-

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own
[595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this
[115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-
583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law
836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nəmgəmtəm, and is quite distinct from
587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse.
581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no
887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

581
429 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the
582
565 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate.(conceived out
[848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest.. Marriages with parents or their siblings, own full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

836
589 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older, a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

836 [589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a wom-
582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.
885 581 264 437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b)
581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

583
584 encouraged to increase his bridewealth offer and also to increase his kwororam gifts to the girl's grandmother (she had no mother in the compound) in order to increase his chances of acceptability. Only after enlarging his offer and his kwororam before witnesses did the anxious suitor discover that he was the victim of a ruse, and that there was no other bidder for the girl.

The kwororam is not considered part of the bridewealth within this present discussion or by the Kanuri themselves because it is not necessarily returnable by the girl's family if the arrangements proceed no further. It is therefore exactly what its name implies, a fee or set of gifts given for the privilege of asking and smoothing out any opposition from female relatives to the future negotiations between the girl's guardian and the would-be suitor.

The kwororam applies only to non-preferential virgin marriages. It is not practised in cousin marriage because these unions are arranged
587 years before they are consummated. In non-virgin marriage the money and
[836] gifts which the man gives to the woman while he is sleeping with her, as a divorced woman, serve instead as the initiatory behaviour which may or may not lead to marriage. The man may also give small gifts of some cloth, soap, perfume, or other women's sundries to any senior female relative of the divorced woman, especially if she is quite a young girl or woman who values her elder's opinion.

583
584 The Kanuri recognise that this practice has the utility of allowing some time to elapse while the parties prepare to go more deeply and seriously into creating the marriage relationship.

If there has been a kwororam, the luwaliram occurs one to three months afterwards. This payment is the largest single amount given by the male (with the aid of his supporters) to the female's group. It

593 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely
565 difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most
183 of the people.

837 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly
562 determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only shaa acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and be-
836 cause there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are avail-
562 able sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual
[595] relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [289] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

837
836 available only to her husband and this turns to sexual freedom and
562 experimentation when she is a divorced woman.(1)

837 This results in much marital infidelity on the part of
562 married men and women. As we have seen, this can take a sanctioned and an unsanctioned form for men, while for married women any extra-marital sexual intercourse is considered to be adultery. Thus X, a Magumeri man, well known for his extra-marital sex relations woke up a local official late one night and asked him to come and see the woman whom X had brought to his compound. This was to ensure public recognition of the fact that he was sleeping with a sower (divorced
[593] woman) and not someone's wife. When asked what his wife thought of his behaviour X replied that she did not like it. He added that it was none of her business and she could leave him if she wished.

573 On the other hand, Kanuri men are usually extremely sus-
837 picious of their wives. One man whose wife attended local dances used
684 to come to these evening celebrations to make sure that no one shone a flashlight on his spouse while she was dancing. The only time that this did occur the husband reported the incident to the Village Head who in turn locked up the voyeur for the night. This same woman was observed on several occasions entering single men's sleeping huts while her husband was away on trading trips.

837 Even one seemingly submissive woman, the wife of an upper class man, was observed to blossom out suddenly and visit strange

[589] (1) This is not meant to imply that the woman has complete freedom, even when divorced. A woman may have one or two men supporting her and sleeping with her while she is divorced (one at a time is more common), often for only periods of a week or two at a time. Women who sleep with too many men at the same time while divorced are considered bad marriage risks and tend to be regarded as acting somewhat more like a prostitute, rather than a divorced woman, who should really be going through a series of "trial" marriages, one of which will eventually lead to the real thing.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
570 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
829 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
579 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

595 ly badgered her husband into marrying a young girl. He finally acceded to her wishes and chose a previously unmarried girl from a nearby village. The bridewealth and marriage expenses sent the man into great debt, but he decided that it was worth it because of the increased prestige and because he believed his wife would now stop agitating him about it and have a young friend in the house that she said she had wanted for a long time. Only three weeks afterwards the senior wife began to to demand that the husband get rid of the new wife. "The young one was not helpful," she said, and she also accused the husband of favoring his new wife over her. Finally she threatened to leave if the new wife was not disposed of and the confused husband, worried over his debts, and angered because of her change in attitude let her go and divorced her rather than accede to her new demands. In another case a man announced to his wife that he was going to marry a new wife, and she flew into a towering rage which lasted for several days. She was only mildly contained by the many gifts and had several outbursts of temper during the wedding ceremony.

593 Although men are dominant by force of tradition, discrepancies are very 597 common in everyday life. I have observed women leaving their husbands' com- [562] pound against their wishes, and many are said to be unfaithful sexually. Indeed 837 this is a favorite topic of conversation and men who are intimate friends tell jokes [521] about who is having an affair with whose wife. Some women openly flaunt their husband's authority by threatening to leave him if he refuses to allow them their 593 own way. In many cases such inconsistency between the expectations of husband 586 and wife relations and the realities of everyday married life lead to divorce.

Only rare Kanuri have not been divorced once or twice during their lifetime, and many have divorced three and often four times; eight or nine divorces is not uncommon. When explaining divorces, husbands complain of their wives cooking badly, or not on time, or not enough; they also complain of visits to relatives and friends that they felt were unnecessary, of attendance at public dances or ceremonies, of their wives being dirty, or of adultery; but always they mention and stress some activity that involves the wife's disobedience. Wives when speaking of divorces complain of their husband's intolerance, of their activities outside the household, of their stinginess, or their lack of sexual attention or skill, or of their extra-marital affairs; sometimes they complain of co-wives, or the husband's lack of appreciation of their services, especially their cooking.

Most divorces occur in the first five years of marriage, and the husband almost always formally initiates divorce proceedings. This results from the fact that the bridewealth must be returned if the wife officially initiates the divorce. Generally speaking, women can informally initiate a divorce by behaving so badly that the husband has no recourse but to send her packing, thus forfeiting his bridewealth and submitting to her wish. In one case I knew, the mother and older brother of the young girl instructed her to behave badly because they disapproved of her husband's wish to take her to the city. He took her anyway but by the end of a month found it impossible to live with her and had to send her back to her relatives in the rural area. In a few cases women initiate divorces rather more forcefully. A favorite technique in this regard is to grab the husband by the collar of his robe and scream at him, "I won't let go until you say, 'I divorce you.'" A crowd gathers and the man invariably then capitulates by saying, "I divorce you." In very

595 en, depending on a number of factors, and the husband would wish to determine his first wife's feeling on the subject before proceeding further. He might also want to examine his own feelings toward his first wife, should the possibility arise that she might refuse to accept a second wife in the household.

[B37] Unlike the unmarried man, a married man is not supposed to sleep with a zogor before marrying her, since that would be adultery.

587 A man wishing to marry a zogor discusses the matter with her. If the marriage is acceptable to her, he pays the luwaliram money directly to her. Luwaliram for a zogor is much less than for a kalə yaskə. Whereas all marriages with a kalə yaskə involve the payment of sədagu, many marriages of a man with a zogor leave out the sədagu. Məri payment on marrying a zogor is no more than two or three shillings.

The husband-to-be buys kola nuts (goro) which he will distribute, while his wife-to-be begins buying and grinding millet which she will take with her to her new home. A zogor may buy six to eight shillings worth of millet which she pounds and grinds, and other foodstuffs such as wheat, rice, salt and pepper to take with her, but she brings less food to the new home than does a kalə yaskə.

The marriage ceremony itself is the same as that held when a kalə yaskə marries. Both husband and wife have a luwali who is responsible, in a sense, for the conduct of that person. The wedding takes place in the morning, and that evening women friends

593 wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities.
557 Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their
[558] husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female domin-
[521] ated household. Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking
[937] of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power
[183] available to him to assert his rights. Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function
593 properly. This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accord-
565 ance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they
183 are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

593 565 183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

837 562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

837 836 562 [595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always zower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men such freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829] [289] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

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836
562 available only to her husband and this turns to sexual freedom and experimentation when she is a divorced woman. (1)

837
562 This results in much marital infidelity on the part of married men and women. As we have seen, this can take a sanctioned and an unsanctioned form for men, while for married women any extra-marital sexual intercourse is considered to be adultery. Thus X, a Magumeri man, well known for his extra-marital sex relations woke up a local official late one night and asked him to come and see the woman whom X had brought to his compound. This was to ensure public recognition of the fact that he was sleeping with a sower (divorced
593 woman) and not someone's wife. When asked what his wife thought of his behaviour X replied that she did not like it. He added that it was none of her business and she could leave him if she wished.

593
837
684 On the other hand, Kanuri men are usually extremely suspicious of their wives. One man whose wife attended local dances used to come to these evening celebrations to make sure that no one shone a flashlight on his spouse while she was dancing. The only time that this did occur the husband reported the incident to the Village Head who in turn locked up the voyeur for the night. This same woman was observed on several occasions entering single men's sleeping huts while her husband was away on trading trips.

837
Even one seemingly submissive woman, the wife of an upper class man, was observed to blossom out suddenly and visit strange

589 (1) This is not meant to imply that the woman has complete freedom, even when divorced. A woman may have one or two men supporting her and sleeping with her while she is divorced (one at a time is more common), often for only periods of a week or two at a time. Women who sleep with too many men at the same time while divorced are considered bad marriage risks and tend to be regarded as acting somewhat more like a prostitute, rather than a divorced woman, who should really be going through a series of "trial" marriages, one of which will eventually lead to the real thing.

837 households when her husband was away. Several informants remarked that it was apparent, now her husband was away, that she wished to have some tum-tum (pleasure, with a sexual implication).

593 837 Whether or not the husband is away, women must leave the compound for ceremonies, water carrying, helping other women to prepare for ceremonies, going to market, etc. Only men with wives in seclusion can restrict, and then only partially, female activities beyond the household. Within this framework, all Kanuri men know from their own experience how easily liaisons can be set up with married women, and therefore become anxious and mistrustful of wives who leave the compound too often.

837 584 The covert subversion of marital fidelity norms is also illustrated in the role of the sèrsèr. The sèrsèr is an old woman who for a fee, acts as an intermediary between a man and a married woman in promulgating a future marriage between them, which presumes the divorce of the woman from her present husband. The relationship arranged between the man and the married woman by the sèrsèr often infers an adulterous sexual union as well. If discovered by the husband, the old woman is often taken into court with her male employer and fined heavily. However, among males who value their respectability, the old woman is usually warned at first to stay away from the compound, and the wife admonished not to have anything to do with her.

[684]

832 Another illustration that documents the social recognition of female desire for sexual freedom is the concept of tarwo which refers to walking about looking for a partner for sexual intercourse. Any man or woman walking about the town alone is suspect of tarwo. There are a few definitive signs such as man having his hat pushed for-

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
832 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one, including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illicit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person. For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia, and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse. Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
• 837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This latter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of relationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the marketing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually the wives of their close friends and relatives.

It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the contrary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order to re-unite separated couples.

This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the formalization ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the marriage. After the fatiha prayer[1] has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior status, but because European marriages are well known for their durability. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, preferential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the
634 Shehu still has a
647 highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are
554 ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus
[576] if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the
647 extended household organization of the DH, then the factional memberships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials
647 disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household or-
557 ganization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warder were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son (1) and from there became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[838] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from deroyalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal bodyguard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

175 567 554 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas, ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna, 175 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely 567 different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of 644 the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding • 839 for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of [304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six, who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's 175 household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:
567
644 Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the
839 four greatest chimas. On his death his title
554 goes to the adim presently holding the title of:

Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim, and another of the four greatest chimas. He is succeeded by the holder of the title:

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 567 644 554 839

Shetima Abu Karim - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Agadi. All other adim are called abagana.

Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Borsari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Maiduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title Digma is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

175 567 554

Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled freeman, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the susana, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593
428 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567
595 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
281
178 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

4

The Life Cycle: From Birth to Death in Kanuri Society

THE HISTORY of Kanuri society, its family and household organization, and the other groupings described later in this book that make it into a system, are all activated and made real by the people who spend their lives in Bornu. Kanuri society, indeed any society, can be described by giving the major details of its organized social life. However, such a description uses as its units the roles and groups that make up each organization. The units (roles and groups) are separate parts of the system, but it is important to remember that roles and groups are stage settings for the behavior of real people who are born, grow up, love, hate, get married, grow old and die. Some are more successful, some less so, but the way in which they live a Kanuri life from beginning to end is what produces the energy, the continuity, and the change within the structure of their society.

Like people everywhere the Kanuri see a pattern in the life span of individuals. This is thought of as a series of stages or grades determined fundamentally by age and sex. Whether he or she be rich or poor, peasant, slave, or of royal blood these stages still apply and mark off a lifetime. Like age grades in all societies there is a rough correlation at each stage with that of physiological growth, maturation and decline. However, the specific factors of local geography and the adaptation to it, as well as their social complexity and culture history, have molded the grades into the specific set of life stages that can be called Kanuri. In the future, the forces of modernism will add their weight to this stream and produce changes in this traditional cycle. For the present, however, I want to present a picture of a Kanuri lifetime, as my informants report it and as I have observed it in Bornu, starting with gestation and ending with the death of an individual.

Gestation

Kanuri men and women almost universally claim that having children is desirable for married couples, although charms that both promote and prevent pregnancy can be obtained locally from specialists. The culture norms on this point are

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

842 183 quite explicit, and married couples are supposed to want children. Those few women who admitted to me, confidentially, not wanting children had very high divorce records, while all others conformed to expectations when asked specifically concerning their desire for offspring.

842 Traditionally the Kanuri believe that conception results from simultaneous orgasm during sexual intercourse. This information I got from older men who do not, however, know in any detail when or how often such an event actually takes 843 place. Instead they reason that it has occurred when their wife reports a pregnancy. [842] When a woman is over one month late in a menstrual cycle (a few said forty-five days) conception is suspected, and she begins to buy charms on the market to safeguard a normal gestation. During this initial period the husband and wife, ideally at least, should not speak of the pregnancy to anyone until at least the second menstrual period has been missed, and then only to their very close friends and relatives. Such talk, indeed any excess conversation about the pregnancy, is believed to be dangerous to the course and development of a normal pregnancy. Even during the later stages just before birth only very cryptic references are made by the parents when they refer to the coming event. Pregnancy, like a number of other occa- [984] sions in one's lifetime, is considered a very fragile time, a time when an individual is vulnerable to maliciousness from humans or spirits. Because it is difficult to know about such maliciousness, until after its effects are felt, it is better to avoid mentioning the susceptible circumstances.

[833] Sexual intercourse is continued throughout pregnancy since the Kanuri believe that such activity makes for an easier labor at birth by keeping the passage open and providing fluids for the child and the mother.

Although the Kanuri recognize the pregnancy period of nine months, the woman continues her normal work until the lying-in period is signaled by labor. On the other hand exceptions to the nine-month period occur, and some women claim to have been pregnant for years although no outward sign is visible. This latter condition is referred to as *bənji,* that is to say an embryo that will not come out of the womb. A woman may miss a menstrual cycle once and then become convinced that she has conceived. If her conviction holds she may, after menstruating again, diagnose the condition as a *bənji.* Missing a menstrual period, however, is not absolutely necessary for the diagnosis. Women who spoke of having *bənji* felt that any woman could have one, but they also agreed that in their experience the woman was usually older and either had not given birth for a long time or had had a completely infertile marriage history. Certainly many Kanuri women seem to be barren, and this cultural belief must help to assuage the disappointment of a hopeful but sterile woman. It may also serve to alleviate the loss of womanly role for an older woman who sees herself being replaced in her reproductive functions by her husband's younger wives.

Birth

844 When the woman is about to give birth, she is assisted by her own mother if she is in the vicinity, or her mother-in-law if she is living with her husband's family, and sometimes by a specialist in midwifery. There are stories told about

161 has been declining in the present century. The Kanuri Empire
[175] had suffered final defeat at the hands of Rabeh's invading
forces in 1890, and the countryside had been ravaged in the
[164] succeeding decade. Venereal disease appears to have spread
• [842] widely throughout the population leaving in its wake a marked
decline in fertility and a resultant decrease in numbers of
311 the Kanuri population. There is consequently little pressure
[137] for land to farm. Large stretches of brush country are un-
worked, and the denser sections, along old water-courses, are
136 veritable jungles of brush and thorn. Larger wild-life have
long since disappeared from Bornu, forced out by many centuries
of human occupation, but some of the denser section of thicket
might well support them today. A small herd of elephants is
reported around Gumsa, in Geidam District, and of course ele-
phants can be found in the extensive marshes along Lake Chad,
but by and large the only game one sees are gazelle, monkeys,
and birds, including occasional ostriches.

361 The Kanuri are a sedentary, agricultural people, who live
in villages and towns. The fields which they farm encircle
their villages. They are never found living in dispersed home-
369 steads. A basic division exists between Kanuri village life
and Kanuri life in the towns and cities. This division corre-
sponds to the classic distinctions between folk and urban polar
extremes. Urban life was present in pre-contact Kanuri culture
[162] and consequently is well integrated into Kanuri culture. In
fact, the Kanuri cities of the eighteenth century were unques-

[GEIDAM]

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning
Kabuna	-	
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11
	8	

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
163 [392] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[365] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invari-
ably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are
high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the
great love for children and desire to have children. How-
ever, those who have borne a child have indicated their abil-
ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
able to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen
that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the
child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 565 In some cases, more often among the upper classes, if a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela- [577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper [834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass 576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem- [565] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class [264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

[565] I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her bama (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ba'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

[601]

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it. Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

[842]

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"But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

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Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

842 183 quite explicit, and married couples are supposed to want children. Those few women who admitted to me, confidentially, not wanting children had very high divorce records, while all others conformed to expectations when asked specifically concerning their desire for offspring.

842 Traditionally the Kanuri believe that conception results from simultaneous orgasm during sexual intercourse. This information I got from older men who do not, however, know in any detail when or how often such an event actually takes 843 place. Instead they reason that it has occurred when their wife reports a pregnancy. [842] When a woman is over one month late in a menstrual cycle (a few said forty-five days) conception is suspected, and she begins to buy charms on the market to safeguard a normal gestation. During this initial period the husband and wife, ideally at least, should not speak of the pregnancy to anyone until at least the second menstrual period has been missed, and then only to their very close friends and relatives. Such talk, indeed any excess conversation about the pregnancy, is believed to be dangerous to the course and development of a normal pregnancy. Even during the later stages just before birth only very cryptic references are made by the parents when they refer to the coming event. Pregnancy, like a number of other occa- [984] sions in one's lifetime, is considered a very fragile time, a time when an individual is vulnerable to maliciousness from humans or spirits. Because it is difficult to know about such maliciousness, until after its effects are felt, it is better to avoid mentioning the susceptible circumstances.

[833] Sexual intercourse is continued throughout pregnancy since the Kanuri believe that such activity makes for an easier labor at birth by keeping the passage open and providing fluids for the child and the mother.

Although the Kanuri recognize the pregnancy period of nine months, the woman continues her normal work until the lying-in period is signaled by labor. On the other hand exceptions to the nine-month period occur, and some women claim to have been pregnant for years although no outward sign is visible. This latter condition is referred to as *bənji*, that is to say an embryo that will not come out of the womb. A woman may miss a menstrual cycle once and then become convinced that she has conceived. If her conviction holds she may, after menstruating again, diagnose the condition as a *bənji*. Missing a menstrual period, however, is not absolutely necessary for the diagnosis. Women who spoke of having *bənji* felt that any woman could have one, but they also agreed that in their experience the woman was usually older and either had not given birth for a long time or had had a completely infertile marriage history. Certainly many Kanuri women seem to be barren, and this cultural belief must help to assuage the disappointment of a hopeful but sterile woman. It may also serve to alleviate the loss of womanly role for an older woman who sees herself being replaced in her reproductive functions by her husband's younger wives.

Birth

844 When the woman is about to give birth, she is assisted by her own mother if she is in the vicinity, or her mother-in-law if she is living with her husband's family, and sometimes by a specialist in midwifery. There are stories told about

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women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks 844 by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby.

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a pregnant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy [515] and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a [759] local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose.

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains 846 inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman.

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is un- [851] known outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats [825] are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during [766] these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community.

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the 431 child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the 851 men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of

CHAPTER VI [p. 148]

The Life Cycle

121 In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialized.

561 As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the [571] only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organization is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

844 At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (sartàma). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as (846) other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

844 after birth. The birth takes place in a sitting position over a warmed wooden bowl. When the infant arrives it is washed and then continually warmed by the female attendants who heat their hands over [853] a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child. Almost immediately attempts are made to have the infant feed at the mother's breast. The placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony.

[782] Men are barred from any direct participation in the actual birth process, but usually pray heavily and/or employ a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest) to pray for the successful outcome of the 846 birth. During the forty-day confinement period there should be no [565] sexual intercourse between spouses. Informants stated that strict adherence to the forty-day confinement rule as well as the sexual taboo may vary among the poorer classes where the woman's economic services are more in demand. However, the first eight days after birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement and sexual abstinence.

846 858 During the first eight days of life the infant is known as fatu (the little kitten) or kusoto gana (the little stranger) and is referred to when necessary in these terms. This is a strong tabu time for the parents, and they must be sure to maintain all cultural prescriptions to ensure the safety of the infant. Hardly any mention is made in public of the new arrival. Even its sex is unknown except by a few close female friends of the mother who are expected [766] to keep the secret. If it dies during this period, the infant does not receive a proper burial, but is unceremoniously interred in the women's section of the compound.

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593 The husband has absolute claim to the sexual rights of his
595 wife. Should he have more than one wife, he must regularly alternate his stay at the house of the wife with whom he sleeps, spending one night in turn with each of his wives. Though he might not have sexual intercourse with her, he must spend the
[692] night in her house. Should he, for any reason, break the regu-
[684] lar alternation, his wife can bring him before the Alkali who would force him to observe the rule or dissolve the marriage. In this way, although the husband has absolute rights, the law once again helps to protect the wife. It can, and frequently does happen that a man will have preferences among his wives. He may recently have married a young girl whom he finds more attractive than an older wife, but he may not allow his attraction for her to cause him to favor her by sleeping with her, at night,
[846] more frequently than he does with his other wives. After a woman has borne a child, her husband must not have intercourse with her for forty days, but he must sleep in her house when her turn comes despite the fact that he may not have intercourse with her.

595 Where there is more than one wife, the wife who has been married to the household head for the longest period of time is senior wife in the household. This is a position of authority in the household. Though she may not curse or beat the other wives, she does give orders which are obeyed by the other wives. Disputes between lesser wives are settled by the head wife. If one lesser wife will not cease making trouble after being warned, the head wife may tell her husband that the lesser wife is a per-

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These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be 611 settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court nor- 613 mally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance 671 dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court 428 at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal 692 grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he 578 can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is 672 legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime 602 against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations 602 through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilateral kin 611 (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are consid- 613 ered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their 829 lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always [578] some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilateral cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilateral one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not [554] just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a cer- 554 tain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take 123 him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers 829 or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might 613 be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.[1] Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate 848 613

[1] This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

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848 613 children are abhorred and every effort is made to get the woman married should she be pregnant. Although her shame is great, it is nothing compared to the problems that the new individual will encounter unless people come to accept his mother's agnatic kin group as his—and whether that group will in fact accept him as a member. The pariah status of illegitimate children is easily seen in the widespread belief that they can only marry others like themselves or people of slave status.

59 So much then for the first two features of kinship, those of genealogy and descent. The third aspect, that of marriage relations, brings us much closer to what is commonly thought of as family life in western society. Using the anthropological jargon, we can sum up the kinds of relations invoked by a Kanuri marriage by saying that Kanuri marriage is polygynous with virilocal residence patterns which have a patrilocal emphasis and an exceptionally high divorce rate. In plain English this means that the men can marry more than one wife, up to four by Islamic law (they are polygynous); the wife invariably leaves her home to go and live with her husband in a place chosen by him (they are virilocal); and, this often but not always proves to be in the vicinity of, or even inside, the household of the husband's father (there is a tendency toward patrilocality). Finally, most Kanuri marriages, the [586] vast majority of them certainly, end in divorce.

58 Because a marriage usually involves the creation of whole sets of kinship links where none existed before, the way in which such changes are brought about and made "official," or publically recognized, is an important aspect in the anthropological study of marriage. Furthermore, such activities are also very important moments in the lives of the individuals concerned, who must see to it that all that should be done is done correctly according to traditional custom. Thus we start looking at marriage by describing its inception.

581 In thinking about a marriage the first question that any Kanuri man asks himself is whether he can afford it or not. That is, can he and those people on whom he can count for financial aid take on the expense of a marriage ceremony and bridewealth payments; and, if he can, how high can he go?

581 595 A man who already has a wife or wives knows that he must give gifts, supposedly equal to those going to the bride, to wives already married to him. He knows that the pressures for expenditures for drummers, food, transportation of the bride to his dwelling, and many other aspects of the ceremony, will very likely involve more of an outlay than he can readily predict. Can the capital be raised for such an undertaking? Most men are helped by their friends, their kin, and their political and economic patrons if they have any. Kanuri recognize the outcome of marriage expenses in their oft-quoted saying, "A man who is not in debt over a wedding is a man who has no friends."

583 Bridewealth payments form the basic marriage expense, and they can vary in size and elaborateness depending upon the status of the two family groups who are joined through the marriage, the marital history of the girl, the previous relationship of the groom to the girl's family, the bargaining power of each party to the marriage arrangement, and the time of year during which the payments are to be made. Although other factors can enter in and pull the bridewealth up or down in individual cases, these are the most effective determinants of bridewealth.

The payments themselves can be divided into three general categories, plus a "rebate." First there are one or more small gifts given to the girl and her rela-

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429 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the
582
565 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate.(conceived out
[848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest.. Marriages with parents or their siblings, own full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

586
589 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older, a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

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women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby. 844

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a pregnant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose. [515] [759]

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman. 846

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is unknown outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community. [851] [825] [966]

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of 431 851

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this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

583 Marriage is effected through the payment of a bride-price, the luwaliram, before the marriage proper. There can be no marriage without payment of the luwaliram. The luwaliram is conceived of as money for buying a wife. One informant stated, "It is just like buying a ram. Your children are the profit (riba) of your investment." It follows, of course, that among [85] [436] the Kanuri, children belong to the father. At present, the luwaliram is always paid in hard currency--pounds and shillings, though in former times it was paid in Maria Theresa dollars (gursus) which served as currency in the area.

The amount of the luwaliram varies with a number of factors. Luwaliram varies with social class, with urban and rural differences, and with the qualities of the bride-to-be. For common folk (talaka), it may run to five or six pounds. In the smaller, isolated villages it runs higher, occasionally over ten pounds. A Lowan may pay as much as ten to twenty pounds for his son's bride; very poor folk in the towns may pay as little as three pounds. Luwaliram for a very pretty girl, for the daughter of a kantuoma (aristocrat), or of a very wealthy man, is naturally high; while that for an ugly girl, or one who has undesirable traits, or who is no longer a virgin (bati) is conversely low.

583 593 If the boy is old enough to have accumulated money of his own, that will go towards his luwaliram, but the bulk of it is given by his father. The boy's father, or the head of the house in which he grew up, should he have grown up in a household

On the Friday within the eight-day
851 period, or several
[824] days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553 On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal
[562] naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men
[431] and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[576] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

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dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the infant then has a simple 863
and comforting toilet ready made for it by the mother. Afterwards its loins are
washed and the hole covered up with sand. During the entire infant stage breast- 853
feeding is carried on easily and simply upon demand by the infant for the breast.
Indeed the breast is generally used as a pacifier.

A typical scene in a mother's hut illustrates the way in which the introduc- 867
tion of a new baby to society is carried out. The mother and her friends sit around 854
chatting and they pass the baby around, dandling it in turn, although the baby re-
mains with the mother for a large part of the time. A very common topic of con- [521]
versation at such times is, quite unsurprisingly, the new baby. But unlike a similar
group of American ladies most of the talk is *to* and not *about* the baby. The
mother and many of those present tell the uncomprehending infant in sing-song
voices about its kindred, "So-and-so is your father, so-and-so is your brother, so-
and-so is your sister," and so on through a vast complex of kinship links on both
the mother's and the father's side of the family. The infant is also told in the same
way about its neighborhood, its section of the town, or its village, its political lead-
ers, and so on. "So-and-so is your village head, so-and-so is your district head, and
this is your tribe and this is your emirate, and this is your *Shehu*, and so-and-so
is your Waziri." The family occupation is also mentioned and how soon the infant
is going to help in such-and-such activities around the compound and grow up into
successful adulthood within the framework of all the associations and expectations
that are referred to constantly.

Why tell a baby about its social connections, occupational expectations, po- 867
litical affiliations, and so on? Certainly later on, when it can understand a little 182
more of the language, such talk is a means of initiating it into the social groupings
of the society. However at this stage another function is performed. The child is a
new member of the society, and it is being introduced into and given a recogniz-
able place in its social setting. The new member means new relationships. So-and-
so who did not have a younger brother's son, now has one; someone else now has a
new cousin and perhaps a future spouse; or someone else now has a sister's son or
an additional one. The coming of the *tiful* or infant creates changes because a new
member has been added and in introducing it to society people are asked to shift
their understanding of the organizations which now must include this new mem-
ber. By constantly referring to these new relationships during the infant's first few
months people close to the family affirm to themselves and finally to others
the fact that many relationships are different now that the new baby has ar-
rived safely.

As far as training goes, the *tiful* is too young to be very harshly dealt with 861
or to be told not to do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and grow into a 854
useful, law-abiding, member of its community.

Childhood

Infancy ends as weaning begins, about the end of the eighteenth month al- 862
though a good deal of variation exists in actual practice so that many are weaned [858]
earlier. In general weaning is carried out with a matter-of-fact attitude as if to say,

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• 853
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/For information on the Kanuri practice of child fosterage, see category 855./

587 The levirate among the Kanuri is called fatorongabe. A man must marry the widow of his elder brother (yaga); he is not permitted to marry the widow of his younger brother (kerami). At the death of one's wife, one may marry her younger sister, but one is forbidden to marry her elder sister. This, too, is called fatorongabe.

2. Divorce.

586 779 The Koran has a great deal to say about divorce, particularly in Sura II ("The Cow"), and Sura LXV ("Divorce"). It specifically mentions a waiting period of four months (three full menstrual courses for the woman) to determine if the woman is pregnant before the divorce is final and the woman becomes a zogor. A man may divorce his wife twice and take her back again, but after the third time, she must marry another man before she can remarry her first husband. After the waiting period, the husband cannot maliciously retain his former wife or prevent her from marrying another man. If the husband divorces his wife before the marriage is consummated, but after the bride-price has been settled, half of the bride-price should be paid, unless the husband is released from payment, but it is more proper that the [853] husband should forego it. After a divorce, mothers with nursing children should be permitted to let the children nurse for two whole years, while they are supported by the father of the child.

Kanuri practice concerning divorce operates within the limits dictated by the Koran. The husband divorces his wife by say-

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 In some cases, more often among the upper classes, if
565 a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents
[842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class
[853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela-
[577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper
[834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass
576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem-
[565] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class
[264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

844 after birth. The birth takes place in a sitting position over a warmed wooden bowl. When the infant arrives it is washed and then continually warmed by the female attendants who heat their hands over [853] a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child. Almost immediately attempts are made to have the infant feed at the mother's breast. The placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony.

[782] Men are barred from any direct participation in the actual birth process, but usually pray heavily and/or employ a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest) to pray for the successful outcome of the 846 birth. During the forty-day confinement period there should be no [565] sexual intercourse between spouses. Informants stated that strict adherence to the forty-day confinement rule as well as the sexual taboo may vary among the poorer classes where the woman's economic services are more in demand. However, the first eight days after birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement and sexual abstinence.

846 858 During the first eight days of life the infant is known as fatu (the little kitten) or kusoto gana (the little stranger) and is referred to when necessary in these terms. This is a strong tabu time for the parents, and they must be sure to maintain all cultural prescriptions to ensure the safety of the infant. Hardly any mention is made in public of the new arrival. Even its sex is unknown except by a few close female friends of the mother who are expected [766] to keep the secret. If it dies during this period, the infant does not receive a proper burial, but is unceremoniously interred in the women's section of the compound.

000 On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm, • 853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

Childhood

862 [858] [114] With the onset of childhood, which is formalized at eighteen months by weaning, the overt pressures of socialization begin for the young child. No systematic data were gathered on the effects of this formal change-over from breast-feeding. Everyone knew of a wide range of variation in reaction on the part of the infants; some babies wean easily, others require much more training. In the latter case, the more stringent techniques are utilized, but still with a matter of fact, unperturbed attitude towards the inevitability of the weaning procedure.

In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

597 It is just after weaning that most Kanuri adoptions take place. A very rough estimate of adoptions, taken from genealogical data, would put the figure at somewhere between 35-45% for the present

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553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in [431] the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and [431] told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

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litical affiliations, and so on? Certainly later on, when it can understand a little 182
more of the language, such talk is a means of initiating it into the social groupings of the society. However at this stage another function is performed. The child is a new member of the society, and it is being introduced into and given a recognizable place in its social setting. The new member means new relationships. So-and-so who did not have a younger brother's son, now has one; someone else now has a new cousin and perhaps a future spouse; or someone else now has a sister's son or an additional one. The coming of the *tiful* or infant creates changes because a new member has been added and in introducing it to society people are asked to shift their understanding of the organizations which now must include this new member. By constantly referring to these new relationships during the infant's first few months people close to the family affirm to themselves and finally to others the fact that many relationships are different now that the new baby has arrived safely.

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earlier. In general weaning is carried out with a matter-of-fact attitude as if to say,

858 on the day of the naming ceremony. This is believed to apply only
867 to young children under the age of five or six; older ones are sufficiently socialized so that rivalry presents no overt problem. At one naming ceremony a small girl of two and a half was observed being brought back from her namesake grandparent's compound where she had been living for the last week. She was admonished upon presentation to the new infant, "This is your new baby —— be gentle with him and look after him." Both the little girl and her full brother aged nine or ten had been given small gifts that day, she, two little glass bangles, and he, a new shirt. Later, after the naming ceremony was over, many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with and showing affection to the two elder siblings and pointing out to them what a fine thing it was that they had a new little brother.

854 The new infant spends most of the nursing period with its mother although short sorties with older female siblings occur now and then. The father although he sees the child often interacts very little with it. The infant learns very soon to sit quietly on the back of its mother while it is swaddled comfortably to be carried about. Toilet practices are simple at this time. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother. However, as soon as it can sit up, it is placed facing the mother, astride her ankles and with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the child has a simple and comforting toilet ready-made for it by the mother. When the baby is finished, the mother washes its genital regions and/or anus with her left hand and covers up the hole. Babies wear only a small

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm, 853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

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In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

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869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

• 855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[571] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

000 ousies between his wives.

59 The separate nuclear families which make up the larger polygamous Kanuri family demonstrate an overall unity when one focuses attention on the household as a structural group. At the core of the household is the polygamous family, but the household may include many other individuals, both kin and non-kin.

595 855 Polygamous families also appear much more unified when one attends to the behavior of adults towards children within [152] the household. Though the presence of children is potentially the greatest source of jealousy between co-wives, particularly when one wife has borne one or more children while another has never borne a child, Kanuri attitudes and treatment of children within the household minimizes these jealousies. All women within reach of a child play with it, feed it, and watch over it. Children wander freely in and out of the houses of their father's wives (their ya chinta), and differences between co-wives are not permitted to extend to their children. In effect, children bridge rather than emphasize the gaps between co-wives and between nuclear families.

5. The Household.

592 It is a natural step to move from a consideration of the polygamous family, the central kin group in Kanuri society, to that of the household. However, though the household has the polygamous family at its core, it is not primarily a kin group.

571 602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalised pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if [255] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are [591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth- [553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate 553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer- 602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

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302 three pronged hair style of pre-pubertal females. The young girls are soon more fancifully dressed and their eyelids blacked with antimony.

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857 most part within the compound, going out only with older members. After four or five, the child begins to explore beyond the compound and meets children of his own sex in the immediate vicinity. These form peer groups who play together and gather together quickly to witness any excitement of the town. They stay away from groups of male elders who may sit conversing under a tree, but otherwise roam the town and later even the surrounding bush area freely as long as their growing amount of household tasks are complete.

868 The girls start to learn the intricacies of preparing food,
[412] carrying water, and the ever present task of grinding millet either on a quern or more commonly in a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, and the family dry season activity, as well as being on hand for running messages. Pressure in the acquisition of these skills is steady and slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but to a Western eye extremely severe. The reason is most often the continual or perhaps sudden relinquishing of a skill which by such time should have already been acquired. A young boy of ten was beaten for omitting to gather grass for his father's horse; this is a skill which boys of seven to nine should have already learned. The severity of the punishment is noted by all children within earshot. Thus the beating of one child in a village or a ward not only punishes his neglect of learned skills but advertises to all, within hearing distance of the child's screams, that punishment is not just a matter of threats but is an awesome, painful reality if limits are transgressed.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

tinual dereliction of some duty although outright malfeasance such as stealing can also bring swift and awesome retribution. For example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest. When punishment occurs its severity is noted by all children within earshot, and thus the beating of one child of the village or ward serves notice on all that punishment is not just a matter of threats but may become a reality if limits are transgressed. 861 868

That such household learning soon becomes habitual can be seen any day in a Bornu village by watching children. Even a little girl of three and a half can accomplish tasks involving quite a lot of dexterity. One little girl of this age was passed a straw mat plate and separately given some paper clips. She neatly put the paper clips on the plate and began her own already advanced imitation of the quick, deft, jiggling movements associated with the sifting of ground-nut shells. None of her paper clips was dropped, and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some sifted ground nuts." 868 857

Sometimes play takes in both sexes and is more complex than simple imitation like the one above. Thus for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through ten may organize a "wedding." The "bride" and "groom" are chosen as are the various kindred, the best man, the leading woman, etc. Care is taken to practice as many of the details of the adult virgin wedding ceremony as they can manage including even a mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll. Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children. Adults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children. Such play is related to an even more complex form called *mai-mai,* which is no longer practiced in Bornu. In playing *mai-mai* the young children in a village put on a pageant. They chose a king, nobles, servants, slaves, wives, gave titles to everyone, and behaved for several days in the guise of these socio-political roles. Mock battles were fought, slaves taken and justice meted out in a mock court. Seniority was established by age and consent. The organization was temporary like the "wedding" and disbanded after a few days. During periods when adults are out of the compound, away at a market, or working in the fields during the growing season, children often play house. The group gets together and appoints "fathers," "wives," and "children." The little children may actually cook for their "husbands" on such occasions and the couples go into a hut in the compound where sexual play is carried on. They are, however, soon called back to the larger group where it has been declared "morning" by another child who has announced the "morning prayers" signifying that night has passed. Boys are aware that such play should stop when they can ejaculate. From then on they are men; sex is a serious affair and unmarried girls are illegitimate objects of sexual intercourse. However such prepubescent sex derived from playing "house" is widespread, or to paraphrase one young informant, "Everyone does such things when they are young." 867 857 [864] [858]

Boys especially, but girls as well, may also begin some religious instruction during their childhood. Although girls never leave home for this purpose, boys sometimes do after the age of six or seven. In some cases the teacher lives nearby 869 87 562

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second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumari Kura (great festival), Ngumari Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

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302 three pronged hair style of pre-pubertal females. The young girls are seen more fancifully dressed and their eyelids blacked with antimony.

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857 most part within the compound, going out only with elder members. After four or five, the child begins to explore beyond the compound and meets children of his own sex in the immediate vicinity. These form peer groups who play together and gather together quickly to witness any excitement of the town. They stay away from groups of male elders who may sit conversing under a tree, but otherwise roam the town and later even the surrounding bush area freely as long as their growing amount of household tasks are complete.

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868 are transgressed.

868 Learning of adult skills is often accomplished through
• 857 imitative play. A little girl of three and a half was passed a straw plate and, separately, some paper clips. She immediately put the paper clips on the plate as her mother would do in the preparation of food, and began her own approximation of the quick, deft, jiggling movement of sifting the shells of groundnuts. None of the paper-clips was dropped from the plate and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some groundnuts."

857 Sometimes imitative play is more organized. A large group
867 of children between the age of six to ten may organize a "wedding". One of the young boys is the groom and a bride is chosen, as are in-
[864] laws, best man, lead woman, etc. Every detail of the adult virgin marriage ceremony is carried out, even to a mock impregnation, in this case a small doll. The wedding foods, in miniature, are passed around to the proper people, who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness. Adults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people.

794 Childhood is also the time of basic religious instruction
793 which is more highly stressed for boys. Young boys may be given away any time after the age of six or seven to a Koranic mallam for a year or two, to live and travel with him, work for him, and live in abject poverty, in order to learn Arabic prayers, and some Arabic script. Their relationship to him while under his tutelage is expressed in the Kanuri saying "mallamnum abanum kozina" (your mallam exceeds your father). In other words, an individual's Koranic teacher exceeds his father in fatherly qualities, which means he must be given respect, obeyed and sub-

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

• 858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in [431] the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and [431] told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the infant then has a simple 863
and comforting toilet ready made for it by the mother. Afterwards its loins are
washed and the hole covered up with sand. During the entire infant stage breast- 853
feeding is carried on easily and simply upon demand by the infant for the breast.
Indeed the breast is generally used as a pacifier.

A typical scene in a mother's hut illustrates the way in which the introduc- 867
tion of a new baby to society is carried out. The mother and her friends sit around 854
chatting and they pass the baby around, dandling it in turn, although the baby re-
mains with the mother for a large part of the time. A very common topic of con- [521]
versation at such times is, quite unsurprisingly, the new baby. But unlike a similar
group of American ladies most of the talk is *to* and not *about* the baby. The
mother and many of those present tell the uncomprehending infant in sing-song
voices about its kindred, "So-and-so is your father, so-and-so is your brother, so-
and-so is your sister," and so on through a vast complex of kinship links on both
the mother's and the father's side of the family. The infant is also told in the same
way about its neighborhood, its section of the town, or its village, its political lead-
ers, and so on. "So-and-so is your village head, so-and-so is your district head, and
this is your tribe and this is your emirate, and this is your *Shehu*, and so-and-so
is your Waziri." The family occupation is also mentioned and how soon the infant
is going to help in such-and-such activities around the compound and grow up into
successful adulthood within the framework of all the associations and expectations
that are referred to constantly.

Why tell a baby about its social connections, occupational expectations, po- 867
litical affiliations, and so on? Certainly later on, when it can understand a little 182
more of the language, such talk is a means of initiating it into the social groupings
of the society. However at this stage another function is performed. The child is a
new member of the society, and it is being introduced into and given a recogniz-
able place in its social setting. The new member means new relationships. So-and-
so who did not have a younger brother's son, now has one; someone else now has a
new cousin and perhaps a future spouse; or someone else now has a sister's son or
an additional one. The coming of the *tiful* or infant creates changes because a new
member has been added and in introducing it to society people are asked to shift
their understanding of the organizations which now must include this new mem-
ber. By constantly referring to these new relationships during the infant's first few
months people close to the family affirm to themselves and finally to others
the fact that many relationships are different now that the new baby has ar-
rived safely.

As far as training goes, the *tiful* is too young to be very harshly dealt with 861
or to be told not to do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and grow into a 854
useful, law-abiding, member of its community.

Childhood

Infancy ends as weaning begins, about the end of the eighteenth month al- 862
though a good deal of variation exists in actual practice so that many are weaned [858]
earlier. In general weaning is carried out with a matter-of-fact attitude as if to say,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

862 "This is just a common, everyday matter," and should not be thought of as giving anyone any trouble. When difficulties do arise an older woman of the compound or the family offers her breast as a pacifier. In the odd case where this does not succeed pressures tighten up. The breast is referred to as "dirty" or specifically as "excreta" and in extreme instances bitter grounds of leaves are put on the breast and the lesson is very quickly learned.

861 863 858 [516] [826] After weaning, pressures are slowly brought to bear to teach the child proper ways of living among its people. Thus as soon as a child can totter, the adult woman in whose hut he is sleeping starts to enforce the rule that he or she should go outside to perform toilet functions, stoop over with knees bent and buttocks near the ground using only the left hand for any attentions necessary to elimination. Later on as language skills develop the importance of the left hand is more highly emphasized as well as the advisability of being discreet about toilet functions. After the age of two and a half or three, scolding gets more intense and the child is told it is dirty or bad for urinating on the floor. Naturally the severity of the training depends to a large extent as well on the particular situation, the mood and personality of the mother, or other socializing agents present, as well as the age of the child. Thus a grandmother was observed who was not overly excited when her two-year-old grandson urinated on the floor, but she became quite angry when he wet her bed.

861 Patient but continuous teaching by adults in the household is a constant part of everyday activities for the young child. The following excerpt from field notes tells its own story:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little grandson, "Kachella, pick up the plate. Now, take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now, take that other plate and cover the food over. (Plates are made of grass.) That's right, very good." This simple operation which would have taken the grandmother a few seconds has been carried out after two patient minutes of instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

867 868 Childhood also ushers in the establishment of sex roles. Boys are now called "small boys" and girls are "small girls" or "three heads" referring to the three-pronged hair style of prepubescent girls. Boys and girls wear different clothes and begin fairly soon to associate with members of their own sex and to carry out chores that are specifically for boys or for girls. In play groups based on sex they wander freely about the village or neighborhood of the city gathering like flies to honey at the slightest hint of any excitement, and wandering further afield from their own compound as they get older. The girl comes quickly under the authority of the women of the household especially her own mother if she is brought up at home. She learns the intricacies of preparing food, carrying water, and the ever-present task of grinding millet either at a quern or by pounding it on a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, run messages, gather grass for a horse if there is one, tend the goats and sheep of the compound, and learn the family dry-season occupation. Pressure to learn these skills is slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but severe. The child is beaten with a rod or whip until neighbors and friends succeed in persuading the parents to cease or desist. Reasons given for the beating often concern the sudden, or con-

861 868

tinual dereliction of some duty although outright malfeasance such as stealing can also bring swift and awesome retribution. For example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest. When punishment occurs its severity is noted by all children within earshot, and thus the beating of one child of the village or ward serves notice on all that punishment is not just a matter of threats but may become a reality if limits are transgressed. 861 868

That such household learning soon becomes habitual can be seen any day in a Bornu village by watching children. Even a little girl of three and a half can accomplish tasks involving quite a lot of dexterity. One little girl of this age was passed a straw mat plate and separately given some paper clips. She neatly put the paper clips on the plate and began her own already advanced imitation of the quick, deft, jiggling movements associated with the sifting of ground-nut shells. None of her paper clips was dropped, and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some sifted ground nuts." 868 857

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Boys especially, but girls as well, may also begin some religious instruction during their childhood. Although girls never leave home for this purpose, boys sometimes do after the age of six or seven. In some cases the teacher lives nearby 869 871 562

844 after birth. The birth takes place in a sitting position over a warmed wooden bowl. When the infant arrives it is washed and then continually warmed by the female attendants who heat their hands over [853] a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child. Almost immediately attempts are made to have the infant feed at the mother's breast. The placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony.

[782] Men are barred from any direct participation in the actual birth process, but usually pray heavily and/or employ a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest) to pray for the successful outcome of the 846 birth. During the forty-day confinement period there should be no [565] sexual intercourse between spouses. Informants stated that strict adherence to the forty-day confinement rule as well as the sexual taboo may vary among the poorer classes where the woman's economic services are more in demand. However, the first eight days after birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement and sexual abstinence.

846 During the first eight days of life the infant is known • 858 as fatu (the little kitten) or kusoto gana (the little stranger) and is referred to when necessary in these terms. This is a strong tabu time for the parents, and they must be sure to maintain all cultural prescriptions to ensure the safety of the infant. Hardly any mention is made in public of the new arrival. Even its sex is unknown except by a few close female friends of the mother who are expected [766] to keep the secret. If it dies during this period, the infant does not receive a proper burial, but is unceremoniously interred in the women's section of the compound.

000 On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several

553 Generally speaking, Kanuri names are passed on through alternative generations. Ideally a man and his wife take turns obtaining names from each of their descent groups. Some men insist that boys be given names from the patrilateral group, while allowing girls to be named after the mother's relatives. As we have seen, a parent may name his child after some high status person thus establishing what is hoped will be a fruitful namesake relationship. 551 There is a non-reciprocal name avoidance between ego and his parents, parents-in-law, and high status persons in general. In order to avoid using a name the parents give the child, a nickname which usually indicates his relationship to the person whose name he bears. [553] Thus many young boys are called Aba gana (small father) or just Aba (father) which indicates that they have been called after the father of one of their parents.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months (lunar) the child is referred to exclusively as a tiful (infant, baby) regardless of its sex. This period marks the beginning of the individual's incorporation into society. Its criterion is breast feeding. In social rather than individual terms the period is one of introduction. The infant is introduced to its family, to the friends of the family and 858 to its community. Sibling rivalry is recognized and dealt with 867 gently but firmly. The Kanuri believe that a sibling, especially one who shares one or both of his parents with the new arrival, may exhibit antagonism towards the baby. Very often the older sibling is sent off to a nearby compound, usually to a grandparent, for the period of the birth. It returns to receive gifts from the parents

858 on the day of the naming ceremony. This is believed to apply only
867 to young children under the age of five or six; older ones are sufficiently socialized so that rivalry presents no overt problem. At one naming ceremony a small girl of two and a half was observed being brought back from her namesake grandparent's compound where she had been living for the last week. She was admonished upon presentation to the new infant, "This is your new baby — be gentle with him and look after him." Both the little girl and her full brother aged nine or ten had been given small gifts that day, she, two little glass bangles, and he, a new shirt. Later, after the naming ceremony was over, many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with and showing affection to the two elder siblings and pointing out to them what a fine thing it was that they had a new little brother.

854 The new infant spends most of the nursing period with its mother although short sorties with elder female siblings occur now and then. The father although he sees the child often interacts very little with it. The infant learns very soon to sit quietly on the back of its mother while it is swaddled comfortably to be carried about. Toilet practices are simple at this time. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother. However, as soon as it can sit up, it is placed facing the mother, astride her ankles and with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the child has a simple and comforting toilet ready-made for it by the mother. When the baby is finished, the mother washes its genital regions and/or anus with her left hand and covers up the hole. Babies wear only a small

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm, 853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

Childhood

862 With the onset of childhood, which is formalized at eight- [858] een months by weaning, the overt pressures of socialization begin for [114] the young child. No systematic data were gathered on the effects of this formal change-over from breast-feeding. Everyone knew of a wide range of variation in reaction on the part of the infants; some babies wean easily, others require much more training. In the latter case, the more stringent techniques are utilized, but still with a matter of fact, unperturbed attitude towards the inevitability of the weaning procedure.

In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

597 It is just after weaning that most Kanuri adoptions take place. A very rough estimate of adoptions, taken from genealogical data, would put the figure at somewhere between 35-45% for the present

861 We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

> the warnings are frequent. The "boogy-man" threat is more often used as a warning. For example, last month a group of travelling entertainers brought a very large, ugly hyena to town ... apparently Kachella gana was shown the thing from a distance, and ever since the hyena has been used as a deterrent to investigating the contents of medicine bottles, or venturing beyond the compound door. It works, although Kachella is inclined to laugh somewhat incredulously. (1)

Continuing with the same excerpt, it will be noticed that positive as well as negative learning is begun early and definite, patient teaching by socialising adults is a normal part of every day's activities for the young child:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little adoptive grandson, "Kachella, pick the plate up. Now take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now take that other plate and cover the food over (plates are made of grass). That's right, very good." The operation which would have taken the grandmother a second has been carried out only after two minutes of patient instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

858

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302 [858] [602] [184]

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858 or kala yasku (three heads), the latter referring to the distinctive
302 three pronged hair style of pre-pubertal females. The young girls are soon more fancifully dressed and their eyelids blacked with antimony.

855 Until the age of three or four, children are kept for the
857 most part within the compound, going out only with older members. After four or five, the child begins to explore beyond the compound and meets children of his own sex in the immediate vicinity. These form peer groups who play together and gather together quickly to witness any excitement of the town. They stay away from groups of male elders who may sit conversing under a tree, but otherwise roam the town and later even the surrounding bush area freely as long as their growing amount of household tasks are complete.

868 The girls start to learn the intricacies of preparing food,
[412] carrying water, and the ever present task of grinding millet either on a quern or more commonly in a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, and the family dry season activity, as well as being on hand for running messages. Pressure in the acquisition of these skills is steady and slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but to a Western eye extremely severe. The reason is most often the continual or perhaps sudden relinquishing of a skill which by such time should have already been acquired. A young boy of ten was beaten for omitting to gather grass for his father's horse; this is a skill which boys of seven to nine should have already learned. The severity of the punishment is noted by all children within earshot. Thus the beating of one child in a village or a ward not only punishes his neglect of learned skills but advertises to all, within hearing distance of the child's screams, that punishment is not just a matter of threats but is an awesome, painful reality if limits are transgressed.

593 183 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of [565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper [586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

• 858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

• 858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bèrzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 579 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode [861] of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may [602] take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

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Daughters are taught in the same way, but they must give great heed to their mothers who are, in a day-to-day sense, the authority figures in their lives. Although men will respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality to the mother-son relationship almost wholly lacking in that between the father and his children. For many Kanuri men this is leavened by the high divorce rate that separates them from a continual long-term association with their mothers. But for those who have had consistent long-term associations with their mothers this can be the strongest emotional relationship of an entire lifetime. Thus one young man resigned from a salaried job suddenly one day because, as he said, "I wanted to see my mother and felt she was too far away."

Discipline-respect relationships are qualified by another mode of behavior called *nungu*, or shame-avoidance. This means that the persons in the relationship, especially the junior, must be subdued, self-controlled and constantly be restricted in his behavior to very limited traditional patterns. In the extreme, people who have *nungu* relationships would not eat together from the same bowl, as friends do, and only the most necessary conversation passes between them, while the junior keeps his eyes lowered and is in no way informal. This is best seen when a very friendly person is suddenly confronted with, or is observed with, his own father. His jocularity suddenly disappears; he becomes extremely serious and humble, and never speaks until spoken to unless he has a particular message he has been commissioned to bring. Even then he will wait until asked to state the meassage.

Within the kinship system the epitomy of the *nungu* relationship is that of father and son, but other senior men like father's and mother's brothers as well as older brothers may all have some shame-avoidance in their relationship to a young nephew or brother. Such shame-avoidance increases when the age differences are greater, when the wealth and power of the senior is great, and most particularly if the senior has either taken the place of a dead father, or a young man has been sent to live with his senior male relative so that the older brother or uncle is now his compound head. When there are sex differences as well, then *nungu* is less intense within the descent group but more intense with affines to whom it applies. Thus a Kanuri man will tell his mother things he cannot speak of to his father, and generally he can speak more easily to his mother's and his father's sisters than he can to his uncles. However the most abject avoidance is maintained between in-laws of the opposite sex. Such persons would never allow themselves to be alone together; they avoid each other on a path (the woman steps out of the way with eyes downcast), and they would never speak to one another directly. Because Kanuri girls go to live with their husbands, often close to or in the households of their husband's family, then the burden of such avoidances falls on the bride. Only when the wife and husband move to a household of their own at some remove from that of his parents can the intense avoidance and tension generated by strict *nungu* rules between the young girl and her father-in-law be alleviated.

In the wider society there are *nungu* relations as well. Generally speaking, the greater the discipline-respect, the more likely it is to be associated with *nungu* or shame-avoidance. Thus the relationship between a man and his direct superior in a political or economic organization has many elements of *nungu* connected with it. He rarely speaks directly to his superior, they do not have long conversations, he

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tion of a new baby to society is carried out. The mother and her friends sit around 854
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group of American ladies most of the talk is *to* and not *about* the baby. The
mother and many of those present tell the uncomprehending infant in sing-song
voices about its kindred, "So-and-so is your father, so-and-so is your brother, so-
and-so is your sister," and so on through a vast complex of kinship links on both
the mother's and the father's side of the family. The infant is also told in the same
way about its neighborhood, its section of the town, or its village, its political lead-
ers, and so on. "So-and-so is your village head, so-and-so is your district head, and
this is your tribe and this is your emirate, and this is your *Shehu*, and so-and-so
is your Waziri." The family occupation is also mentioned and how soon the infant
is going to help in such-and-such activities around the compound and grow up into
successful adulthood within the framework of all the associations and expectations
that are referred to constantly.

Why tell a baby about its social connections, occupational expectations, po- 867
litical affiliations, and so on? Certainly later on, when it can understand a little 182
more of the language, such talk is a means of initiating it into the social groupings
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new member of the society, and it is being introduced into and given a recogniz-
able place in its social setting. The new member means new relationships. So-and-
so who did not have a younger brother's son, now has one; someone else now has a
new cousin and perhaps a future spouse; or someone else now has a sister's son or
an additional one. The coming of the *tiful* or infant creates changes because a new
member has been added and in introducing it to society people are asked to shift
their understanding of the organizations which now must include this new mem-
ber. By constantly referring to these new relationships during the infant's first few
months people close to the family affirm to themselves and finally to others
the fact that many relationships are different now that the new baby has ar-
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As far as training goes, the *tiful* is too young to be very harshly dealt with 861
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Childhood

Infancy ends as weaning begins, about the end of the eighteenth month al- 862
though a good deal of variation exists in actual practice so that many are weaned [858]
earlier. In general weaning is carried out with a matter-of-fact attitude as if to say,

862 "This is just a common, everyday matter," and should not be thought of as giving anyone any trouble. When difficulties do arise an older woman of the compound or the family offers her breast as a pacifier. In the odd case where this does not succeed pressures tighten up. The breast is referred to as "dirty" or specifically as "excreta" and in extreme instances bitter grounds of leaves are put on the breast and the lesson is very quickly learned.

861 863 858 [516] [826] After weaning, pressures are slowly brought to bear to teach the child proper ways of living among its people. Thus, as soon as a child can totter, the adult woman in whose hut he is sleeping starts to enforce the rule that he or she should go outside to perform toilet functions, stoop over with knees bent and buttocks near the ground using only the left hand for any attentions necessary to elimination. Later on as language skills develop the importance of the left hand is more highly emphasized as well as the advisability of being discreet about toilet functions. After the age of two and a half or three, scolding gets more intense and the child is told it is dirty or bad for urinating on the floor. Naturally the severity of the training depends to a large extent as well on the particular situation, the mood and personality of the mother, or other socializing agents present, as well as the age of the child. Thus a grandmother was observed who was not overly excited when her two-year-old grandson urinated on the floor, but she became quite angry when he wet her bed.

861 Patient but continuous teaching by adults in the household is a constant part of everyday activities for the young child. The following excerpt from field notes tells its own story:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little grandson, "Kachella, pick up the plate. Now, take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now, take that other plate and cover the food over. (Plates are made of grass.) That's right, very good." This simple operation which would have taken the grandmother a few seconds has been carried out after two patient minutes of instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

867 868 Childhood also ushers in the establishment of sex roles. Boys are now called "small boys" and girls are "small girls" or "three heads" referring to the three-pronged hair style of prepubescent girls. Boys and girls wear different clothing and begin fairly soon to associate with members of their own sex and to carry out chores that are specifically for boys or for girls. In play groups based on sex they wander freely about the village or neighborhood of the city gathering like flies to honey at the slightest hint of any excitement, and wandering further afield from their own compound as they get older. The girl comes quickly under the authority of the women of the household especially her own mother if she is brought up at home. She learns the intricacies of preparing food, carrying water, and the ever-present task of grinding millet either at a quern or by pounding it on a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, run messages, gather grass for a horse if there is one, tend the goats and sheep of the compound, and learn the family dry-season occupation. Pressure to learn these skills is slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but severe. The child is beaten with a rod or whip until neighbors and friends succeed in persuading the parents to cease or desist. Reasons given for the beating often concern the sudden, or con-

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tinual dereliction of some duty although outright malfeasance such as stealing can also bring swift and awesome retribution. For example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest. When punishment occurs its severity is noted by all children within earshot, and thus the beating of one child of the village or ward serves notice on all that punishment is not just a matter of threats but may become a reality if limits are transgressed. 861 868

That such household learning soon becomes habitual can be seen any day in a Bornu village by watching children. Even a little girl of three and a half can accomplish tasks involving quite a lot of dexterity. One little girl of this age was passed a straw mat plate and separately given some paper clips. She neatly put the paper clips on the plate and began her own already advanced imitation of the quick, deft, jiggling movements associated with the sifting of ground-nut shells. None of her paper clips was dropped, and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some sifted ground nuts." 868 857

Sometimes play takes in both sexes and is more complex than simple imitation like the one above. Thus for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through ten may organize a "wedding." The "bride" and "groom" are chosen as are the various kindred, the best man, the leading woman, etc. Care is taken to practice as many of the details of the adult virgin wedding ceremony as they can manage including even a mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll. Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children. Adults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children. Such play is related to an even more complex form called *mai-mai,* which is no longer practiced in Bornu. In playing *mai-mai* the young children in a village put on a pageant. They chose a king, nobles, servants, slaves, wives, gave titles to everyone, and behaved for several days in the guise of these socio-political roles. Mock battles were fought, slaves taken and justice meted out in a mock court. Seniority was established by age and consent. The organization was temporary like the "wedding" and disbanded after a few days. During periods when adults are out of the compound, away at a market, or working in the fields during the growing season, children often play house. The group gets together and appoints "fathers," "wives," and "children." The little children may actually cook for their "husbands" on such occasions and the couples go into a hut in the compound where sexual play is carried on. They are, however, soon called back to the larger group where it has been declared "morning" by another child who has announced the "morning prayers" signifying that night has passed. Boys are aware that such play should stop when they can ejaculate. From then on they are men; sex is a serious affair and unmarried girls are illegitimate objects of sexual intercourse. However such prepubescent sex derived from playing "house" is widespread, or to paraphrase one young informant, "Everyone does such things when they are young." 867 857 [864] [858]

Boys especially, but girls as well, may also begin some religious instruction during their childhood. Although girls never leave home for this purpose, boys sometimes do after the age of six or seven. In some cases the teacher lives nearby 869 871 562

597 571 uity into his own generation of one link or agent of his parents' relational network in the society.

861 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training begins to be applied to the child.

863 Toilet training is geared to the acquisition of walking skills. As soon as the child is able to toddle on its feet the adult woman in whose hut it lives starts enforcing the rule that the child should go outside of the hut, stoop on the ground and use only the left hand for any function having to do with toilet activities. Failure to learn these skills is met with more insistent pressure as time goes on. A young child only recently weaned who cannot accomplish facile toilet functions may not even be scolded. However, with increased age and language skill, admonitions soon begin and are given with increasing frequency; the child is told that it is dirty, bad, and that it must not do such things as urinate on the hut floor. The severity depends upon the particular situation, the age of the child, and the mood and personality of the mother, grandmother, or other socializing agent who may be quite calm on some occasions and rather angry on others. The following excerpt from notes taken by the writer's wife describe a socialization situation:

> If Kachella gana (aged two) visiting my house makes a puddle on the cement floor, his grandmother will ask for a tin of water to pour on the floor and to wash the child, and this will be done either with no comment at all or, "Oh Kachella, look what you have done." On such occasions Kachella does not show much discomfort. But if the child is sleeping on his grandmother's bed and wakes up wet, he may hear, "Get up! get up! You dirty little boy" and so on for four or five minutes. During such an outburst Kachella is liable to be sitting on the floor howling piteously, which gives rise to increased consequences. Another child is told to bring a soft corn stock, which granny waves menacingly as she cautions Kachella to "Stop! Stop! Stop!" and having achieved the desired effect, puts down the corn stock beside her as a warning. We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

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> the warnings are frequent. The "boogy-man" threat is more often used as a warning. For example, last month a group of travelling entertainers brought a very large, ugly hyena to town ... apparently Kachella gana was shown the thing from a distance, and ever since the hyena has been used as a deterrent to investigating the contents of medicine bottles, or venturing beyond the compound door. It works, although Kachella is inclined to laugh somewhat incredulously. (1)

Continuing with the same excerpt, it will be noticed that positive as well as negative learning is begun early and definite, patient teaching by socializing adults is a normal part of every day's activities for the young child:

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603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her & that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's
[862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yeiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602]
[553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of
[551] opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm, 853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

Childhood

862 [858] [714] With the onset of childhood, which is formalized at eighteen months by weaning, the overt pressures of socialization begin for the young child. No systematic data were gathered on the effects of this formal change-over from breast-feeding. Everyone knew of a wide range of variation in reaction on the part of the infants; some babies wean easily, others require much more training. In the latter case, the more stringent techniques are utilized, but still with a matter of fact, unperturbed attitude towards the inevitability of the weaning procedure.

In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

597 It is just after weaning that most Kanuri adoptions take place. A very rough estimate of adoptions, taken from genealogical data, would put the figure at somewhere between 35-45% for the present

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

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Indeed the breast is generally used as a pacifier.

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voices about its kindred, "So-and-so is your father, so-and-so is your brother, so-
and-so is your sister," and so on through a vast complex of kinship links on both
the mother's and the father's side of the family. The infant is also told in the same
way about its neighborhood, its section of the town, or its village, its political lead-
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862 "This is just a common, everyday matter," and should not be thought of as giving anyone any trouble. When difficulties do arise an older woman of the compound or the family offers her breast as a pacifier. In the odd case where this does not succeed pressures tighten up. The breast is referred to as "dirty" or specifically as "excreta" and in extreme instances bitter grounds of leaves are put on the breast and the lesson is very quickly learned.

861 863 858 [516] [826] After weaning, pressures are slowly brought to bear to teach the child proper ways of living among its people. Thus, as soon as a child can totter, the adult woman in whose hut he is sleeping starts to enforce the rule that he or she should go outside to perform toilet functions, stoop over with knees bent and buttocks near the ground using only the left hand for any attentions necessary to elimination. Later on as language skills develop the importance of the left hand is more highly emphasized as well as the advisability of being discreet about toilet functions. After the age of two and a half or three, scolding gets more intense and the child is told it is dirty or bad for urinating on the floor. Naturally the severity of the training depends to a large extent as well on the particular situation, the mood and personality of the mother, or other socializing agents present, as well as the age of the child. Thus a grandmother was observed who was not overly excited when her two-year-old grandson urinated on the floor, but she became quite angry when he wet her bed.

861 Patient but continuous teaching by adults in the household is a constant part of everyday activities for the young child. The following excerpt from field notes tells its own story:

> A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little grandson, "Kachella, pick up the plate. Now, take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now, take that other plate and cover the food over. (Plates are made of grass.) That's right, very good." This simple operation which would have taken the grandmother a few seconds has been carried out after two patient minutes of instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

867 868 Childhood also ushers in the establishment of sex roles. Boys are now called "small boys" and girls are "small girls" or "three heads" referring to the three-pronged hair style of prepubescent girls. Boys and girls wear different clothes and begin fairly soon to associate with members of their own sex and to carry out chores that are specifically for boys or for girls. In play groups based on sex they wander freely about the village or neighborhood of the city gathering like flies to honey at the slightest hint of any excitement, and wandering further afield from their own compound as they get older. The girl comes quickly under the authority of the women of the household especially her own mother if she is brought up at home. She learns the intricacies of preparing food, carrying water, and the ever-present task of grinding millet either at a quern or by pounding it on a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, run messages, gather grass for a horse if there is one, tend the goats and sheep of the compound, and learn the family dry-season occupation. Pressure to learn these skills is slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but severe. The child is beaten with a rod or whip until neighbors and friends succeed in persuading the parents to cease or desist. Reasons given for the beating often concern the sudden, or con-

861 868

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571 uity into his own generation of one link or agent of his parents' relational network in the society.

861 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training begins to be applied to the child.

863 Toilet training is geared to the acquisition of walking skills. As soon as the child is able to toddle on its feet the adult woman in whose hut it lives starts enforcing the rule that the child should go outside of the hut, stoop on the ground and use only the left hand for any function having to do with toilet activities. Failure to learn these skills is met with more insistent pressure as time goes on. A young child only recently weaned who cannot accomplish facile toilet functions may not even be scolded. However, with increased age and language skill, admonitions soon begin and are given with increasing frequency; the child is told that it is dirty, bad, and that it must not do such things as urinate on the hut floor. The severity depends upon the particular situation, the age of the child, and the mood and personality of the mother, grandmother, or other socializing agent who may be quite calm on some occasions and rather angry on others. The following excerpt from notes taken by the writer's wife describe a socialization situation:

> If Kachella gana (aged two) visiting my house makes a puddle on the cement floor, his grandmother will ask for a tin of water to pour on the floor and to wash the child, and this will be done either with no comment at all or, "Oh Kachella, look what you have done." On such occasions Kachella does not show much discomfort. But if the child is sleeping on his grandmother's bed and wakes up wet, he may hear, "Get up! get up! You dirty little boy" and so on for four or five minutes. During such an outburst Kachella is liable to be sitting on the floor howling piteously, which gives rise to increased consequences. Another child is told to bring a soft corn stock, which granny waves menacingly as she cautions Kachella to "Stop! Stop! Stop!" and having achieved the desired effect, puts down the corn stock beside her as a warning. We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

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tinual dereliction of some duty although outright malfeasance such as stealing can also bring swift and awesome retribution. For example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest. When punishment occurs its severity is noted by all children within earshot, and thus the beating of one child of the village or ward serves notice on all that punishment is not just a matter of threats but may become a reality if limits are transgressed. 861 868

That such household learning soon becomes habitual can be seen any day in a Bornu village by watching children. Even a little girl of three and a half can accomplish tasks involving quite a lot of dexterity. One little girl of this age was passed a straw mat plate and separately given some paper clips. She neatly put the paper clips on the plate and began her own already advanced imitation of the quick, deft, jiggling movements associated with the sifting of ground-nut shells. None of her paper clips was dropped, and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some sifted ground nuts." 868 857

Sometimes play takes in both sexes and is more complex than simple imitation like the one above. Thus for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through ten may organize a "wedding." The "bride" and "groom" are chosen as are the various kindred, the best man, the leading woman, etc. Care is taken to practice as many of the details of the adult virgin wedding ceremony as they can manage including even a mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll. Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children. Adults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children. Such play is related to an even more complex form called *mai-mai,* which is no longer practiced in Bornu. In playing *mai-mai* the young children in a village put on a pageant. They chose a king, nobles, servants, slaves, wives, gave titles to everyone, and behaved for several days in the guise of these socio-political roles. Mock battles were fought, slaves taken and justice meted out in a mock court. Seniority was established by age and consent. The organization was temporary like the "wedding" and disbanded after a few days. During periods when adults are out of the compound, away at a market, or working in the fields during the growing season, children often play house. The group gets together and appoints "fathers," "wives," and "children." The little children may actually cook for their "husbands" on such occasions and the couples go into a hut in the compound where sexual play is carried on. They are, however, soon called back to the larger group where it has been declared "morning" by another child who has announced the "morning prayers" signifying that night has passed. Boys are aware that such play should stop when they can ejaculate. From then on they are men; sex is a serious affair and unmarried girls are illegitimate objects of sexual intercourse. However such prepubescent sex derived from playing "house" is widespread, or to paraphrase one young informant, "Everyone does such things when they are young." 867 857 [864] [858]

Boys especially, but girls as well, may also begin some religious instruction during their childhood. Although girls never leave home for this purpose, boys sometimes do after the age of six or seven. In some cases the teacher lives nearby 869 871 562

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868 857 Learning of adult skills is often accomplished through imitative play. A little girl of three and a half was passed a straw plate and, separately, some paper clips. She immediately put the paper clips on the plate as her mother would do in the preparation of food, and began her own approximation of the quick, deft, jiggling movement of sifting the shells of groundnuts. None of the paper-clips was dropped from the plate and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some groundnuts."

857 867 Sometimes imitative play is more organized. A large group of children between the age of six to ten may organize a "wedding". One of the young boys is the groom and a bride is chosen, as are in-laws, best man, lead woman, etc. [864] Every detail of the adult virgin marriage ceremony is carried out, even to a mock impregnation, in this case a small doll. The wedding foods, in miniature, are passed around to the proper people, who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness. Adults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people.

794 793 Childhood is also the time of basic religious instruction which is more highly stressed for boys. Young boys may be given away any time after the age of six or seven to a Koranic mallam for a year or two, to live and travel with him, work for him, and live in abject poverty, in order to learn Arabic prayers, and some Arabic script. Their relationship to him while under his tutelage is expressed in the Kanuri saying "mallamum abanum kozina" (your mallam exceeds your father). In other words, an individual's Koranic teacher exceeds his father in fatherly qualities, which means he must be given respect, obeyed and sub-

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593 wives and thus lead to frequent divorce. In such circumstances a close intimate relationship between husband and wife is a victory of personality over social and cultural conditions in the society.

Other Family Relations and the Behavior Norms

593 602 571 829 867 To the Kanuri themselves, family relations—those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchild, between one in-law and another and so on—are part of a larger framework of behavior governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups in the society. The Kanuri believe that these relations originate in the family where the person first learns them and are then extended outwards to include all of the important social relations of adult life. From the anthropologist's point of view it is impossible to say which comes first. Do the family relations create or cause those social relations which best suit them, or does the society outside the family create the kind of family relations required by the society at large? Whatever the answer, the Kanuri are quite clear on this point. They believe that the rules governing social relations in the family and household are the essential guides to the successful operation of the larger scaled organizations in the economic and political life of their society. Thus many social relations in Bornu have a kin-like quality or are spoken of using the idiom of kinship, even though the persons involved clearly recognize that they have no kinship with one another through genealogical, descent group, or affinal relations.

593 571 577 The most important of these relations is the *bərzum* or discipline-respect relationship closely modelled on, and usually spoken of in terms of, the father-son relationship. In this relationship a father gives his son protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the community, an occupation, helps him to arrange a marriage, and represents him in the adjudication of disputes. In his turn the son must be completely loyal, obedient and subserviant to his father, and work for him [861] in whatever way the father feels is necessary. This respect is so demanding a mode of behavior in families that young children are sometimes sent away to a relative's household, usually to a grandparent, and return as one infomant put it, "when they [602] understand respect." When the father dies, an older brother or a paternal uncle may take the place of the father as head of the household. He then receives the same respect from the dead man's children. This is so because they are older men with authority in the household. Thus all senior relatives, older siblings, and paternal uncles receive respect, and although it may not have the intense quality of the father-son relationship to begin with, everybody knows they may have to treat such a [867] person as if he were a father under certain circumstances. Besides this, a young [561] child is taught that in general older people are to be respected, no matter what their sex or degree of relationship to oneself. Other persons in society are indicated as being "like your father" or "greater than your father" in the amount of discipline and respect that they require. Religious specialists, political leaders, and any compound head with whom a person is staying are all in this category. In other words, the father-son behavior norm is the model used by the people themselves to describe the nature of all authority relations in the society.

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571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. In- [582] deed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex.

571 576 578 602 182 Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

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Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

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That such household learning soon becomes habitual can be seen any day in a Bornu village by watching children. Even a little girl of three and a half can accomplish tasks involving quite a lot of dexterity. One little girl of this age was passed a straw mat plate and separately given some paper clips. She neatly put the paper clips on the plate and began her own already advanced imitation of the quick, deft, jiggling movements associated with the sifting of ground-nut shells. None of her paper clips was dropped, and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some sifted ground nuts." 868 857

Sometimes play takes in both sexes and is more complex than simple imitation like the one above. Thus for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through ten may organize a "wedding." The "bride" and "groom" are chosen as are the various kindred, the best man, the leading woman, etc. Care is taken to practice as many of the details of the adult virgin wedding ceremony as they can manage including even a mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll. Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children. Adults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children. Such play is related to an even more complex form called *mai-mai,* which is no longer practiced in Bornu. In playing *mai-mai* the young children in a village put on a pageant. They chose a king, nobles, servants, slaves, wives, gave titles to everyone, and behaved for several days in the guise of these socio-political roles. Mock battles were fought, slaves taken and justice meted out in a mock court. Seniority was established by age and consent. The organization was temporary like the "wedding" and disbanded after a few days. During periods when adults are out of the compound, away at a market, or working in the fields during the growing season, children often play house. The group gets together and appoints "fathers," "wives," and "children." The little children may actually cook for their "husbands" on such occasions and the couples go into a hut in the compound where sexual play is carried on. They are, however, soon called back to the larger group where it has been declared "morning" by another child who has announced the "morning prayers" signifying that night has passed. Boys are aware that such play should stop when they can ejaculate. From then on they are men; sex is a serious affair and unmarried girls are illegitimate objects of sexual intercourse. However such prepubescent sex derived from playing "house" is widespread, or to paraphrase one young informant, "Everyone does such things when they are young." 867 • 857 [864] [858]

Boys especially, but girls as well, may also begin some religious instruction during their childhood. Although girls never leave home for this purpose, boys sometimes do after the age of six or seven. In some cases the teacher lives nearby 869 87 562

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

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to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885
192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

553 602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bèrzum) because there is no bèrzum, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of some respect (bèrzum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocality of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the ysiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

603 [591] [593] [867] [602]

It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

553 Generally speaking, Kanuri names are passed on through alternative generations. Ideally a man and his wife take turns obtaining names from each of their descent groups. Some men insist that boys be given names from the patrilateral group, while allowing girls to be named after the mother's relatives. As we have seen, a parent may name his child after some high status person thus establishing what is hoped will be a fruitful namesake relationship. 551 There is a non-reciprocal name avoidance between ego and his parents, parents-in-law, and high status persons in general. In order to avoid using a name the parents give the child, a nickname which usually indicates his relationship to the person whose name he bears. [553] Thus many young boys are called Aba gana (small father) or just Aba (father) which indicates that they have been called after the father of one of their parents.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months (lunar) the child is referred to exclusively as a tiful (infant, baby) regardless of its sex. This period marks the beginning of the individual's incorporation into society. Its criterion is breast feeding. In social rather than individual terms the period is one of introduction. The infant is introduced to its family, to the friends of the family and 858 to its community. Sibling rivalry is recognized and dealt with 867 gently but firmly. The Kanuri believe that a sibling, especially one who shares one or both of his parents with the new arrival, may exhibit antagonism towards the baby. Very often the older sibling is sent off to a nearby compound, usually to a grandparent, for the period of the birth. It returns to receive gifts from the parents

858 on the day of the naming ceremony. This is believed to apply only
867 to young children under the age of five or six; older ones are sufficiently socialized so that rivalry presents no overt problem. At one naming ceremony a small girl of two and a half was observed being brought back from her namesake grandparent's compound where she had been living for the last week. She was admonished upon presentation to the new infant, "This is your new baby —— be gentle with him and look after him." Both the little girl and her full brother aged nine or ten had been given small gifts that day, she, two little glass bangles, and he, a new shirt. Later, after the naming ceremony was over, many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with and showing affection to the two elder siblings and pointing out to them what a fine thing it was that they had a new little brother.

854 The new infant spends most of the nursing period with its mother although short sorties with elder female siblings occur now and then. The father although he sees the child often interacts very little with it. The infant learns very soon to sit quietly on the back of its mother while it is swaddled comfortably to be carried about. Toilet practices are simple at this time. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother. However, as soon as it can sit up, it is placed facing the mother, astride her ankles and with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the child has a simple and comforting toilet ready-made for it by the mother. When the baby is finished, the mother washes its genital regions and/or anus with her left hand and covers up the hole. Babies wear only a small

868 are transgressed.

868 857 Learning of adult skills is often accomplished through imitative play. A little girl of three and a half was passed a straw plate and, separately, some paper clips. She immediately put the paper clips on the plate as her mother would do in the preparation of food, and began her own approximation of the quick, deft, jiggling movement of sifting the shells of groundnuts. None of the paper-clips was dropped from the plate and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some groundnuts."

857 867 Sometimes imitative play is more organised. A large group of children between the age of six to ten may organise a "wedding". One of the young boys is the groom and a bride is chosen, as are in-[864] laws, best man, lead woman, etc. Every detail of the adult virgin marriage ceremony is carried out, even to a mock impregnation, in this case a small doll. The wedding foods, in miniature, are passed around to the proper people, who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness. Adults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people.

794 793 Childhood is also the time of basic religious instruction which is more highly stressed for boys. Young boys may be given away any time after the age of six or seven to a Koranic mallam for a year or two, to live and travel with him, work for him, and live in abject poverty, in order to learn Arabic prayers, and some Arabic script. Their relationship to him while under his tutelage is expressed in the Kanuri saying "mallamum abanum kozina" (your mallam exceeds your father). In other words, an individual's Koranic teacher exceeds his father in fatherly qualities, which means he must be given respect, obeyed and sub-

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

• 867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bèrzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

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Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of interest one is struck by the similarities and the differences in their lives as compared to similar groups in western society. Like young men everywhere they discussed the merits of various occupations, the economic returns, the power and prestige to be gained from one or the other type of job, and so on. Unlike their counterparts in western society, they also spend a great deal of time discussing the qualities of "the big men" in Bornu and the benefits received by loyal followers of these men. They are keenly aware, or try to be, of whose fortunes are rising and falling among the big men and listen with great interest to some new tidbit of information to this effect. Like their counterparts elsewhere teenagers learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble, and drink alcoholic beverages during this period. School boys also learn western table manners and take periodic meals in the places that serve western style food.

One of the most important features of a Kanuri boy's adolescence is his choice of training for an occupation. All young boys learn the fundamentals of farming in the households of their youth since almost all compound heads in Bornu, except some in the city, have farms. In some rural villages boys will learn nothing else but farming and probably remain farmers all their lives. On the other hand the majority of Kanuri boys learn another occupation which they will practice during the dry season or the non-farming season. For most boys the choice is determined ahead of time by the elders of the household, or by the economic specializations in their own vicinity. For example, one boy whose father is a salt retailer and who lives with his father in the ward of the dyers has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households. In general boys are expected to take up the occupation of their fathers unless they or their parents have strong desires and an opportunity to do something else. There is much evidence to show that in making the decision the wishes of the young boys were taken into account. Thus one young man remarked that he would never comply with his father's desire that he become a butcher. Instead he started to work with his father's younger brother in the nearby compound and is learning to be a trader in hides and skins. Today a large range of new occupations is opening up; modernization has served to accelerate this degree of freedom simply because there are many more occupations and a wider range of potential income.

Kanuri occupations other than farming usually involve some apprenticeship, especially for young boys. Such training varies with the kind of job being learned, with the age of the boy, and with the nature of the relationship between the boy and the man teaching him the occupation. If an occupation has a higher status or there is an expectation of high income or prestige associated with it, the person doing an apprenticeship must expect a longer training period in return for having been admitted into an advantageous position. Thus truck drivers who make a comparatively high income demand a fee besides three to five years of service from the person taken on as an apprentice. Butchers occupy a low-status position in the society, but they can also earn fairly good incomes and therefore they, too, claim longer than usual apprenticeship. As the boy becomes older, it is expected that his training period will become shorter, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun, the longer the education. This simply reflects Kanuri recognition of the more rapid learning that comes with age.

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate

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The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

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883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885
192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

858 or kila yasku (three heads), the latter referring to the distinctive
302 three pronged hair style of pre-pubertal females. The young girls are
soon more fancifully dressed and their eyelids blacked with antimony.

855 Until the age of three or four, children are kept for the
857 most part within the compound, going out only with older members. After four or five, the child begins to explore beyond the compound and meets children of his own sex in the immediate vicinity. These form peer groups who play together and gather together quickly to witness any excitement of the town. They stay away from groups of male elders who may sit conversing under a tree, but otherwise roam the town and later even the surrounding bush area freely as long as their growing amount of household tasks are complete.

868 The girls start to learn the intricacies of preparing food,
[412] carrying water, and the ever present task of grinding millet either on a quern or more commonly in a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, and the family dry season activity, as well as being on hand for running messages. Pressure in the acquisition of these skills is steady and slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but to a Western eye extremely severe. The reason is most often the continual or perhaps sudden relinquishing of a skill which by such time should have already been acquired. A young boy of ten was beaten for omitting to gather grass for his father's horse; this is a skill which boys of seven to nine should have already learned. The severity of the punishment is noted by all children within earshot. Thus the beating of one child in a village or a ward not only punishes his neglect of learned skills but advertises to all, within hearing distance of the child's screams, that punishment is not just a matter of threats but is an awesome, painful reality if limits are transgressed.

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868 857 Learning of adult skills is often accomplished through imitative play. A little girl of three and a half was passed a straw plate and, separately, some paper clips. She immediately put the paper clips on the plate as her mother would do in the preparation of food, and began her own approximation of the quick, deft, jiggling movement of sifting the shells of groundnuts. None of the paper-clips was dropped from the plate and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some groundnuts."

857 867 Sometimes imitative play is more organised. A large group of children between the age of six to ten may organise a "wedding". One of the young boys is the groom and a bride is chosen, as are in-[864] laws, best man, lead woman, etc. Every detail of the adult virgin marriage ceremony is carried out, even to a mock impregnation, in this case a small doll. The wedding foods, in miniature, are passed around to the proper people, who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness. Adults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people.

794 793 Childhood is also the time of basic religious instruction which is more highly stressed for boys. Young boys may be given away any time after the age of six or seven to a Koranic mallam for a year or two, to live and travel with him, work for him, and live in abject poverty, in order to learn Arabic prayers, and some Arabic script. Their relationship to him while under his tutelage is expressed in the Kanuri saying "mallammum abanum kozina" (your mallam exceeds your father). In other words, an individual's Koranic teacher exceeds his father in fatherly qualities, which means he must be given respect, obeyed and sub-

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tinual dereliction of some duty although outright malfeasance such as stealing can also bring swift and awesome retribution. For example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest. When punishment occurs its severity is noted by all children within earshot, and thus the beating of one child of the village or ward serves notice on all that punishment is not just a matter of threats but may become a reality if limits are transgressed. 861 868

That such household learning soon becomes habitual can be seen any day in a Bornu village by watching children. Even a little girl of three and a half can accomplish tasks involving quite a lot of dexterity. One little girl of this age was passed a straw mat plate and separately given some paper clips. She neatly put the paper clips on the plate and began her own already advanced imitation of the quick, deft, jiggling movements associated with the sifting of ground-nut shells. None of her paper clips was dropped, and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some sifted ground nuts." 868 857

Sometimes play takes in both sexes and is more complex than simple imitation like the one above. Thus for several days a large group of young children from the age of five through ten may organize a "wedding." The "bride" and "groom" are chosen as are the various kindred, the best man, the leading woman, etc. Care is taken to practice as many of the details of the adult virgin wedding ceremony as they can manage including even a mock impregnation, in this case with a small doll. Wedding foods in miniature are passed around to the adults who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness although they may comment on or question some detail of the ceremony carried out mistakenly or omitted by the children. Adults expressed satisfaction with this type of play and remarked on its instructive value for the children. Such play is related to an even more complex form called *mai-mai*, which is no longer practiced in Bornu. In playing *mai-mai* the young children in a village put on a pageant. They chose a king, nobles, servants, slaves, wives, gave titles to everyone, and behaved for several days in the guise of these socio-political roles. Mock battles were fought, slaves taken and justice meted out in a mock court. Seniority was established by age and consent. The organization was temporary like the "wedding" and disbanded after a few days. During periods when adults are out of the compound, away at a market, or working in the fields during the growing season, children often play house. The group gets together and appoints "fathers," "wives," and "children." The little children may actually cook for their "husbands" on such occasions and the couples go into a hut in the compound where sexual play is carried on. They are, however, soon called back to the larger group where it has been declared "morning" by another child who has announced the "morning prayers" signifying that night has passed. Boys are aware that such play should stop when they can ejaculate. From then on they are men; sex is a serious affair and unmarried girls are illegitimate objects of sexual intercourse. However such prepubescent sex derived from playing "house" is widespread, or to paraphrase one young informant, "Everyone does such things when they are young." 867 857 [864] [858]

Boys especially, but girls as well, may also begin some religious instruction during their childhood. Although girls never leave home for this purpose, boys sometimes do after the age of six or seven. In some cases the teacher lives nearby 869 87 562

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871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
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[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

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price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride- 583
wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *lawali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *lawali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note [593]
that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *lawali.*

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they di- 582
vide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary [587]
marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls 585
is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a mar- [554]
riage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the 887
marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to [602]
the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are im- 585
portant to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards 832
deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I [152]
have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when 585
some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this 177
semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be 871
dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the [582]
time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain 585
such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl 577
has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he 829
likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

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tinual dereliction of some duty although outright malfeasance such as stealing can also bring swift and awesome retribution. For example, a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest. When punishment occurs its severity is noted by all children within earshot, and thus the beating of one child of the village or ward serves notice on all that punishment is not just a matter of threats but may become a reality if limits are transgressed. 861 868

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882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
871 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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241 cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in
221 cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

241 Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash
433 from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from
434 village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to
592 furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

241 The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives
464 available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the
592 household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate
593 makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On
[433] the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers,
[476] all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in
241 Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one
571 place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

241 To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the
57 land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri con-
183 ception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found
[557] in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social rela-
[177] tionships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally
[871] profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give
[123] them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents 829 resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition, political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural assistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They function as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Village Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers. Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri community.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

671 779 692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

871 779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
876 779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [577] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

• 871 779 177 554 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

[GEIDAM]

634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
177
554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[863] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
565 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
871 Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

634 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a
871 school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to
555 speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman
177 to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged
565 derives from the aristocracy or from minor political official-
554 dom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background; all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group, therefore, they belong within the political structure, though their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power
[178] and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri society.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from
76 [184] community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifestations of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual
128 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas:
79 [185] religious specialists and their place in the social system of Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the community level.

177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Gei-
[555] dam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
• 871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

[GEIDAM]

177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
632 training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geidam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
554
565

[BEIDAM]

*177 212 *463 *554 *565 But in every one of the eight groups there is at least one individual who can write a little in Arabic script. Most of the Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Low-status Individuals can neither write in Arabic script nor in English script. However, several of the Talaka can write a little at least in Arabic script.

*177 *871 212 565 634 The two types of script divide the two educational systems which operate side by side among the Kanuri. English script is taught in the schools; Arabic script is taught by the Malams. Those who have had some extended contact with the Western schools (the NA Malams and the Aristocracy) can write in English script. Those who have studied with a Malam can write in Arabic script. Individuals who fall in this latter category are found in all of the eight groups, and several are among the Talaka. It is noteworthy that the NA Malams, who all write in English script, can also write in Arabic script.

*177 405 *565 *634 Table XVIII presents data on the possession of Western material goods. The first column compares those who own, or have owned a wrist watch. All six NA Malams and 4 of the Aristocrats owned a wrist watch at the time that they were asked. Though a number of individuals in the lower class groups, particularly in the Talaka group, have at one time owned a wrist watch, none owns one at present. This of course reflects the wealth differences among the groups. An individual Talaka may own a wrist watch for a short time, until he finds that he needs cash and sells it to some one else. Members of the NA Malam group and the Aristocracy are sufficiently wealthy to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 258]

[BEIDAM]

735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

[BEIDAN]

Table XXX

*177 *871 *829 562 *565 *463 *554

21, 28. **Education:** Would send your son to school?
Would you send your daughter to school?

	Son: Yes	Son: No	Daughter: Yes	Daughter: No
Aristocracy	5	-	5	-
Koranic Malams	-	3*a	-	3
Canteen Operators	5	1*b	4	2
NA Malams	6	-	5	1
Kabuna	6*c	-	5	1*g
Craftsmen	4	2	4	2
Talaka	5*d	3	3*h	5
Low-status Individuals	1	3*e	2	2
Totals:	32	12*f	28*i	16*j

Son:

*a Koranic Malam: "No. I want my son to become Liman after me."

*b Canteen Operator: "No. I will do according to our custom. I will do what my father and father's father did."

*c Kabuna: "I would send my son to school. I wish that I had been sent to school, but my father forbid it."

*d Talaka: "Yes. It's useful. But a girl won't stay in her husband's house if she goes to school."

*e One low-status individual has a son in school, but if the Lowan had said nothing he would not have sent him to school himself.

*f 8 of the 12 who answered "no" specifically stated that they would not send their son to school unless forced to do so by their Lowan.

[GEIDAM]

Table XXX (continued)

Daughter:

*177 *g One kabuna sent his daughter to school, but only because the Ajia told him to send her. He would not otherwise have sent her to school.

*871 *829 562 *565 *463 *554 *h Talaka: "I would send her. If you have no money you can't do anything for your daughter. If she goes to school, she later will earn a salary and will give you food when you're old."

*i Four respondents said: "School is more useful," or "School opens the mind."

*j 8 of the 15 who answered "no" specifically stated that they would not send their daughter to school unless forced to do so by the Lowan.

*177 daughter to the Western school. Most (73 per cent) would send
*871 their sons to school, and the reasons for doing so (*c, *d)
*829 stress the usefulness of Western schooling and the benefits to
562 be gained. 27 per cent said that they would not send their sons to school, a number adding "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *f). Four groups would overwhelmingly send their sons
*[565] to school. These are: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, NA
[441] Malams, Kabuna. The remaining four are divided, although none
*[634] of the Koranic Malams and only one Low-status Individual would
[792] send a son to the Western school.
*[554]

Fewer would send a daughter to school, though once again
*[565] a majority (64 per cent) state that they would. The Aristoc-
*[634] racy, NA Malams and Kabuna would overwhelmingly send a daughter to school (though one individual in each of the latter groups has shifted from a "yes" for a son to a "no" for a daughter).
[792] The Koranic Malams remain adamant and would no sooner send a daughter than they would a son. Whereas a majority of Talaka would send a son to school, most would not send a daughter to school. The reasons given for sending a daughter to school appear in *h and *i. Of the 15 who answered "no", 8 added "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *j). One Talaka noted (*d) that school was useful for a boy, but not for a girl because marriage difficulties arise for educated women. This issue will be discussed more fully in Table XXXVI which concerns marriage with an educated woman.

*177 In following up the choice involved in educating one's son,
871
*829

[GEIDAM]

*177 *829 *871 Members of the sample were asked: would you send your son to a Koranic Malam or to the European school (Table XXXI)? Twenty-two (50 per cent) chose the European school; 14 (32 per cent) chose the Koranic Malam; 8 (18 per cent) chose some combination of the two. Among the reasons advanced for sending one's son to school are the following: he can learn to pray, learn Arabic, and read the Koran in school (*a- half of those who chose school specifically added this, indicating that they considered these things to be important but that they thought they could also be accomplished in the European school); students have to work in the school - *c (a questionable assumption); school opens the mind, one learns the ways of the world there; it is a way to earn money, many trades become possible through schooling (*d); if he goes to school, "Everything will come to him" (*e). The last response may be compared with that of a craftsman (*f) explaining why he would rather send his son to a Koranic Malam: "He would learn to pray, and learn to count prayer beads, and will get whatever he wants." Six people offered a compromise, stating that they would first send their son to a Koranic Malam, and after he had learned to pray they would then send him to the European school. One Aristocrat (*b) chose a different compromise solution, and a Low-status drummer offered a very individualistic answer (*h).

*[565] *[634] In answering this question, three groups (Aristocracy, NA Malams, and Kabuna) remained consistent with their answers to the two previous questions. They would all send their son to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 303]

[BEIDAM]

Table XXXI

29. Education: would you send your son to a Koranic Malam or to the European school?

	European school	first to Malam then to school	Koranic Malam	Neither (or both)
Aristocracy	4*a	-	-	1*b
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	1*c	3	2	-
NA Malams	5*d	1	-	-
Kabuna	5*e	1	-	-
Craftsmen	3	-	3*f	-
Talaka	3	1	4*g	-
Low-status Individuals	1	-	2	1*h
Totals:	22	6	14	2

*a Aristocrat: "When I was young I was sent to a Malam, and then sent to school. I would send my son straight to school. He would learn prayer and everything there."

11 of the 22 who would send their son to school specifically added that he could learn the Koran, Arabic, and prayer in school.

*b Aristocrat: "Both. I would send one son to school, and one to the Malam."

*c Canteen Operator: "The Koran is better, but they don't really read there (at the Malam's). In school they have to read, so I would send him to school."

*d NA Malams: "School. He would learn everything there, Koran and Arabic. It would open his mind."

"To school. He would learn Arabic in school; he would learn the ways of the world."

"School. If he studies the Koran, he won't have any money, and he'll become a thief."

"School. He'll grow up and have many possible trades when he leaves school."

[BEIDAM]

Table XXXI (continued)

*177 *e Kabuna: "School. This is the era for European knowledge."

*871 "School is better. When I grow old my children will earn a salary and support me if they go to school. A Malam of the Koran has nothing."

*829

*565 "School. European knowledge is more useful these days."

*554

*463 "School is very useful. Everything will come to him."

*f Craftsman: "Koranic Malam. He would learn to pray, and learn to count prayer beads, and will get whatever he wants."

*g Talaka: "Malam of the Koran. If a son reads the Koran, his father's sins will disappear."

*h Low-status Individual: "Neither. I want my son to be a drummer."

177 school, or work out a compromise; none would send a son solely
871 to the Malam. The Koranic Malams also remained consistent
829 with their previous answers. None would send a son to any one
[565] but a Koranic Malam. The Low-status group would tend to send
[634] their sons to the Koranic Malam, as they indicated in their an-
[554] swers to the previous question. The remaining three groups (Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka) are fairly evenly divided between the two choices. All three groups appear to have shifted somewhat from their answers in Table XXX, and lean more in the direction of the Koranic Malam than they indicated earlier. The Canteen Operators in particular appear to have shifted in the direction of a compromise solution, and three of the six individuals who answered in this way are to be found among the Canteen Operators.

829 Another revealing area is that of the various occupations
554 which individuals would like. Some are realistic aspirations,
441 while others, particularly in the case of older people, border on fantasy. Eight categories have been distinguished in Table XXXII. Of these, the category of Trader (column 2) is the most popular by far. This is listed separately from "trading in the market-place" (column 3) because in the latter case individuals specifically indicated that they saw themselves as petty traders who operated in the market-place. The two categories might, however, be considered as one, since both are involved in the same general sort of activity--trade. Considered together, 42 per cent of the sample selected trade as the desired occupa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3971]

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est of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilisation by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazirí as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazirí as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organisation, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Geidam, Magumeri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

175 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school
871 was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic.(1) Muslim religious knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while English did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pupils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bornu is far behind that of any other province in the region. Certainly most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elementary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged.
175 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many
871 outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-
167 keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century
361 capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local
[132] area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village.
175 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly
369 large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly ex-
433 panded population which flowed in when it became the center of the
178 Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may 571 be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif- 881 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young 582 girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 [369] Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatized occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognized, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a zower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 582 871 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri culture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

885 582 871 of any institutional prolongation of a girl's unmarried status beyond puberty is regarded by the people as leading to the ruin of her normal development as it is conceived in the culture. (This opposition is also exacerbated by the fear of a loss of power of dispensation over the girl by her guardian when she attends school).

881 304 For young boys the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence is marked by circumcision. It is apparent from the variation in age, running anywhere from seven to twelve years for the circumcision of boys, that physiological maturation has very little to do with the timing of the ceremony for any particular boy. The boy's family, especially the head of the household (usually his father), decides the issue on the basis of family readiness to perform the ceremony. Often a large group of boys, sometimes as many as thirty or forty in large towns, are cut when a leading family performs a circumcision for one of its members.

The important thing for the Kanuri is not the readiness of any particular young boy for the ceremony in terms of either his behavioural or physiological development: The deciding factor is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationships with the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Have a lot of friends and relatives been asking repeatedly when little Aba is going to be circumcised? Have the household members, especially the head, attended a great many marriages, naming ceremonies, etc., of other community members and given gifts on these occasions? Is it now time to reap the benefit of all that participation by having a ceremony of one's own, to which many people will come and many gifts of goods and money will be obtained? These

000 555 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognised, especially in the
871 upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants,
571 medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English,
[212] own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

871 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the
563 school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, September 1955.

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime. (1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] [648] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [271] [369] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in the large urban centre. 565 463 602 At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

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If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

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Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated [554] him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A.(1)

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All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan
632 before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

[208] (1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Miaduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 829 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,
[692] a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but
[872] the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all educated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are, however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority
[693] of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly responsible to the Ajia.

648 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman, and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader, is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-
[178] trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway (chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating disputes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more permanent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's, NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia, and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the
692 Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[462] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[462] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

632 The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have posi-
593 tions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration.
[873] His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire dis-
trict keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the polit-
ical organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is
one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program
vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu
632 emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain
593 some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subor-
571 dinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate
621 relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside be-
182 cause there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the house-
66 holds of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the
son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist
on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other
hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other
way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will
begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their
own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down
the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the
political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

632 On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas
like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a cen-
tral figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land
negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes
among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri
feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors
if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in
[621] Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling
space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report
the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the
[692] contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the
632 action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which
182 the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu,
especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken
through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This
in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily
lives of the people.

632 As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes
651 from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assess-
626 ments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is com-
692 mon in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done,
the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is
known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at
least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

000 There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the Shehu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of recruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. However, the most often utilised method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

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643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition, political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural assistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They function as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Village Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers. Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri community.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

There is still another way to become part of a large house-
592 hold. This is the most informal of the various sets of rela-
369 tionships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish
592 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is ex-
369 tremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of
• 874 some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a
463 young man recently come to the city to find such a protector,
571 and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house.
592 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family,
609 tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The
571 relationship between tata njima and the komanzɔ fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

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These three compound heads all farm near one another on the split-up land of their Mo-Bro (they also have cleared other plots), often helping one another in farming duties. They present a united front to the community at large and if one appears in court, the others will also be present.

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The youngest half-brother also learned the butcher's craft, but he has married and moved away to another section of the butcher's quarter and today has virtually nothing to do with his three half-brothers. Some of this half-brother's statements indicate the background of disunity among siblings. He had been raised until puberty in the house of X who was married to his Mo-Sis in the capital. After puberty he came to the house of his Mo-Bro in Magumeri, who was now dead and whose place as compound head had been taken by the eldest of the half-brothers. This brother "taught him the knife" (i.e. instructed him in butchering) and he in his turn gave <u>bərzum</u> (respect) to the half-brother, who was now also his compound head. Here is a paraphrase translation of his own attitude to the relationship:

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> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother, who was head of the house — therefore I had to give to my brother the same respect as a father and keep myself under his orders. I wanted a wife (all my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my eldest brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation properly — he said — continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse, and learn the butcher's trade and I will feed you and give you money for spending and buy your clothes. But I was not happy and saved my money in secret and saved enough to take a wife of my own — they were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage but he still wished for me to stay in the compound — but I did not wish to do this and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my Mo-Sis in Maiduguri, owned here in the butcher's quarter.

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is occupational choice and training. For most boys the choice is determined by the elders of the household in which they are living or by the economic specialization in their own quarter of town or hamlet. One youth, whose father is a small salt retailer and a farmer, lives in a quarter where many of the household heads are dyers. He has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households in order to learn the trade. In general and especially for rural areas, sons in a household are expected to take up the occupation of the household head.

This should not be thought of, however, as a system in which the young boy merely complies with the wishes of his elders. There is much evidence to show that some degree of personal freedom is involved in occupational choice. For example, a butcher's son remarked that, despite his father's wishes, he would never be a butcher and was planning to learn his Fa-Bro occupation of hides and skins trader. This is especially true today if the young boy is sent to the city to stay with a relative while learning a craft. The plethora of new and different occupations in the city may attract the young man and lead him to make his own decisions about his occupation.

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There is an apprenticeship system for learning occupations which varies in length depending upon the age of the boy, the socio-economic status of the occupation, and the relationship between the boy and the craftsman. As boys become older they expect their apprenticeship times to be shortened, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun the longer the period of training. However, even in the case of a twenty-two year old, a two to three year period is not uncommon. Again, if the occupation has a higher status and/or pecuniary return,

874 882 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguinal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's" house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resemblance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

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[441] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years [452] of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

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882 it up because, as he said, it entailed the constant giving of credit
[441] to his customers and he never seemed to be able to collect all the
[452] money owing to him. His full brother in Maiduguri (who had been his wholesale supplier) advised him that barbering was a good occupation and that one of the local barbers in Magumeri needed a tada njima because his own son was as yet too young to help him. The boy went and asked the barber about it and then made his own arrangements for the apprenticeship (the barber knew the boy's kinsmen). He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became a tada njima. He could visit his own compound in which his mother lived by herself and keep up his own farm. He had to help the barber on his farm, get grass for his horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his aba njima (father of the house). The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working, sometimes with his senior, sometimes alone. By right, all receipts of his work during that year were supposed to be given to the barber. Naturally, he pocketed an occasional fee, but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and therefore the end of his projected career as a barber. The senior could, if he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber tools. The barber fed him, clothed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events, like naming ceremonies, he was given a small tip (one to two shillings) by the household head because of his role as barber's apprentice, which he kept for himself. In 1957, he moved back to his own compound with his mother. He still considers himself a tada njima of the bar-

874 882 ber because he still does chores for him, and claims to give the senior about fifteen per cent of his receipts. Furthermore, he does not yet know how to cut face-marks, remove uvula, or perform circumcisions, and thus attends all these ceremonies with his senior barber in order to continue his education. He hopes that by next year he may be allowed to perform some of these operations under supervision. When he has finished his education, it will not be necessary to do anything for the senior. However, he will always pay respect to his ex-teacher for many years to come.

Other apprentices, who were living with strangers, but had gone into the same occupation as their fathers, claimed that they were freer in this situation than if they were in training in their own households. They also stated that it "was nice" (kbji) to travel around and see other places in Bornu. The "freedom" was observed to refer to sexual experimentation, not discipline-respect with the compound head. As we have mentioned, it is considered shameful for children to discuss or acknowledge directly any marriage plans or sexual behaviour in the presence of parents. In some of these cases the mobility is explained by the fact that the boy's father was dead and his mother or grandparent has sent him off to a relative or a friend in order to learn the dead father's craft. In general, the boy completes his learning of agricultural skills, the planting, hoeing and harvesting of the various crops, as well as the clearing of new land in this period. Most often during his adolescence he acquires one or more plots of land of his own, either through inheritance, from the local political leader, by purchase or gift, or by going farther afield from his village and clearing new bushland. He also becomes acquainted with

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463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-
[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations
[439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and
592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-
874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his
[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as muhh respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in
241 the Kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 874 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. 241 On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; 464 476 (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using serwa	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	/74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

MS14 Kanuri MS14

followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view. 241 433 592 [829] [571]

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research. 000

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school. 159 242 177 555 [874].

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

869 and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology.
871 In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself.
562 During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices
[875] in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

592 Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are
593 other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter
[586] where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relation-
[586] ship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing
[595] and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

855 The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to
592 grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are
[577] political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or
592 to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early
855 years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kan-
571 uri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

105 Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri
867 who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
593 siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write • 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [372] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular 177 554 education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

[GEIDAM]

1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[462] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[462] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
[554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

242 177 Two one-acre plots were to be used for each peasant, so that the utility of the fertilizer could be seen on both millet and groundnut plots. In addition, the field worker was to keep careful records on date of sowing, date of application of fertilizer, dates of first and second weeding and harvesting, farmer reaction to super-phosphate, name and village of the cultivator, and finally, the weight in pounds of millet and groundnuts harvested per half acre on the demonstration plots. The field worker was instructed on the necessity of weighing the harvest from each half acre in the presence of the owner, so that each peasant would see the difference in yield from the treated and untreated portions of the plots. The instructions on this last point were very strongly worded and field workers were made to feel particularly responsible for the final demonstration to the farmer of the weight of crops coming from each part of the demonstration plots. Field workers were also told to play down the efficacy of this particular stock of super-phosphate pellets by commenting on its age and its probable loss of power in comparison to new super-phosphate which could be expected to give much more powerful results. The field worker was also asked to make the point that this free application was only for the purpose of demonstration, and that anyone wishing to obtain super-phosphate fertilizer in the future would be expected to buy it. (Actually, the plan was to distribute the fertilizer the following year at a very nominal price, well below its actual worth.)

The District Head organized a meeting of Magumeri cultivators and introduced Malam Abdulla and his project. The [632] Village Head of Magumeri and the local school teacher, both [875] highly respected men in the village, made short speeches ex- [554] tolling the virtues of the fertilizer, and the Village Head asked for volunteers who would participate in the project. Only a few came forward, others were then ordered to do so, and the rest of the Magumeri sample was obtained through the participation of the school teacher and servants of the District Head, all of whom had their own farm plots. Malam Abdulla also went to two other villages in the area, after obtaining the permission of the District Head, and obtained "volunteers". In

671 779 692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

871 779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
• 876 779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

• 876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

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to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading de-
883 velopment. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
882 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
871 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
578 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

88 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. 582 584 [304] This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. If the young girl is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

582 584 304 881 When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

587 567 [593] In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced woman who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there
[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[841] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Conflicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593
428 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
[184] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
595
178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concubine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
281 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago, generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may 571 be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif- 581 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young 582 girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

881 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she men-
582 struates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e.
585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time
[302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a fero gana (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it:

[833] She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When
881 she bleeds, then she is kanu kura (a mature woman) and she
[885] knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offerings to the poor).

885 Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl
[302] changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a completely different person immediately upon taking up the status of married woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the compound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities become progressively remote from their own.

885 of any institutional prolongation of a girl's unmarried status beyond
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871 puberty is regarded by the people as leading to the ruin of her normal development as it is conceived in the culture. (This opposition is also exacerbated by the fear of a loss of power of dispensation over the girl by her guardian when she attends school).

881 For young boys the end of childhood and the beginning of
304 adolescence is marked by circumcision. It is apparent from the variation in age, running anywhere from seven to twelve years for the circumcision of boys, that physiological maturation has very little to do with the timing of the ceremony for any particular boy. The boy's family, especially the head of the household (usually his father), decides the issue on the basis of family readiness to perform the ceremony. Often a large group of boys, sometimes as many as thirty or forty in large towns, are cut when a leading family performs a circumcision for one of its members.

The important thing for the Kanuri is not the readiness of any particular young boy for the ceremony in terms of either his behavioural or physiological development. The deciding factor is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationships with the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Have a lot of friends and relatives been asking repeatedly when little Aba is going to be circumcised? Have the household members, especially the head, attended a great many marriages, naming ceremonies, etc., of other community members and given gifts on these occasions? Is it now time to reap the benefit of all that participation by having a ceremony of one's own, to which many people will come and many gifts of goods and money will be obtained? These

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and questions like these are the determining factors in the timing of a circumcision ceremony and they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the roadway to manhood for the young boy, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

As would be expected in a stratified society there is much variation in the elaborateness of the circumcision ceremony, depending upon the rank of the family involved, the number of boys being circumcised together, and the upward mobility motivations of the family head. Generally speaking, the period of circumcision is fifteen days. In the traditional ceremonies the boys are cut at a first and smaller celebration and then remain in their compounds for fifteen days, after which a large ceremony is held.

"They must eat good food and rest until their wound heals," said one informant. The consensus of opinion seems to be that it is "better" to have a group of boys circumcised together rather than singly. This may include several boys from one large extended family. More often the ceremony is initiated by a person of higher rank, such as a hamlet head, a Village Head, a District Head, or some person of noble family. People of lesser rank who have some subordinate relationship then try, or are asked, to have their own sons included. Social distances between the families concerned are, however, not exceptionally great. Thus a peasant's son might conceivably have been circumcised with a hamlet head's son or perhaps even a Village Head's son but it would be most unlikely that he would reach much higher in

881 his connections. The limitations on such social incongruities are
304 twofold. First of all, it would be considered undecorous in the eyes of the community and the person labelled as ro kura (literally: big life, i.e. "pushy" or overly ambitious). Secondly, the elaborateness and therefore the expenses involved increase enormously up through the status hierarchy of the society so that, unless the person has a great deal more wealth than his social position generally implies, he must of necessity carry on the ceremony only with the ranks immediately above or below himself in the social structure.

Exceptions are quite common to both group circumcision and to the two ceremonies held first on the day of the cutting and secondly fifteen days later. Impecunious peasants often prefer a single public ceremony on the day of the cutting. Informants explained that by restricting the ceremony in this fashion they were trying to control the expense.

Adolescence

882 The period after circumcision until marriage is a culturally recognized status for boys. It lasts from about the age of seven to twelve up to the period of eighteen to twenty-two years. For both males and females there is a blurred period between childhood and the next stage of life which in both cases ends roughly at puberty. However, for girls this commonly occurs after their first marriage, while for the boys it does not.

After circumcision the boy can be socially regarded as sairo (literally: attractive in a male sense). However, informants explain that he is still tada gana (a small boy) until he is capable of ejaculation, or until the growth of his pubic hair. The term tada gana is retained and applied to the adolescent to describe his immaturity or

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading de-
883 velopment. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
882 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
871 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
578 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
868 he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he
571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

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192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

881 his connections. The limitations on such social incongruities are
304 twofold. First of all, it would be considered undecorous in the eyes of the community and the person labelled as ro kura (literally: big life, i.e. "pushy" or overly ambitious). Secondly, the elaborateness and therefore the expenses involved increase enormously up through the status hierarchy of the society so that, unless the person has a great deal more wealth than his social position generally implies, he must of necessity carry on the ceremony only with the ranks immediately above or below himself in the social structure.

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Adolescence

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After circumcision the boy can be socially regarded as zairo (literally: attractive in a male sense). However, informants explain that he is still tada gana (a small boy) until he is capable of ejaculation, or until the growth of his pubic hair. The term tada gana is retained and applied to the adolescent to describe his immaturity or

882 lack of achieved skill in some area of behaviour. This extension of the term for child into adolescence must not be mistaken for the European cultural trait of confusing childhood and adulthood in the adolescent period. It refers not just to a lack of skill, but more generally to a lack of power and authority, and in this sense can be utilized to describe anyone until he is an old man. In this context the term is applied to mean that in some particular manner the person is like a small boy in relation to others around him, i.e. he must defer to them. People do not find this unnatural and even middle aged men may refer to themselves as tada gana (small boy).(1)

883 From the time of true physiological puberty onward, the boy associates more and more with other young zairo and takes part more or less freely in the banter of age-mates, and those slightly older. These young boys go to markets, play together, discuss local gossip and politics, and often joke about possible and actual nocturnal [833] adventures with women. On this last point, boys generally receive their first sexual experiences after puberty from divorced women who may vary in age anywhere from fifteen to fifty. More often that not, it is reported that the first experiences are with older women because of the competition for the younger sexually accessible females, (i.e. those who are divorced). Like young men everywhere they discuss the merits of various occupations, the desirability of rural or urban life, but also speak to one another at great length about the qualities of various "big men" (kam kura) in Bornu, and the benefits received by their followers. Today, boys also learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble and to drink intoxicating liquors during this period.

882 463 A primary function of this age status for adolescent boys

(1) See below, p. 174.

882 463 is occupational choice and training. For most boys the choice is determined by the elders of the household in which they are living or by the economic specialization in their own quarter of town or hamlet. One youth, whose father is a small salt retailer and a farmer, lives in a quarter where many of the household heads are dyers. He has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households in order to learn the trade. In general and especially for rural areas, sons in a household are expected to take up the occupation of the household head.

This should not be thought of, however, as a system in which the young boy merely complies with the wishes of his elders. There is much evidence to show that some degree of personal freedom is involved in occupational choice. For example, a butcher's son remarked that, despite his father's wishes, he would never be a butcher and was planning to learn his Fa-Bro occupation of hides and skins trader. This is especially true today if the young boy is sent to the city to stay with a relative while learning a craft. The plethora of new and different occupations in the city may attract the young man and lead him to make his own decisions about his occupation.

874 882 There is an apprenticeship system for learning occupations which varies in length depending upon the age of the boy, the socio-economic status of the occupation, and the relationship between the boy and the craftsman. As boys become older they expect their apprenticeship times to be shortened, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun the longer the period of training. However, even in the case of a twenty-two year old, a two to three year period is not uncommon. Again, if the occupation has a higher status and/or pecuniary return,

874 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguinal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's" house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resem-
[578] blance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

[441] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years
[452] of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

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882 it up because, as he said, it entailed the constant giving of credit
[441] to his customers and he never seemed to be able to collect all the
[452] money owing to him. His full brother in Maiduguri (who had been his wholesale supplier) advised him that barbering was a good occupation and that one of the local barbers in Magumeri needed a tada njima because his own son was as yet too young to help him. The boy went and asked the barber about it and then made his own arrangements for the apprenticeship (the barber knew the boy's kinsmen). He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became a tada njima. He could visit his own compound in which his mother lived by herself and keep up his own farm. He had to help the barber on his farm, get grass for his horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his aba njima (father of the house). The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working, sometimes with his senior, sometimes alone. By right, all receipts of his work during that year were supposed to be given to the barber. Naturally, he pocketed an occasional fee, but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and therefore the end of his projected career as a barber. The senior could, if he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber tools. The barber fed him, clothed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events, like naming ceremonies, he was given a small tip (one to two shillings) by the household head because of his role as barber's apprentice, which he kept for himself. In 1957, he moved back to his own compound with his mother. He still considers himself a tada njima of the bar-

874 ber because he still does chores for him, and claims to give the senior
882 about fifteen per cent of his receipts. Furthermore, he does not yet know how to cut face-marks, remove uvula, or perform circumcisions, and thus attends all these ceremonies with his senior barber in order to continue his education. He hopes that by next year he may be allowed to perform some of these operations under supervision. When he has finished his education, it will not be necessary to do anything for the senior. However, he will always pay respect to his ex-teacher for many years to come.

Other apprentices, who were living with strangers, but had gone into the same occupation as their fathers, claimed that they were freer in this situation than if they were in training in their own house-
882 holds. They also stated that it "was nice" (kbji) to travel around and
(831) see other places in Bornu. The "freedom" was observed to refer to sexual experimentation, not discipline-respect with the compound head. As we have mentioned, it is considered shameful for children to discuss or acknowledge directly any marriage plans or sexual behaviour in the presence of parents. In some of these cases the mobility is explained by the fact that the boy's father was dead and his mother or grandparent has sent him off to a relative or a friend in order to learn the dead father's craft. In general, the boy completes his learning of agricultural skills, the planting, hoeing and harvesting of the various crops, as well as the clearing of new land in this
(425) period. Most often during his adolescence he acquires one or more plots of land of his own, either through inheritance, from the local political leader, by purchase or gift, or by going farther afield from his village and clearing new bushland. He also becomes acquainted with

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 885 562 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 [561] [165] [162] One of the interesting functional results of having an extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

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(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialisation training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bèrzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
• 882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

882 will lead them to their adult roles in the socio-economic structure of
582 the society. Since boys do not marry until the end of this period, first marriages are much later for males as compared to females.

885 By maturity, the Kanuri mean several things. For a man it means that he is married, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a household and some degree of independence. When some of these social attributes are lacking the person often refers to himself as a "small boy" no matter what his age. There is no one status term meaning maturity for females, although terms exist which define her status as a woman who has had a child or not, as middle aged, and so on.

888 Old age for women often means dependence upon her sons if she has any, plus some petty trade in order to help sustain herself economically. For men, old age can be viewed on a continuum running from the one pole of successful seniority achieved or ascribed during life, to its opposable and supportative complement, subordination. Some achieve their seniority, others support this achievement by acting as subordinates, sometimes only as stepping stones to their own growth in seniority, or at other times, as a life goal in itself. However, it should be remembered that all men, even the Shehu, are in some sense subordinate in the total social structure.

56 The discussion of stratification has been organized within a theoretical framework in which the complex differentiation of Kanuri society is classified into status dimensions. These are sets of agreed upon rankings pf persons within some specified area of behaviour. For the present discussion the status dimensions of ethnic membership, occupation, birth ascription, wealth, and rural/urban status, have been considered in some detail.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

882 veloped physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading de-
883 velopment. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
882 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
871 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
578 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held traditionally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
[304] age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of puberty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
[554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the leading families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized? Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar questions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

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Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of interest one is struck by the similarities and the differences in their lives as compared to similar groups in western society. Like young men everywhere they discussed the merits of various occupations, the economic returns, the power and prestige to be gained from one or the other type of job, and so on. Unlike their counterparts in western society, they also spend a great deal of time discussing the qualities of "the big men" in Bornu and the benefits received by loyal followers of these men. They are keenly aware, or try to be, of whose fortunes are rising and falling among the big men and listen with great interest to some new tidbit of information to this effect. Like their counterparts elsewhere teenagers learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble, and drink alcoholic beverages during this period. School boys also learn western table manners and take periodic meals in the places that serve western style food.

One of the most important features of a Kanuri boy's adolescence is his choice of training for an occupation. All young boys learn the fundamentals of farming in the households of their youth since almost all compound heads in Bornu, except some in the city, have farms. In some rural villages boys will learn nothing else but farming and probably remain farmers all their lives. On the other hand the majority of Kanuri boys learn another occupation which they will practice during the dry season or the non-farming season. For most boys the choice is determined ahead of time by the elders of the household, or by the economic specializations in their own vicinity. For example, one boy whose father is a salt retailer and who lives with his father in the ward of the dyers has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households. In general boys are expected to take up the occupation of their fathers unless they or their parents have strong desires and an opportunity to do something else. There is much evidence to show that in making the decision the wishes of the young boys were taken into account. Thus one young man remarked that he would never comply with his father's desire that he become a butcher. Instead he started to work with his father's younger brother in the nearby compound and is learning to be a trader in hides and skins. Today a large range of new occupations is opening up; modernization has served to accelerate this degree of freedom simply because there are many more occupations and a wider range of potential income.

Kanuri occupations other than farming usually involve some apprenticeship, especially for young boys. Such training varies with the kind of job being learned, with the age of the boy, and with the nature of the relationship between the boy and the man teaching him the occupation. If an occupation has a higher status or there is an expectation of high income or prestige associated with it, the person doing an apprenticeship must expect a longer training period in return for having been admitted into an advantageous position. Thus truck drivers who make a comparatively high income demand a fee besides three to five years of service from the person taken on as an apprentice. Butchers occupy a low-status position in the society, but they can also earn fairly good incomes and therefore they, too, claim longer than usual apprenticeship. As the boy becomes older, it is expected that his training period will become shorter, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun, the longer the education. This simply reflects Kanuri recognition of the more rapid learning that comes with age.

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The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[2] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[2] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

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883 barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that
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571 does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions,
159 and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may
305 continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to per-
592 form some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has
[304] completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in
868 the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even
571 though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would re-
592 turn home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing
834 other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl
867 takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes
105 her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885
192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married
885 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did
196 give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

882 lack of achieved skill in some area of behaviour. This extension of the term for child into adolescence must not be mistaken for the European cultural trait of confusing childhood and adulthood in the adolescent period. It refers not just to a lack of skill, but more generally to a lack of power and authority, and in this sense can be utilised to describe anyone until he is an old man. In this context the term is applied to mean that in some particular manner the person is like a small boy in relation to others around him, i.e. he must defer to them. People do not find this unnatural and even middle aged men may refer to themselves as tada gana (small boy).(1)

883 From the time of true physiological puberty onward, the boy associates more and more with other young zairo and takes part more or less freely in the banter of age-mates, and those slightly older. These young boys go to markets, play together, discuss local gossip and politics, and often joke about possible and actual nocturnal [833] adventures with women. On this last point, boys generally receive their first sexual experiences after puberty from divorced women who may vary in age anywhere from fifteen to fifty. More often that not, it is reported that the first experiences are with older women because of the competition for the younger sexually accessible females, (i.e. those who are divorced). Like young men everywhere they discuss the merits of various occupations, the desirability of rural or urban life, but also speak to one another at great length about the qualities of various "big men" (kam kura) in Bornu, and the benefits received by their followers. Today, boys also learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble and to drink intoxicating liquors during this period.

882 463 A primary function of this age status for adolescent boys

(1) See below, p. 174.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

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However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

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posed to divorce so often; he is not supposed to have liaisons with divorced women, and he is supposed to behave in a judicious manner as one of the leading members of his community. Thus many young married men living in or near the compound of an older relative or some non-relative, who might be a political and economic superior, refused to be called mature even when they were married. They claimed that they were still young men and that they had still some way to go before they could be called mature adults. Carrying this point further, men whose occupation required that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives limited the application of the word "mature" to themselves, and did so rather proudly. For example, one man of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the district head's father and who was himself a lifelong servant of the district head of Magumeri, accepted a definition of himself in general as a mature man. Indeed he said, laughingly, he would soon be an old man. He explained that he was mature because he had a married daughter, a farm, a nice compound, a wife who he asserted proudly had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he thought he should be dubbed "mature." When asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his district head without the latter's instructions, he quickly replied, "Oh no! In that sense, I am still a small boy." This was in no way shameful for him since his recognition in the community and his status in the society as a whole stands upon his subordinate relationship to the district head.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term for the mature man whose meaning also embodies the same ideology of adult behavior. The woman who has had a child can be referred to by a special term that indicates that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and added a new member to her husband's household and to both of their families. Middle-aged women can be referred to by another term which distinguishes them from younger woman and from old women whether or not they have given birth to children. In practice such terms are not observed in common use, the woman's status and age being described in other terms.

Ideally an adult woman should be married and should desire to remain so. She should be obedient to her husband, have and want children, and perform her womanly tasks promptly and efficiently while remaining chaste within the walls of her husband's compound, leaving it only when absolutely necessary. She should, however, maintain contact with her own family and return there for important family ceremonies. As one would expect, those who come closest to this ideal in their own behavior often tend to agree with this image of womanly perfection and give it their unqualified support. However those who divorce often and easily tend to qualify their agreement. Thus in answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband demanded you always stay inside the compound?" a woman who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years answered simply, "He is the head of the household," meaning "I must obey." Contrarily, a woman who at the age of thirty-five had been married and divorced four times replied, "Then I would make him divorce me. I would leave him immediately."

While men who are unmarried or between marriages live very similar lives to married men, divorced women are striking in their contrast to their married sisters. A married woman among the Kanuri is tied to her husband's household and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[8] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
888 though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men
[826] and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[8] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalɔ yaskɔ, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalɔ yaskɔ each time.

885 It was mentioned that the kalɔ yaskɔ takes her name from
302 the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalɔ yaskɔ; she takes her place with
586 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would re-
885 turn to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalɔ yaskɔ, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An
587 unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

836 [589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a wom-
582 an older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

• 885 581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.
885 581 264 437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b)
581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

583 434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

881 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she men-
582 struates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e.
585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time
[302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a fero gana (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it:

[833] She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest
881 in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When
[885] she bleeds, then she is kanu kura (a mature woman) and she knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offerings to the poor).

885 Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl
[302] changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a completely different person immediately upon taking up the status of married woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the compound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities become progressively remote from their own.

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 [369] Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatized occupation. In Nagumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognised, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a sower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 582 871 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri culture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

885 582 871 of any institutional prolongation of a girl's unmarried status beyond puberty is regarded by the people as leading to the ruin of her normal development as it is conceived in the culture. (This opposition is also exacerbated by the fear of a loss of power of dispensation over the girl by her guardian when she attends school).

881 304 For young boys the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence is marked by circumcision. It is apparent from the variation in age, running anywhere from seven to twelve years for the circumcision of boys, that physiological maturation has very little to do with the timing of the ceremony for any particular boy. The boy's family, especially the head of the household (usually his father), decides the issue on the basis of family readiness to perform the ceremony. Often a large group of boys, sometimes as many as thirty or forty in large towns, are cut when a leading family performs a circumcision for one of its members.

The important thing for the Kanuri is not the readiness of any particular young boy for the ceremony in terms of either his behavioural or physiological development: The deciding factor is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationships with the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Have a lot of friends and relatives been asking repeatedly when little Aba is going to be circumcised? Have the household members, especially the head, attended a great many marriages, naming ceremonies, etc., of other community members and given gifts on these occasions? Is it now time to reap the benefit of all that participation by having a ceremony of one's own, to which many people will come and many gifts of goods and money will be obtained? These

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 One of the interesting functional results of having an [561] extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the [165] availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of [162] argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

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(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

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This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygy-

121 nous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

Maturity

885 The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184] A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.

[831] When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as nairo (any person who has not been married,

885 831 but who has been circumcised, more often referring to the sexually active). In discussing this point further, informants remarked that such persons were not true zairo but they acted like them. The joking implied in this designation is not nearly as humourous to the hearers, when applied to a divorced man with no present wife (who really has many status similarities to an older adolescent) as when it is applied to a married man who is continually seeking extra-marital sexual relations. This joking reference to the married man being a zairo points up the ideal of mildly chaste behaviour property to the rashidi status.

156 885 Many young married men who are subordinate to elder relatives, or political and/or economic superiors in large household organizations, or who are still apprentices, refuse to be labelled as rashidi when asked, even though they are married. They plead that they are still tada gana (small boys). They feel that their subservient position and lack of achievement in the areas of behaviour mentioned above, that are considered to be characteristic of rashidi status, puts them in the position of small boys who still have to grow up, or who are under their father's control. For subservient persons whose occupation requires that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives, the criteria of marriage, children, age, own compound, and farm plots, slowly begin to change the person's concept of himself and he comes to accept a label of rashidi if it is put to him as a question. However, he understands the limits of its application in his particular case. For example, one informant of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the District Head's father and who was himself a life-long servant of the District Head, accepted a definition of himself as a rashidi (mature man), who

156 885 would, he said laughingly, soon be a chiari (an old man). He explained that he had a married daughter, a farm, a compound, and a wife, who he proudly asserted had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he was a rashidi. But when asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his superior's headquarters, without instructions he quickly replied, "atò ngai wuma tada gana" (in that sense I am a small boy). In other words, in that particular area of behaviour generally associated with rashidi status I am not a participant as one who is a grown man, rather I am like a young son who must obey his father. This is not in any way shameful for the informant, since his status in the subservient relationship to the District Head is accepted by the culture.

285 562 Rashidi is then more than just a description of physiological age. In general people consider that when a man has been married he should be defined as having reached adult status. But when the term is applied to an adult male who had been married, it is found that a set of achievements is used as a criterion for judging a person's age grade status. These achievements are valued attributes of adult male life as defined by the culture which are available in varying degrees to all male members of the society.

A woman who has had a child can be referred to as kuko, which means that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and has added a new member to her husband's agnatic group as well as to her own. Middle aged women (about thirty to forty) can be referred to as gudum to distinguish them from younger or older women, whether or not they have borne children. In actual practice these terms were not observed to be in common use, the woman's status and age being

885 described in other terms. The main distinctions for women are,
562 fero (girl), Kamu (woman) and Kamursu (old woman). A woman (kamu) can be given descriptive attributes to place her properly in people's minds. For example, she can be kamu kwanzè mbeji (a woman with a husband, i.e. married), or sanzè ngubu or gana (older or younger). These can be extended to include statuses such as having borne children or not, having an influential family, having a rich husband, being in seclusion and so on.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term rashidi whose meaning also connotes or embodies the ideology of mature behaviour.

The ideal view of the adult female role positively evaluates marriage, durability of marriage, children, obedience to husband, proper and efficient performance of women's tasks, chastity, staying in husband's compound much of the time, and maintaining some contact with her own family as some of the more important goals towards which
183 adult females should strive. In actual practice, women who divorce
885 the least number of times give their unqualified support to the cultur-
562 al ideal of the female role. On the other hand, women who divorce
586 easily and frequently tend to qualify their support of the ideal. This contrast is illustrated by the answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband required you to stay always in the compound?" A woman, who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years, answered simply, shi kura fatobe (he is the head of the household), i.e. he is my authoritative superior and I must obey. Contrarily, a woman, who at the age of about thirty-five had married and divorced four times, replied, daji lenyin (then I would go away), i.e. divorce him.

882 will lead them to their adult roles in the socio-economic structure of
582 the society. Since boys do not marry until the end of this period, first marriages are much later for males as compared to females.

885 By maturity, the Kanuri mean several things. For a man it means that he is married, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a household and some degree of independence. When some of these social attributes are lacking the person often refers to himself as a "small boy" no matter what his age. There is no one status term meaning maturity for females, although terms exist which define her status as a woman who has had a child or not, as middle aged, and so on.

888 Old age for women often means dependence upon her sons if she has any, plus some petty trade in order to help sustain herself economically. For men, old age can be viewed on a continuum running from the one pole of successful seniority achieved or ascribed during life, to its opposable and supportative complement, subordination. Some achieve their seniority, others support this achievement by acting as subordinates, sometimes only as stepping stones to their own growth in seniority, or at other times, as a life goal in itself. However, it should be remembered that all men, even the Shehu, are in some sense subordinate in the total social structure.

56 The discussion of stratification has been organized within a theoretical framework in which the complex differentiation of Kanuri society is classified into status dimensions. These are sets of agreed upon rankings pf persons within some specified area of behaviour. For the present discussion the status dimensions of ethnic membership, occupation, birth ascription, wealth, and rural/urban status, have been considered in some detail.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[8] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

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888 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
[826] though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[8] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

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[586] The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of [152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari, 888 old men) and women (kamursu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride-wealth, goes up. 583

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali*, especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali*. [593]

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they divide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find. 582 [587]

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a marriage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are important to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage. 585 [554] [887] [602] 585 832 [152] 585 177 871 [582]

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very 585 577 829

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife. 595

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community. 595 565 [567]

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife. 581 562

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times. 58 159

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bridewealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes. [887]

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own
[595] food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this
[115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an ex-
583 ample of an adult female who had never married. Common-law
836 marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nomgomtom, and is quite distinct from
587 his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse.
581 Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no
887 longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdoma, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived completely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
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565 of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high ranking man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
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454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries, and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermediaries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

very often is, by divorce or death, or the movement of its members to a new place. While such changes occur, the household remains; its personnel may change, its landholdings may expand or contract, and its relations with other households through its household head may shift—but people see it as an organization in terms of which settlements are built into larger units; into wards, hamlets, villages, cities, and finally, the state itself.

The personnel of a household is based on that of the family, and generally moves through a cycle that may involve several alternatives to the usual pattern. Let us start with a couple. A young man marries for the first time, and in about sixty percent of the peasant cases recorded for three rural villages in Bornu, he brings his wife to the vicinity of his father's compound or moves into a section of his father's compound. If the latter is the case, he will move to his own compound close by after his own conjugal family (his wife or wives and children) increases in size either through the birth of children or the acquisition of more wives. When his own children grow up, his daughters leave to marry and return from time to time because of divorces or separation from their current spouses. Because many sons bring their wives to their father's household or close by, the original father finds himself the nominal head of a growing patrilocal extended family which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, can in time become a separate ward or sub-ward of the town. When the father dies, the oldest son or the most capable or successful of all sons takes over the compound of the dead father. Lands and goods are apportioned among the male heirs, although the person taking the father's role sometimes takes half the land and divides the rest equally among the living heirs. Thus in one case a man with three brothers took his father's fields and divided them in half. One-half he kept for himself, and the other half he split among the three brothers.

A problem that frequently emerges at this time is that of the mothers of half siblings—the wives of the dead man. The man who takes over his father's compound or household tends to install his own mother there as a dependent, since most old women are without husbands.[2] If she is a vigorous woman, she can become a powerful person in the household. Indeed in the royal household she has a special title, as we have seen, and was traditionally a noble-woman of great power. The other wives of the dead man must go and live with their own kinsmen, usually one of their sons. In one case this problem was intensified by the fact that the household head, a powerful political leader, had only one son and that by a concubine. When the present head dies, his senior wife, a woman of very powerful upper class affiliations will have to leave and her own slave—a woman very much junior to her—will be installed as the senior woman of the household. Such eventualities can cause tension between the members of any household who know that some day the power and authority relationships within the household will change hands.

In the same vein, siblings tend to drift apart after the death of their father. Even though they live close by one another, their unity and cooperation is not as great after the father's death as before. On the other hand, this can be ameliorated by social and economic factors which are important to keep in mind. Thus if a senior brother takes over a powerful political role, or a lucrative economic one, and

[2] As a woman approaches old age she finds it extremely difficult to remarry and thus most old women are resigned to being beyond the marriageable period of their lives.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

885 must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is
581 grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and
[586] goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

885 In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they be-
105 come full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families,
156 and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry
562 successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out else-
182 where, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role pro-
[578] duce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[8] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and
[592] finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

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888 Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even
[826] though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

888 The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a
183 very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a
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[8] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

888 565 589 [434] [788] on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women. If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age, and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a universal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 775 621 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 621 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

000 near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth
591 differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is consid-
369 erable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out
166 on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of young-
183 er people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

591 When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter
[592] can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

4. The Family.

596 As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital
592 residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

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[586] The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of [152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

886 Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari, 888 old men) and women (kamursu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
443 accepted role as a gurdoma, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived completely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
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888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
565
454 into old age.

888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
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[596] for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

• 888 592 183 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in their old age.

Inheritance

428 The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law,(1) and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases [613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lineage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex. The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if present) are entitled to one-third of the warata (inheritance) of her (their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the agnatic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables, excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, although it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being [587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any living connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother, which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the largest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Ruxton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

882 will lead them to their adult roles in the socio-economic structure of
582 the society. Since boys do not marry until the end of this period, first marriages are much later for males as compared to females.

885 By maturity, the Kanuri mean several things. For a man it means that he is married, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a household and some degree of independence. When some of these social attributes are lacking the person often refers to himself as a "small boy" no matter what his age. There is no one status term meaning maturity for females, although terms exist which define her status as a woman who has had a child or not, as middle aged, and so on.

888 Old age for women often means dependence upon her sons if she has any, plus some petty trade in order to help sustain herself economically. For men, old age can be viewed on a continuum running from the one pole of successful seniority achieved or ascribed during life, to its opposable and supportative complement, subordination. Some achieve their seniority, others support this achievement by acting as subordinates, sometimes only as stepping stones to their own growth in seniority, or at other times, as a life goal in itself. However, it should be remembered that all men, even the Shehu, are in some sense subordinate in the total social structure.

56 The discussion of stratification has been organized within a theoretical framework in which the complex differentiation of Kanuri society is classified into status dimensions. These are sets of agreed upon rankings pf persons within some specified area of behaviour. For the present discussion the status dimensions of ethnic membership, occupation, birth ascription, wealth, and rural/urban status, have been considered in some detail.